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THE
AMERICAN
CATHOLIC QUARTERLY
REVIEW

Bonum est homini ut eum veritas vincat volentem. quia malum est homini ut eum
veritas vincat invitum. Nam ipsa vincat necesse est, sive negantem sive
confitentem. S. AUG. EPIST. ccxxxviii. AD PASCENT.

VOLUME XLIII.

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THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW

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THE DARK AGES IN AMERICA.

NOTHING that I know is much more amusing in the light of recent developments in history in English-speaking countries than to go back to the sources of information with regard to the Catholic Church and her institutions which people generally here in America trusted implicitly about the middle of the nineteenth century. Only the actual consultation of the popular books will enable one to see what caricatures of anything like the real facts passed for gospel truth among our dear good old-fashioned Americans of two generations ago—I mean of course the reasonably well-read ones—for as to the ideas absorbed by the uneducated the less said the better, they were such utterly ridiculous absurdities when not palpable history lies.

A few years ago, in the "Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia," Right Rev. Monsignor McDevitt, then Superintendent of Parochial Schools of Philadelphia and now Bishop of Harrisburg, published an article on how bigotry was kept alive by old-time school text books. He called attention to the fact that the elementary text books of geography and history were the commonest medium for the propagation of anti-Catholic hostility. All the peoples of the Catholic countries were set down as ignorant, superstitious, indolent, with the lower classes living in wretchedness, dirt and dishonesty; the middle classes, dishonest and indecent; the upper classes voluptuous, amorous and licentious. These are all expressions taken from actual text books with regard to the Italians, the Spaniards and the Portuguese, while the Protestant nations, even

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the English, in spite of the very strong patriotic feeling against them because of the Revolution and the War of 1812, were, nevertheless, represented as learned, just, sturdy of temper, sober and not easily deluded. The exception in Great Britain of course was the Irish, who were "ignorant, intemperate and vicious, easily excited to acts of violence and with difficulty restrained by the law."

The basis of the traditional misunderstanding of the South American peoples is easy to understand after reading some of the abstracts of these books that Monsignor McDevitt published. At a time when the universities of Spanish America were in many places considered to be on a level with the European universities and exchanged students and professors with them, while our universities in the United States were and rightly, because of their low standards, scarcely considered to be on the same footing at all, derogatory remarks about the utter lack of education in South America were commonplaces in our teaching. No wonder that university professors who visited South America toward the end of the nineteenth century should have found themselves compelled to declare that it was time for us "to discover South America." The real cultural status of that continent had been utterly hidden from us by the cloud of misrepresentation consequent upon religious prejudices. It is rather amusing now to look back and see the supreme self-confidence with which the people of the United States, whose own education at that time was, as we realize now, at a very low ebb, so that our law schools and medical schools were often a disgrace and our so-called university standards were childish and universities merely trained undergraduates and had none of that cultivation of original research which should characterize universities, yet made so little of the South American countries, whom Bourne, of Yale, told us not long since had been until the early nineteenth century far ahead of the United States.

Such teaching had an enduring effect on young impressionable minds, and it becomes easy to understand how peoples educated in this way could not be brought later on to have any sympathy with Catholics or with the Church, but, on the contrary, felt that it was an institution to be discouraged and even suppressed by every possible means. It was not only school text books, however, that cultivated this spirit of bitter intolerance, but it was many other sources of information. The books written for family reading and copies of which were found in a great many of the households of the better informed classes were full of the same sort of misinformation. I have thought that a series of quotations from some of these might illustrate what sort of misinformation was being distributed even up to and well beyond the middle of the

nineteenth century and how bigotry and misunderstanding were deliberately fostered, though very probably without fault in the majority of instances, since it was done by people who knew no better. They had been brought up to see things just this way; they had put a barrier in their minds against inquiry in certain directions, and they merely sought for confirmation in history of previously accepted notions and quite unconsciously refused to look at the other side.

The picture of Ireland as presented in some of these quotations made by Monsignor McDevitt is particularly interesting. According to "A New System of Modern Geography," by Benjamin Davis, published in 1815, "Ireland being now happily united with England," there was some hope for her progress and intellectual advancement. Happily, too, "Protestantism increases every year" on the island, and this notwithstanding the fact that "Catholics retain their nominal Bishops and dignitaries, who subsist by the voluntary contributions of their votaries" because of the blind superstition and ignorance of the people. This is not surprising, however, for nothing was too impossible to say of a Catholic country. About the time that this geography was published Austria was the intellectual leader of Europe with a group of modern writers whose names are still well known. The Empress Therese was probably more largely responsible for this than any other. Here is how her influence is summed up for rising young Americans: "The Empress Therese instituted schools for the education of children, but none for the education of teachers. Hence children are taught metaphysics before they know Latin, and a blind veneration for the monks forms one of the first exertions of nascent reason. The universities, like those in other Catholic countries, do little to promote the progress of solid knowledge."

Above all, it is interesting to go back to the historical ideas which were industriously propagated about the time when because of the famine at home in Ireland the Irish were coming over in large numbers. Even a little knowledge of the sort of information supplied to Americans generally at that time with regard to the Irish and their Church enables us to understand something of the attitude which the native Americans must have taken toward those Catholic immigrants who were coming literally, as they said themselves, in such droves to our shores. No wonder with what our Americans, above all the young, had been taught about the Irish and their Catholicism, that the poor immigrants were despised, misunderstood, scarcely considered as belonging to the same race of men at all as the enlightened inhabitants of America, amongst whom they had been rudely thrust by the necessities of their home

life consequent upon the awful abuse of misgovernment of the sister island by the English.

There recently came into my hands one of the old-fashioned books of this time, a copy of "Peter Parley's" "Universal History for the Use of Families." This was one of the most popular mediums of information for general purposes in the mid-nineteenth century, especially here in the North and East. I mean in the Middle States and New England, of course, for there was little West to speak of at that time. The copy of the book that I have bears the date 1845, but was copyrighted in the year 1837, and was already in its tenth edition. Books did not sell in those days in anything like the way they do at the present time, so this must have been a veritable "best seller" of the period. It had a publisher in New York, Nafis & Cornish (387 Pearl street), and another in Philadelphia, J. P. Perry (198 Market street). It was issued in two volumes, illustrated by maps and engravings, and because of the many illustrations, altogether many hundreds in number, must have been a rather taking book with the young. It represents, therefore, a summary of the earliest historical ideas that found entrance into the minds of American young folks just before 1850. The notions thus secured were consciously or unconsciously to form the background of all their knowledge and to modify all the information that came to them in after life.

"Peter Parley" was the pen name of Samuel Griswold Goodrich, born at Ridgefield, Conn., August 19, 1793; died at New York, May 9, 1860. He published a number of other juvenile works besides this universal history, "A History of the Animal Kingdom," and other such compilations of knowledge. He was a nephew of Chauncey Allen Goodrich, the rather well-known American scholar, who was one of the editors of Webster's Dictionary after 1828. The family name then became associated with the idea of scholarship in this country, so that it was no wonder that the information supplied in the "Universal History" was swallowed unquestioningly by a great many people of the time.

"Peter Parley" insists that he has written for the young and that that is the real reason for saying on the title page that it is designed for families. He wishes it to be permitted to enter the family circle and take its chance to make its way. He ventures to suggest that "if it is placed not as a task book, but rather as a story-teller on the table, perhaps the children may patronize it; perchance the parents may deign to look into it." Its arrangement is really well thought out, the chapters are short and questions are added at the end. A number of anecdotes and sketches are inserted, many of them of historical value, "hoping thereby to reconcile the

reader to the dryer part of the work." The author confesses that he has "spiced his chapters with tales and legends and sprinkled in many engravings," for he would gain the attention of the young "by every available art, so that they may be tempted to extract useful lessons from the history of old times and gain a knowledge of events." He has succeeded quite well in what he proposes, and after looking the book over it is not surprising that it should have been popular and that "Peter Parley's" name almost literally became a household word in America.

The author is modest enough in his preface, and confesses in the first paragraph that "the idea of embracing in the compass of these two little volumes anything like a tolerable outline of universal history would doubtless excite a smile on the lip of a college professor, should he ever condescend to peep into our humble title page. But let my object be clearly understood, and I hope the attempt I have here made may not be deemed either ridiculous or presuming."

Perhaps for some of us the most interesting passages in this universal history will be found in the chapter on Ireland. It is called very frankly "About Ireland," and the material that it contains is certainly far enough away from the realities of Irish history to make it perfectly clear that it is only "around and about" the subject that the author ever got. He confesses that the history of Ireland, or "Green Erin" as it is called, though I fear that that designation will be new to most of us, is full of interesting matter, and he is sorry that he can only bestow upon it one brief chapter.

The early history before the coming of Christianity is dismissed with the few brief words that the first inhabitants "were hard-fisted Celts who fought with clubs and seemed to love fighting better than feasting." They were constantly quarreling with each other, so that they had plenty of their favorite sport. Of course, I suppose that dear old "Peter Parley" must be excused for knowing nothing about the rather high civilization, or at least fine literature that was produced in Ireland at this time, for that is generally a matter of later knowledge. Until the coming of Patrick, however, fighting was all that there was to say about Ireland and the Irish.

At least the author of the universal history was willing to admit that St. Patrick was a Catholic. I believe that some of our separated brethren have in recent years suggested the possibility that the dear, old Irish saint was really a pre-Reformation reformer, and the Baptists have set up a claim that he was rather closely related to them. One modern Irishman remarked that if St. Patrick meant to make Baptists of the Irish he made a very bad job of it, though *very* was not the word that the Irishman used. "Peter

Parley" confesses "the saint was a Roman Catholic and the greater part of the people are Catholics to this day." It was the fashion just then in America, for the memory of the Revolution was strong and recollections of the War of 1812 rankled, to criticize the English Government for its management of colonies and subject peoples, and so "Peter Parley" says that the Irish "are dissatisfied with English government, and well they may be, for its conduct has been selfish, cruel and unwise." This gives occasion to remark that "it is some consolation to know that such a country as America exists, in which the oppressed Irish may find an asylum."

St. Patrick was, however, too fruitful a subject in interest to dismiss so briefly as this, so "Peter Parley" took occasion to introduce one of the tales or legends with which he confesses that he spiced his chapters. For this reason readers were regaled with some very interesting paragraphs with regard to St. Patrick, meant to attract the attention of rising young America and make it feel how foolish and superstitious and ignorant were these Papist Irish, who knew no better than to believe all these rigmaroles. He said:

"Among the curious notions still entertained by the Irish with regard to St. Patrick is this: In Ireland there are no serpents or venomous reptiles, and the people firmly believe that St. Patrick put an end to them and freed the island from them all forever.

"At the Lake of Killarney the peasants still preserve the following ludicrous tradition: When the labors of St. Patrick were drawing to a close there was one enormous serpent who sturdily refused to emigrate and baffled the attempts of the good saint for a long time.

"He haunted the romantic shores of Killarney, and was so well pleased with his place of residence that he never contemplated the prospect of removing without a deep sigh. At length St. Patrick, having procured a large oaken chest with nine strong bolts to secure its lid, took it on his shoulder one fine sunshiny morning and trudged over to Killarney, where he found the serpent basking in the sun.

"'Good morrow to ye!' cried the saint. 'Bad luck to ye!' replied the serpent. 'Not so, my friend,' replied the good saint; 'you speak unwisely; I'm your friend. To prove which haven't I brought you over this beautiful house as a shelter to you? So be aisy, me darlint.' But the serpent, being a cunning reptile, understood what blarney meant as well as the saint himself.

"Still, not wishing to affront his apparently friendly visitor, he said, by way of excuse, that the chest was not large enough for him. St. Patrick assured him that it would accommodate him very well. 'Just get into it, me darlint, and see how aisy you'll be.'

The serpent thought to cheat the saint, so he whipped into the chest, but left an inch or two of his tail hanging out over the edge.

"'I told you so,' said he; 'there's not room for the whole of me!' 'Take care of your tail, me darlint!' cried the saint, as he whacked the lid down upon the serpent. In an instant the tail disappeared and St. Patrick proceeded to fasten all the bolts. He then took the chest on his shoulders. 'Let me out!' cried the serpent. 'Aisy,' cried the saint; 'I'll let you out to-morrow.'

"So saying, he threw the box into the waters of the lake, to the bottom of which it sank to rise no more. But for ever afterwards the fishermen affirmed that they heard the voice of the poor cheated reptile eagerly inquiring 'Is to-morrow come yet? Is to-morrow come yet?' So much for St. Patrick."

What an interesting interlude that story makes for a "Universal History for Family Use" calculated especially for children!

For St. Patrick, however, the author has some good words, though surely if ever there was damning by faint praise it is to be found here. Two of the paragraphs are just full of information that must have been formative of many misunderstandings with regard to the poor Irish who were just then flocking into the country in such large numbers. The "Universal History" says (page 207):

"He seems to have been a wise and good man, and the people liked him very much. So they adopted Christianity, and under its influence gradually became *somewhat* civilized. Patrick lived to a great age, but at length he was buried at Doune.

"When he was gone the people told pretty large stories about him, and finally they considered him more holy than other men and called him a saint. To this day they consider St. Patrick as in heaven watching over the interests of Ireland. They pray to him, and to do him honor set apart one day in the year for going to church, drinking whisky and breaking each other's heads with clubs."

This would serve to show the enlightened Americans what foolish, ignorant, credulous—yes, even barbarous people the newcomers were. It is easy to understand, then, that with supposed knowledge of this kind before them Americans found it hard to understand the Irish and their ways, and above all to have any proper appreciation of the religion which they professed. The good Puritans themselves had rubbed all the holy days out of the year, even Christmas Day, substituting a fast day which has since become Thanksgiving Day for the old Yuletide, in order to get as far away as possible from what they considered the almost if not quite sinful joyous celebration of Christmas. When the Irish came to work in their mills and to do the drudgery generally of the cities

and towns it was quite shocking to the good Puritans to have these Irish insist on taking off holy days of obligation and refuse to work on Christmas Day and on New Year's Day and even on Good Friday. These were looked upon as superstitious practices to be rooted out as soon as possible. When the Irish went further than this, however, and wanted to take St. Patrick's Day as well, and actually did stay away from work, not a few of them were discharged. When in spite of this they proceeded to organize processions after going to Mass and were planning other modes of celebration, no wonder that the Puritans were highly scandalized, and with the knowledge of St. Patrick which they had derived from "Peter Parley" and his ilk they could not have very much appreciation for the poor people or their so-called religion or their beliefs or practices or priests.

With regard to the Popes whom these poor ignorant Irish respected and honored, "Peter Parley" was particularly interesting. Information was disseminated with a free hand, and above all that information was made as piquant and interesting as possible, so that once it found its way into the youthful mind, if accepted, it would surely produce a lasting impression. The rising generation in America was informed very calmly that the Popes "took away kingdoms from the rightful sovereigns and gave them to others" and that "a Pope by the name of Clement declared that God had given him all the kingdoms of earth and heaven." And then to cap the climax, "If any person denied the Pope's authority he was burned alive."

Of course, Hildebrand comes in for a fling and the utter cruelty with which he treated poor Henry IV., that meekest of German emperors, who had sought pardon at his hands. When it comes to the latter part of the Middle Ages, however, we have some particularly interesting material. For instance, "In 1191 another Pope [the other refers to Pope Gregory VII., who has just been mentioned, Popes always with a small letter] kicked another emperor's crown off his head while he was kneeling before him, just to show that the Pope could make and unmake kings at his pleasure." Europe is pictured after this as entirely under the domination of the Popes, with a consequent eclipse of human intelligence, suppression of education and enslaving of human minds that could only be productive of the worst possible results for mankind.

"Peter Parley" says that it was about this time, that is shortly after 1191, that the power of the Pope was at its highest pitch. All the rest of the Middle Ages then until the coming of Luther and the Reformation can be summed up in a few brief words. He summarizes then: "For nearly four hundred years this potentate

continued to exercise an almost undisputed sway over the people and even the kings and princes of the Christian world." He adds in one all embracing paragraph: "During this age great darkness prevailed throughout Europe, Asia and Africa, and though Rome was the seat of the Popes, now more powerful than any sovereign, the people were generally in a state of ignorance and degradation." There is one saving grace in history, however, after these four hundred years: "In the year 1517 the Reformation was commenced by a man called Martin Luther."

This was the sort of twaddle that young folks were intellectually nourished with just before the middle of the nineteenth century. Of course, it is not surprising from the standpoint of that time if we only once put ourselves in touch with it. At the middle of the nineteenth century our intellectual interests here in America were of the lowest possible description. Our cities had no architecture; there were but two buildings in the country, the Capitol at Washington and the City Hall in New York, which fortunately we had allowed foreigners to plan for us, that had any pretensions to beauty of architecture. Our one idea in building was utility. This same thing was practically true of all the arts. We had had a few portrait painters, and by chance had produced Benjamin West, but he had promptly betaken himself to England to live under more sympathetic conditions. The history of painting in America at that time is almost a blank chapter. The same thing was quite literally true of sculpture. Indeed, even much later than this our sculpture was a joke. Look around, for example, and see the monuments that were erected in the principal squares of many of the chief cities of the country to honor the heroes of the Civil War and see for yourself the ginger-bready affairs that they were. Rogers' groups, God save the mark! actually showed an advance over these at least.

Our education was if possible at a lower ebb than our art. I know that this is likely to be a sore subject with Americans, but we must face realities in the matter. Take my own department of medicine. Here would be a fair and simple description of medical education as it was conducted, let us say between 1840 and 1850. A student registered with a physician, usually a rather busy one, and went round to see him occasionally, and sometimes read, but oftener did not read various medical books—except, of course, such as might have especial appeal, and at the end of a year would be admitted to a medical school. He did not have any preliminary education to speak of. He might have come from the plough or the mines or from before the mast, and many enterprising boys did come from such preliminary courses, but if he could read and write—and he did not have to write very plainly,

either—he would be admitted to a medical school. He then attended courses of lectures for two years; that is, it was called two years, but the terms were of four months each, which by a special saving grace must not be in the same calendar year as a rule. The lecture course was ungraded; that is, the student attended the same lectures two years in succession, being expected to get much more out of them the second year than the first.

One of our most prominent colleges in this country, one that was looked up to with a great deal of respect and whose students passed very good examinations for our army and navy medical service, required the higher standard of attendance for four months and a half. On the other hand, this institution permitted the two terms to come in the same calendar year, so that it was a favorite school for those who were in haste to get through. The diploma of graduation which gave the old-fashioned mediæval title of doctor of medicine, that is to say, of teacher of medicine (as if these two-year medical students of four-month terms could be expected to do any teaching), was at the same time a license to practice medicine in any State of the Union. There was no legal regulation of the practice of medicine for more than a generation after this.

Compare this for a moment with the mediæval medical schools. At the time when according to dear old "Peter Parley" Europe was "plunged in darkness," the Italian medical schools of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries required three years of preliminary education at the university, four years of medical school work, and even after that a year of practice with a physician before the graduate would be allowed to practice for himself. This is very nearly the standard to which we have raised our medical education at the present time, when we require a year or two of college work and then four years at medicine and are beginning to demand a year of hospital training. We are going back to the standards required by the Popes in the Papal bulls which they issued for the regulation of medical education when "great darkness prevailed throughout Europe."

In other modes of education the same thing was true, though it is not so easy to point out in concrete terms the actual differences between mediæval and modern American education. Suffice it to say that we had no universities and our college standards were almost a joke in European educational circles until well on toward the end of the nineteenth century. No European university thought of accepting our degrees on a parity with theirs, nor of considering that work done for a certain number of years with us could mean the same thing as a corresponding length of time spent in study

in Europe. Mediæval Papal bulls had established fine standards of education, making provision for interchange of students and professors in the mediæval times, and these traditions had been maintained in Europe to some degree at least, but here in English America we had never come under Papal influence and our education was left unstandardized. Our first serious graduate and research work was done at Johns Hopkins' in the fourth quarter of the nineteenth century.

It is no wonder that the people of the mid-nineteenth century could not appreciate the Middle Ages, nor that they should misunderstand and condemn them. They had no criterion in their own lives that would enable them to judge at all properly of mediæval achievement. They could not appreciate the interests of that time. Their houses were boxlike structures built merely for utility, pushed as close to the street as possible, row after row of them made similar to each other. What could they possibly think of communities that deliberately devoted themselves to making beautiful buildings for their towns. Now that we have come to accept the idea of the city beautiful as an ideal, however distant it may be as yet, we have also come to recognize that in the Middle Ages the people often made great, noble sacrifices in order that their public buildings, cathedrals, town halls, guild houses and the like might be as beautiful as possible, ornaments to their town of which they were so proud. Until we had lifted up the standards of our own education we could not admire mediæval education. Until art had begun to germinate among us we could not recognize properly the supreme place that it held in the Middle Ages and ought to hold in life.

Young America was to learn, then, that until comparatively recent times, and surely until after the Reformation, all Europe was sunk in darkness and desolation and quasi-barbarism: "This period is called the Dark Ages (that is, the time between the classical period and modern times) because the nations are generally ignorant, fierce and barbarous. So things continued till about five hundred years ago, when the light of learning began to return. Since that time society has advanced in civilization till it has reached a higher state of improvement than was ever known before." The people of that time, and above all the young people, are told that their own age, with its execrable taste in architecture, its utter lack of taste in art, its sordid interest in a low standard of education, represented the highest state of improvement ever known among mankind, while the period which gave us Gothic architecture, Dante, the *Idyls of the King*, the great universities, the magnificent regulation of education, was called the Dark Ages.

No wonder that John Fiske in the introduction to his "The Beginnings of New England, or the Puritan Theocracy in Its Relations to Civil and Religious Liberty," which would perhaps be the last place in the world that one might expect to find such expressions, thought it necessary to set our countrymen right as far as possible on this important subject of the significance and worth of the Middle Ages. He said (xiv., T. C.):

"While wave after wave of Germanic colonization poured over Romanized Europe, breaking down old boundary lines and working sudden and astonishing changes on the map, setting up in every quarter baronies, dukedoms and kingdoms fermenting with vigorous political life; while for twenty generations this salutary but wild and dangerous work was going on, there was never a moment when the imperial sway of Rome was quite set aside and forgotten, there was never a time when union of some sort was not maintained through the dominion which the Church had established over the European mind. When we duly consider this great fact in its relations to what went before and what came after, it is hard to find words fit to express the debt of gratitude which modern civilization owes to the Roman Catholic Church. When we think of all the work, big with promise of the future, that went on in those centuries *which modern writers in their ignorance used once to set apart and stigmatize as the Dark Ages; when we consider how the seeds of what is noblest in modern life were then painfully sown upon the soil which Imperial Rome had prepared; when we think of the various works of a Gregory, a Benedict, a Boniface, an Alfred, a Charlemagne, we feel that there is a sense in which the most brilliant achievements of pagan antiquity are dwarfed in comparison with these.* (Italics ours.) Until quite lately, indeed, the student of history has had his attention too narrowly confined to the ages that have been preëminent for literature and art—the so-called classical ages—and thus his sense of historical perspective has been impaired."

It is, however, when he comes to talk about the monasteries and the convents that "Peter Parley" reveals all his utter lack of understanding of the Middle Ages. He confesses in his chapter on "The Dark Ages" that he has not had an opportunity to mention the abbeys and monasteries of Europe. "These curious institutions, however, deserve notice." He then suggests that they were an imitation of similar institutions "among the worshippers of Brama, Fo, Lama and Mahomet, as well as among the idolators of ancient Egypt, Greece and Rome." He then proceeds to trace their history (page 221):

"The first monastery was founded by St. Anthony in Upper

Egypt A. D. 305. This consisted of a number of huts, in which several hermits dwelt, devoting themselves to penance and prayer. Another monastery was established in France, in the year 360, by St. Martin. From this time these institutions were multiplied and became established in all Catholic countries. From the eighth to the fifteenth century they received great encouragement and many splendid edifices were erected for their use.

"Some were called abbeys and some monasteries. Many of them were filled with monks and friars and others with females (!) called nuns. [This is a fine touch from a generation that had no provision for the education of women.] The splendid remains of many of these edifices are still to be found in England, France, Germany and other parts of Europe. At first the inhabitants of monasteries lived in a simple manner and devoted themselves to religious contemplations. But in after times the abbeys and monasteries became the seats of voluptuousness. None was permitted to enter them but the monks and nuns; these, therefore, while they pretended to be engaged in religious studies, screened from the eyes of the world, often gave themselves up to luxurious pleasures. [What nice innuendoes on this passage for the people of the period between Maria Monk's revelations and the burning of the convent at Charlestown, Mass., and the burnings of the church and convent in Philadelphia in the Know-Nothing period.]

"These institutions were, however, greatly encouraged by the Popes, and it was not until the monstrous corruptions of the Catholic religion brought on the Reformation, in the sixteenth century, that monastic institutions began to decline."

Fortunately, as it must seem to the author and his readers, he is able to point out their definite termination. He says: "They were abolished in England in 1539 and in France in 1790. In several other countries of Europe they have ceased, but still continue in Italy and Spain." This "Universal History" prepared the minds of the rising generation and emphasized impressions already existing among their elders as to the utter uselessness of monastic and religious institutions and their inevitable tendency to corruption and decay. When Know-Nothingism came with the burning of convents, how many of the people who took part in these anti-religious demonstrations had been influenced consciously or unconsciously by "Peter Parley's" deprecation of them and his light-hearted declaration that in the course of progress they still continued in Italy and Spain, but nowhere else, and of course had no place in enlightened and progressive America.

Almost needless to say, it was quite impossible that the people of a time and country who had no more knowledge of monks and nuns

than was thus obtained could have any sympathy for them or their beautiful work. It is only as we ourselves have developed various phases of the work that was done by the monastic establishments of the olden time that we have come properly to appreciate what magnificent institutions for good they were. The tradition that monks were idle and lazy, when not positively vicious, continued until the time when our first Agricultural schools were founded in this country.

The Massachusetts Agricultural College at Amherst came to fill a long felt want and has had many successors. One of its early presidents called attention to the fact that the old monasteries had really been agricultural schools, doing the work of experimenting with seeds, introducing new plants, improving stock, regulating forest conservation, providing irrigation and drainage; in a word, the functions for the benefit of agriculture which now are shared by the Government and our agricultural schools. It is only after we have come to have an interest in the things in which these older people were interested that we can properly judge of the significance of what they were doing. It was not so much ignorance of details of their work as lack of proper standards of appreciation that was the fault of the mid-nineteenth century, for the people themselves had very few of the interests of the higher life, and therefore could not be expected to have any sympathy for the generations that devoted themselves mainly to the things that they were neglecting.

Of course, the Inquisition comes in for its share of objugation in "Peter Parley's" digest of history. It is described as a secret court whose business it was to arrest and bring to trial those who were suspected of not being true followers of the Popes or the Catholic religion. "It was for many years a favorite instrument by which the Pope of Rome carried on his schemes of tyranny." It was introduced into most countries of Europe where the Catholic religion prevailed, but in no country did it exercise its terrible power with such cruel despotism as in Spain. "It appears that this institution was sanctioned by Pope Innocent III. in the year 1215. It was not finally abolished till the year 1820." What a lurid picture of suffering and torture and manifold death inflicted by the Inquisition must have been impressed upon the minds of the children for whom in the twilight mother read these accounts of the course of universal history, producing upon them impressions which could not be eradicated by any subsequent information that might come.

Of course, we still hear much about the Inquisition, though usually in rather different tone than that employed by Mr. "Peter Parley," but here as everywhere else the supposedly damnatory evidence against the Church takes on an entirely other aspect when the actual

facts are known. Facts, only facts, that's all that's needed in order to correct history lies.

When "Peter Parley's" book was being bought so freely the Oxford Movement in England was just beginning to make itself felt to some extent at least in this country also, but it was really not until the conversion of Cardinal Newman that the English-speaking people generally woke up with a start to the fact that the Catholic Church could have an attraction and satisfaction for a thoroughly educated intellectual man. The feeling had been that ignorance was the one great safeguard of those within the Church and the only possible attraction that she could have for those without must be founded on an utter lack of anything like a right understanding of her doctrines and her history. Catholic clergymen had, of course, received an education, but this education had been so narrow as to make their ignorance of things apart from the Church all the denser. Any wandering beyond the bounds of their closely limited ecclesiastical education had been so sedulously guarded against that they knew very little about the realities of history, and above all almost nothing of the true relations of the Church to humanity. If the educated in the Church were thus kept from knowledge, of course the great mass of the faithful knew practically nothing about Church matters and were held entirely by the careful cultivation of ignorance on their part.

With Cardinal Newman's conversion, however, this very simple explanation of the Church's ability to hold her clergy and people by the bonds of ignorance could no longer be taken quite seriously. Any one who knew anything about him realized that Newman was the greatest intellectual leader of his generation at the most scholarly of English universities. He was besides a man of marvelous penetrative mental powers, with an acute logical faculty that had attracted the attention of all who were brought in contact with him. Above all, he was a man who knew the Catholic Church as no non-Catholic of his time was acquainted with her, and yet his very knowledge led him to abandon Protestantism, and at great cost to his feelings and the sacrifice of the friendship of most of those who had been dear to him to become a Catholic. It could not be ignorance that had led him astray; it must have been something else. What he knew best of all was the Church's history, and yet it was the study of history more than anything else that had disturbed his complacent Protestantism and had eventually brought him into the Church.

Early Church history had seemed to a great many to make it perfectly clear that primitive Christianity had degenerated into Catholicism with a whole host of abuses. Cardinal Newman after the most careful conscientious study declared that it was clear that

primitive Christianity had developed into mediæval Catholicity and into the Catholic Church of his own day according to the great law of development which its Founder had impressed on it.

There was very little echo of all this in America, however, for nearly a generation. About the middle of the nineteenth century our people were still in "the Dark Ages" of religious misinformation, knowing nothing of the realities of the Catholic position, but all the more serenely confident by reason of their very ignorance that they knew all about it. It takes a good deal of ignorance to inspire confidence of knowledge whenever the subject in question is a large one. Our favorite "Universal History for Children," then, by "Peter Parley" was quite literally a caricature and a broad and amusing one, only that it was so absurd and amazing, replete with a number of "historical facts" that were not so, but the truth with regard to which might have been readily found, only a good deal of study would be needed for that purpose. Above all, after three centuries of English Protestantism one would have to read other than English books, as a rule, for for three hundred years English literature and history had been written entirely from the standpoint that nothing good could possibly come out of the Nazareth of the Catholic Church and with the avowed determination of finding absolutely nothing favorable to her in history. History for nearly four centuries had been quite literally, in Comte de Maistre's expression, a conspiracy against the truth.

The surprise is how long some of the old ideas have maintained themselves. I shall never forget Professor Dwight, late professor of anatomy at Harvard University, telling me some years ago that he belonged to a club in Boston in which one of the rules was that neither religion nor politics should be discussed. To his surprise, at a formal meeting one evening a number of things utterly defamatory of the Catholic Church were said in the course of a paper by a university man. At the end of the paper Professor Dwight arose to make a protest and to suggest that he did not want to violate the rule of the club, but that as a Catholic he felt that such expressions must not be allowed to go unanswered, and he asked permission to answer them formally either at this or preferably at a subsequent meeting. The reader of the paper was quite surprised at the thought that any one should think that he was violating the rule as to the discussion of a religious question at the club, since all that he was doing was discussing a purely historical subject on its merits, and indeed expressing thoughts on a matter of which so far as he knew no one had even ventured any doubt. *He* had never read anything that would throw the slightest doubt on them. His mind had been carefully insulated from all sources of information that might possibly

correct his false impression. He was exactly in the position that so many of these people think that Catholics are of ignoring everything that does not agree with their own point of view.

As a matter of fact, I am quite sure that Catholics know the other side very well as a rule. We have to know it because it is forced upon us in English history and literature to a certain degree. Besides, in order to be able to maintain our own position, we have to know both the opposite declarations and the responses to them. Protestants even in our time continue to be densely ignorant of Catholic Church matters. One would not mind their ignorance, since after all there is so much to know about the Church only that they are quite sure that they know all about it. Once in a public medical discussion, all the participants in which were university men, I had to suggest that the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, which had been touched on in the course of a medical discussion, was evidently quite misunderstood. They were talking about the Divine conception of the Saviour, but calling it the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary. When I explained what Catholics meant by the Immaculate Conception, a dozen physicians, intelligent, educated men, seemed ready to think for some time that I must be mistaken, for of course they had *known* all their lives that what we meant by the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception was their idea of it. Then they asked me how many Catholics understood it as I did, and when I said that I thought all did, they looked very incredulous. I suggested that it was one of the things that we learned in our catechisms, and that probably any boy or girl whom they met on the street would explain it to them as I had done.

Twice since I have found their peculiar notion of the Immaculate Conception in rather serious books written by men who are looked up to as broadly intelligent and educated and who were quite sure that they knew what they were talking about. One of them was a medical writer of some distinction who was quite surprised to find that he had been so utterly mistaken in his assumption of knowledge with regard to what seemed to him apparently so simple a question as this. The other was H. G. Wells, the English novelist and writer on social topics, whose assumption of omniscience and infallibility was always amusing, but whom the present war has sobered not a little and whom a little more experience of life will doubtless help to a better understanding of many things.

Within the year I have had a man born and brought up in Boston, usually supposed to be the home of culture, and of course of intellectual truth, and whose young folks are supposed to absorb information of the right kind almost through the pores because of the atmosphere of the place, assure me that until by chance in connection with

some educational work he had come in contact rather closely with Catholic priests he had had no idea of the breadth of scholarship that was encouraged among the Catholic clergy by the Church authorities. He had found some of them very broad-minded men of extensive information touching subjects far beyond the confines of what he was inclined to think their Church interests and thoroughly familiar with religious and social conditions apart from their Church interests. He went so far as to confess that he found them exactly the sort of men that he thought it quite impossible for Catholic priests to be and maintain their adhesion to Catholicity and their firm belief in its doctrines and submission to its authority. I have had scientific men, particularly professors of universities, make the same sort of confession when they had been in contact at a scientific congress or meeting with Catholic priests who were interested in or perhaps teaching the same subjects as themselves.

People of this kind do not realize it, but they are still in the dark ages, though in the midst of what they think a very progressive period. John Fiske suggested that what were called "the dark ages" when we knew no better, now that we know so much about them should really be called the "bright ages," because they accomplished so much of what was best and highest in human achievement. They were supposed to be the "dark ages" because it was thought that men's eyes were held either by themselves or by external authority of some kind, and that therefore they could not see the truth. Would it not be fair for Catholics to say that it is in our time that men's eyes and minds are held with regard to Catholic subjects? They refuse to go to the proper authorities, refuse to study about Catholicity at the sources, read all sorts of secondary authorities, and then are quite sure that they know all about the Church. Indeed, they are convinced that they know much more than Catholics, because they are quite convinced that if Catholics knew all that they did, even with the best of good will they could not continue to be Catholics.

Above all, these people refuse to read Catholic books or Catholic articles because they are sure that they must be written from a very partial standpoint and cannot be sincere. There is only one way, as we have learned in our time, to find out about a subject, and that is to go to experts in it. We do not go to a lawyer to learn about consumption, nor to a physician to learn how to make a will. We go to those who have made special studies in these subjects. Above all, when we read books we get those that are written by authorities on the subject and whose life has been devoted to the subject. It is surprising how seldom in spite of this principle Protestants in our time turn to Catholic books to get information on Catholic sub-

jects. Almost any other printed account proves an acceptable source of information, but not a Catholic book.

Of course there is no question that it is extremely dangerous for Protestants to consult Catholic books. Indeed, there is no doubt at all about that, and it has often been exemplified. Nothing will so soon make Catholics out of Protestants as the reading of Catholic books. One of the conversions to the Church which attracted a great deal of attention not long before the war was that of Professor Von Ruville, the professor of history at the German University of Halle-Wittenberg. This institution is in its present form the continuation of Luther's own university of Wittenberg, now transferred to Halle. That the professor of history at Luther's own university should become a Catholic was indeed a striking fact, but the description of the way by which he became a Catholic was if possible even more startling. Professor Von Ruville frankly confessed that though he had been a teacher of history in the German universities for more than a score of years, and a full professor of modern history for some ten years, he had never read a Catholic book until a couple of years before his entrance into the Church.

He thought he knew all about the Church. He discussed all the historical problems relating to it, quite confident that he understood all the essential doctrinal and even theological questions relating to her. He had never read a Catholic book to obtain his information; that is, he had to confess that he had never gone to first-hand authorities, but had always gone to secondary writers on the subject; but, as is well known, it is those who obtain their information in this way who are surest about their knowledge. The very first Catholic book that he read, a simple volume that Catholics have been familiar with for many years, changed all his attitude of mind towards the Church and then he became a convert, writing the story of his conversion in a volume called "Back to Holy Church," that went through many editions in several languages.

Our good Protestant friends need to come out of the "dark ages" here in America and let themselves learn something about the only form of Christianity which has a history that goes back to Christ Himself. In the North and East Catholics are now not brought in contact with the flagrant calumnies and misrepresentations of the Church that were so common two generations ago when "Peter Parley's" "Universal History" was the introduction of children into knowledge of Papistry with all its awful abuses. These misrepresentations and calumnies continue, however, to be accepted in the South and in the West in many places, to be preached from pulpits and sometimes to be written and lectured on by men who presumably have education enough to know better. They are away

back in "the dark ages" where our Northern and Eastern fellow-citizens were at the middle of the nineteenth century.

The important lesson, however, is not one of congratulation that conditions in this regard are so much better than they used to be, but of profound deprecation that there should still be so much lack of real knowledge with large presumption of correct information that is really false as regards Catholic subjects. Our brethren around us here in the North, at least, need to come out of the "dark ages" and have that need emphasized by the contemplation of Southern and Western Americans still maintaining the old Protestant bigoted notions and absurd calumnies which were rife here two generations ago. A great improvement has come, but still greater improvement is needed for those who are sincere in their desire to know the truth. The South and the West continue to be bitterly anti-Catholic because they do not know Catholics, and above all have not been brought so close to Catholic priests and religious as to be made aware of what marvelous good work they are doing. Northern Protestants have passed through this phase, but now they need to pass through the other phase of learning about Catholicity from Catholic books and from educated Catholics. Where intolerance and opposition exist this would fade at once in the light of real knowledge.

There used to be the excuse that books that would provide knowledge with regard to Catholicity at first hand were not readily available. With all the publication of Catholic volumes in our time, above all, after the publication of the Catholic Encyclopedia, any such excuse no longer holds. We must invite Protestants to come out of the "dark ages" of information with regard to the Church to learn something from real authority. I once had a New York lawyer ask me where he could get complete information with regard to the Jesuits. He wanted me to refer him to a book. I refused to give him a list because I told him that that was not the way that one should learn about a living institution. The Jesuits were still in existence; there were one hundred or more of them in New York; why not get his knowledge at first hand by knowing them or at least by consulting those who knew them at first hand? Certainly no one should take information from avowed enemies. Yet it is from such sources that Protestants have been deriving their information with regard to the Catholic Church. May we not hope that the dark ages are over at last and that people will look for information where it can best be obtained from Catholic sources?

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THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND GREAT LIBRARIES.

“OF MAKING many books there is no end,” saith the preacher, giving us in these few words the testimony of an inspired witness as to the material at least for great libraries a thousand years before the Christian era, while modern archæology is daily multiplying for us the evidences of their existence at a period even far earlier. It would be interesting to examine what part Catholic scholarship may have had in this work of bringing to light the buried treasures of a past civilization, the clay libraries of Assyria and Chaldea. But for our present purpose it must suffice to ascertain just what share such scholarship has played in the formation and support of the great libraries of Christian Europe. To assert that every great library in Europe, from the time of Constantine to the Reformation, owed its foundation, either directly or indirectly, to the activity of the Catholic Church may seem to some an overstatement, yet, if we can substantiate our claim, such a fact should certainly go far to silence hostile critics, who, like Huxley, seem never weary of denouncing the Church as “the vigorous enemy of the highest life of mankind.”¹ Happily, too, it might lead some timid souls within the fold to take heart and examine for themselves the abundant evidence at hand as to the Church’s literary zeal rather than lend a ready ear to accusations against her. But we would go a step farther and add that even of post-Reformation collections no really great library exists in Europe to-day which does not owe the nucleus of its treasured wealth to manuscript and printed volumes gathered from earlier Catholic libraries, monastic or collegiate, when these noble foundations were ruthlessly pillaged and their contents either summarily appropriated or scattered to the four winds of heaven. While in a brief article like the present it will, of course, be impossible fully to collate the evidence for this last assertion or even to present any really adequate synopsis of it, drawn as it is from sources involving minute and detailed research, yet it may, we hope, be possible to put forward certain salient facts so clearly as to show that the difficulty is simply one of presentation and to leave no room for the denial of a debt of the greatest magnitude, even where individual appropriation cannot be absolutely located. We will seek then to make good two statements—the first that of Leibnitz, who tells us, “Books and learning were preserved to us by the monasteries” (taking note also of the cathedral, university and other public libraries established by the zeal of the

¹ “Darwiniana,” p. 147. See also article “Science in Bondage,” Sir Bertram Windle, *Catholic World*, February, 1917.

Church). The second, that of Sir Frederic Madan (who as custodian for forty years of the manuscripts in the British Museum knew whereof he affirmed), that "at the dissolution of these monasteries their libraries were dispersed and the books thus scattered over England used to form the basis of her modern libraries" (extending the application of this remark to the literary collections of Continental Europe as well).

I. THE FORMATION OF LIBRARIES IN CATHOLIC EUROPE.

The beginnings of the Christian library seem to have been coëval with those of the Church's life. First in sequence of time, we find the cathedral or diocesan library established, the earliest example being probably the library attached to the church at Jerusalem by its Bishop, Alexander, who died A. D. 250. Its existence is attested by Eusebius of Cæsarea, who in his "Ecclesiastical History," written some eighty years later, describes it as a storehouse of valuable records which he himself had used in his work.² From this time on it became the rule to attach to every church such a collection of books as should be useful for the teaching of Christian doctrine, the very place of their instalment being designated, the left, namely, of the three semi-circular spaces into which the apse was usually divided.³ A still more important collection than that at Jerusalem was one gathered at Cæsarea, in Palestine, by St. Pamphilius, a man who spent the greater part of his life in the transcription of manuscripts and of whom we are told that "No Florentine scholar of the Renaissance had a more passionate love of books than he."⁴ This library was not only extensive, but noteworthy for the value of the books it contained. Here, according to Migne, reposed the Hebrew original of St. Matthew's Gospel, as well as most of the works of Origen, collected by the loving care of Pamphilius, who had been his pupil.⁵ As Pamphilius suffered martyrdom A. D. 309, this library could have been little later than that at Jerusalem. At Circa, in Numidia, a library must have existed in 303 A. D.,⁶ since it is recorded that during the persecution of that year, when the examining officers entered the church where the Christians were wont to assemble, they despoiled it of its sacred furniture, but, on approaching the Bibliothecam, they found the Amavia empty. The existence of these libraries finds frequent confirmation from accidental statements in the writings of that time. Thus Julian the

² Eusebius, "Hist. Ecc.," VI., 20.

³ Clark, "Care of Books," pp. 62, 68.

⁴ Drane, "Christian Schools and Scholars," p. 15.

⁵ Migne, V., 23, p. 613.

⁶ Optatus, "De Schismate Donatistarum," Paris, 1702; App., p. 167, quoted by Clark, p. 63.

Apostate commands that the books collected by George, Bishop of Alexandria, shall be sent him. St. Jerome advises a student to consult church libraries and mentions his debt to that of Pamphilius, stated to have numbered 30,000 volumes.⁷ Paulinus, Bishop of Nola, describes a library he built in honor of St. Felix (353-431 A. D.), bearing the following inscription:

“Si quem sancta tenet meditandi in lege voluntas,
Hic poterit residens, sacris intendere libris.”⁸

Again, we find St. Augustine bequeathing his library to the church at Hippo, while St. Jerome tells how he had amassed his, “cum summo studio et labore.” Contemporaneously with the public recognition of Christianity by Constantine, two noted libraries had sprung into existence—one founded by the Emperor himself, who made diligent search for such Christian books as had escaped the fury of Diocletian; the second, as we shall see, being Papal. When Constantine made Byzantium his capital, the library he had founded was transferred thither. Although said at his death to number only 6,900 volumes, it was increased by successive additions till, in the time of Theodosius the Younger, it included 120,000, housed in the Basilica of the Octagon, its faculty of seven librarians and twelve professors being maintained at public expense. This noble foundation was wantonly destroyed by fire, at the order of Leo, the Isaurian, who thus sought, says Edwards in his “Great Libraries and Their Founders,” to banish all monuments which might impede his opposition to the worship of images.⁹ Leo burnt pitilessly books, basilica and librarians in one awful holocaust! In this library was deposited the only authentic copy of the proceedings of the Council of Nice. It is also said to have contained a copy of Homer, written in golden letters, together with a magnificent manuscript of the Four Gospels, bound in plates of gold enriched with precious stones. The second foundation to which we have alluded seems to have arisen at Rome in connection with the school of theology established there under Pope Callistus (218-233). After the conversion of Constantine, the Lateran became the dwelling of the Popes under the title of the Patriarchium. Hither the school was removed. It possessed, we are told, a noble library, the names of its librarians being preserved in unbroken succession from the fifth century. Better known, however, is the “Archivium,” or “Library of Christian Records,” erected by Pope Damasus (366-384) in the Basilica of San Lorenzo,

⁷ It is only fair to say that the roll or “volume” of the ancients had often a smaller content than the modern book.

⁸ De Rossi, quoted by Clark, pp. 63-64.

⁹ Edwards, p. 20.

which he built in the Campus Martius, near the Theatre of Pompey. The façade of this basilica bore the inscription:

"Archivis fateor volui novere condere tecta:
Addere, praeterea, dextra levague, columnas,
Quae, Damasi, teneant proprium, per secula, nomen."¹⁰

"The name of Damasus has been retained," adds Hare, in his "Walks in Rome," "for the place is still 'San Lorenzo in Damaso.'" It is this building which was styled by St. Jerome "Chartarium Ecclesiae Romanae," and it unquestionably held the records of the Roman Church until they were removed to the Lateran, in the seventh century.¹¹ A third beginning of a Papal library was made by Pope Agapetus, about 535 A. D. He selected a house on the Coelian, afterwards the home of St. Gregory, to be converted into a college for catechists, attaching to it a library to whose existence an inscription in the Church of St. Gregory bore witness as late as the ninth century.¹² It may be rendered:

"Here sits in long array a reverend troop,
Teaching the mystic truths of law divine.
'Mid these, by right, takes Agapetus place,
Who built to guard his books this noble shrine."

The work of Agapetus was interrupted by his death, but was taken up by his friend, Cassiodorus, who, originally a courtier at the palace of Theodoric, retired finally to his estate at Vivarium, in the southern extremity of Calabria, there to found a monastery in which the transcription of books was the chief occupation of the brethren. Cassiodorus not only collected a famous library, but established an academic retreat where pilgrims, weary of the scenes of violence which "were turning Italy into a howling wilderness," could assemble under porticoes and in gardens adorned with every beauty that could charm the eye, there to enjoy the calm of retirement with the solace of prayer.¹³ We have now been introduced to examples of four varieties of library founded or fostered by the Church—episcopal, Papal, royal and monastic—which vied with each other in importance during the ages of faith. The monastic library of Cassiodorus was not, however, the first of its kind. From the earliest times the solitaries of Nitria and the East had felt the need of books. The allusions to "collections of books" are too numerous to be questioned. The rule of St. Pachomius (292-345 A. D.), at Tabenna, in Upper

¹⁰ *Ne Hist.* . . . "Sedis Apostolicæ."

¹¹ "Jerome *adv. Rufinum*," II., 20.

¹² "*De Rossi*," chap. vii., p. 25; "*De Origl.*"

¹³ *Drane*, p. 31.

Egypt, gives minute directions for the housing and distribution of books.¹⁴ Chrysostom and other fathers frequently advert to the teaching of children by these desert solitaries, a fact implying the presence of books amongst them. "In the depths of the Thebaide, in the primitive monasteries of Tabenna," writes Montalembert,¹⁵ "every house had its library; dating from these patriarchs of the monastic orders, through all the ages of their history, to name an important monastery was to name a sort of oasis of learning; hence comes the saying, 'A cloister without a library is like a fortress without an arsenal.' (Martène: 'Thesaurus Anee,' Vol. I., chap. v., 11.')" The schools and libraries of the Celtic monks had their beginnings as early as St. Ninnian (380 A. D.). This pioneer from the Isle of Saints came to Rome in the time of Pope Damasus and returned laden with a supply of books. The "Deacon Palladius" is also said to have left books in Ireland, but more indubitably St. Patrick brought thither a "goodly store," received from Pope Sixtus. Contemporaneously with the forerunners of St. Patrick in Ireland, monasticism found its way from the East into Southern Gaul. The famous abbey of Marmoutier was founded by St. Martin of Tours about the middle of the fourth century. Here in cells and caves the younger monks occupied their time in writing and study, the elder in prayer.¹⁶ Even more celebrated in the history of letters was the rocky isle of Lerins, off the southern coast of France. Here about the year 410 A. D. St. Honoratus founded his famous school, whose reputation for learning became such that cities far and near eagerly sought the monks of Lerins for their Bishops and the purity of whose Latin even Erasmus praised. Two other centres of learning flourished about this time in Gaul—Auxerre, founded by St. Germanus, and Vienne by St. Avitus. St. Patrick is said to have studied at Marmoutier, Auxerre and Lerins.¹⁷ Books, as we have seen, had preceded him to Ireland, where soon the famous retreats of Clonard and Iona became the glory of the land and the nurseries of its missionary zeal. With the labors of Saints Columba and Columbanus the pages of Montalembert have familiarized us. To those labors the Continent of Europe owes some of the most famous monastic libraries. These monasteries, however, soon passed from Celtic to Benedictine obedience and became identified with that order in their later history.

We may note in this connection two venerable monastic libraries, still existing in Italy, which became similarly identified. That at

¹⁴ Lausiae, "Hist. of Palladius," Dom Cuthbert Butler, Cambridge, 1898; p. 284.

¹⁵ "Monks of the West."

¹⁶ Savage, "Old English Libraries," p. 3.

¹⁷ Healy, "Ireland's Ancient Schools and Scholars," p. 50.

Vercelli, near Ravenna, founded by St. Eusebius in the fourth century, and one at La Cava, Southern Italy, of a somewhat legendary antiquity. The treasures preserved in both are of great rarity and value. Besides the *Evangelium* of St. Eusebius, Vercelli boasts a famous volume of Anglo-Saxon homilies known as the "*Codex Vercellensis*."¹⁸ It is, however, with the labors of St. Benedict and his followers that the literary work of the Middle Ages is preëminently associated. St. Benedict it was who, by the admonitions of his rule, was destined to create that great system of monastic libraries which, with the analogous cathedral collections, formed the treasure houses of literature for a thousand years. "Behold," writes Clarke, when commenting on chapter 48 of St. Benedict's rule, in which the latter gives directions as to the time and duty of reading, "how great a fire a little matter kindleth!" These simple words, spoken by one who in power of far-reaching influence has had no equal, gave an impulse to study in ages which it was once the fashion to call "dark," which grew with the growth of the order, till wherever a Benedictine house arose, or a monastery of any one of the orders which were but off-shoots from the Benedictine tree, books were multiplied, till the wealthier houses had gathered together a collection that would do credit to a modern university.¹⁹ "It is, indeed, almost impossible to overestimate the influence exerted by these collections, which were not only the *reference*, but the *lending* libraries of the times. St. Benedict himself was born in Neustria in 480 A. D. Subiaco, the cradle of his order, was founded in 520, Monte Casino in 529 A. D. By the close of the fifth century his foundations filled all Europe. From 520 to 720 A. D. was an era of "unparalleled abbey building."²⁰ Within these dates arose most of the great houses afterwards renowned for their libraries: Fleury, Corbie, Aurillac, St. Riquier, Ferrière, St. Maur, Reichenau, Corvey and Sponheim, on the Continent; Canterbury, Jarrow, York, Lindesfarne, Wearmouth, Malmesbury, Whitby, Ripon, Glastonbury, Peterborough and Croyland, in England. Bobbio, St. Gall, Fulda, Luxeuil and the monastery of St. Donatus, at Fiesole, were Celtic foundations of the seventh and eighth centuries, and they in turn were followed by the great Cluniac, Cistercian and Carthusian abbeys, the mere mention of whose names summons up glorious memories of the past. "The monks loved their books," writes Montalembert, "with a passion that has never been surpassed in modern times." "Our books," exclaims St. Hugh of Lincoln, "are our wealth in time of peace, our offensive and defensive weapons in time of war, our food

¹⁸ Savage, p. 87, and "*British Encyclopedia*," ninth edition, p. 531.

¹⁹ Clark, lecture, "*Mediæval Library*," p. 14.

²⁰ *Catholic Encyclopedia*, art. "Abbey."

when hungry, our medicine when sick.”²¹ And his words are re-echoed by the old Saxon chronicler who wrote: “Here are the riches of the cloister, the treasures of the celestial life, which fatten the soul by their sweetness.” St. Thomas à Kempis dwells pathetically on the sad estate of a monk deprived of books. To obtain them, long and perilous journeys were undertaken. In the seventh century, Benedict Biscop, Abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow, fared six separate times to Rome, returning laden with an “Innumerabilem librorum omnis generis copiam,”²² to supply that library wherein Bede read and copied. Theodore of Canterbury made similar journeys. Soon the library at Jarrow became the model for the yet more famous one at York, of which Alcuin was librarian and whose praises he sang in the ear of Charlemagne, when, seeking to form a similar library for the monastery at Tours, he besought his royal master for permission to transplant into France some flowers (i. e., books) of Britain, that the “Garden of Paradise” might not be confined to York.²³ A little later we find Lupus of Ferrières converting his monastery into a repository for the exchange of books between England and France, while the Irish monks filled theirs with exquisite manuscripts in Celtic calligraphy. About this time most of the books which now form the pride of the Ambrosian library at Milan were being collected in the Abbey of Bobbio, while Subiaco, destroyed and redestroyed by Lombard and Saracen, was patiently replenishing its valuable library, part of which it retains to this day. Here in 1462 the first printing press on Italian soil was opened under Schweynheim and Pannartz. The monastery of Pomposa, near Ravenna, boasted itself at one time as possessing a finer library than the Vatican (!) At Novalesse, in Piedmont, the monks saved one of 6,700 volumes at the risk of life itself when their abbey was attacked by the Saracens, and this in the “Iron Age,” when writers like Robertson would have us believe that monks could neither read nor write. Trithemius, Abbot of Sponheim, assures us that Hirschau contained an immense number of manuscripts. “Ingens copia,” he says, when alluding to its destruction in 1002 A. D. The great library of Cluny at the time of the visit of St. Peter Damian was said to have been unrivaled in Europe. The saint laments the wealth of the abbey. Its revenues, however, were used to feed 17,000 poor people and to collect Latin, Greek and even Hebrew authors.²⁴

No doubt there were local rivalries of claim, since the Benedictine Ziegelbauer places the library of Fulda above all the monasteries of

²¹ Mabillon, “*Reflexions sur la Reponse de M. de Rancé*,” Vol. II., p. 139.

²² Savage, p. 32.

²³ Savage, p. 36; also West, “*Alcuin*,” p. 34.

²⁴ Drane, “*Christian Schools*,” p. 337.

Germany and perhaps of the Christian world.²⁵ Naturally, however, we look to Monte Casino, that fountain-head of Benedictine life, to take precedence in literary fame. Although specially open to depredation from both north and south and, in point of fact, repeatedly rifled, several authors assure us that under Didier, the friend of Gregory VII., it possessed the richest collection of all, and we know that when the African, Constantine, who had spent forty years in India, Egypt and the East, came to seek repose at the tomb of St. Benedict, he endowed his adopted home with the literary treasures collected in his wanderings. When considering the question of the disappearance of so many of these noble collections we must remember that almost all the great abbeys had been repeatedly sacked, even before the iconoclastic hand of the so-called "reformer" was laid upon them. As the Saracen ravaged Southern Europe, so Dane and Viking were the terror of the North. By the time Christendom had recovered itself from the efforts of such a double invasion the era of the friars had begun. Although founded on principles of the strictest poverty, these new religious soon became fully the rivals of the "old orders" in their eagerness to acquire books. So far did their acquisitions extend that complaints were even lodged against them to the Pope as interfering with the needs of others. In every convent (of friars), exclaims Archbishop Fitzralph in anger, "is a grand and noble library, and every friar of note at Oxford has a fine collection of books."²⁶ What one Bishop denounces another commends. Richard de Bury, Bishop of Durham and Chancellor of Edward III., the most famous bibliophile of the Middle Ages, writes: "Whenever we happened to turn aside to the cities and places where the mendicants had their convents we did not disdain to visit their libraries. There we found heaped up amidst the utmost poverty the utmost treasures of wisdom. These men are as ants; they have added more in this eleventh hour to the stock of sacred books than all the other vine dressers."²⁷ It has sometimes been urged that, whatever may have been collected in the way of libraries by "monkish diligence," yet modern society owes them little, since the volumes so gathered were chiefly missals, breviaries, legends of the saints and other specimens of hagiology, with which it could readily have dispensed; that indeed by their erasure of classic manuscripts to furnish palimpsests for their own chronicles they may have caused us "irreparable loss." This charge, like many another, is quite unjust.

Not to enter into a discussion of the comparative merits of the Christian texts by which certain pagan authors were displaced, we

²⁵ "Observations Littéraires," Vol. I., p. 484. (He gives catalogue.)

²⁶ Madan, "Books in Manuscript," pp. 76-79.

²⁷ Richard de Bury, "Philobiblon," ch. viii.

have abundant proof from the monastic catalogues themselves that standard classics were well represented. "A glance at Becker's sheaf of catalogues," writes Savage,²⁸ "will show us that Aristotle, Horace, Juvenal, Lucan, Persius, Plato, Pliny the Elder, Porphyry, Sallust, Tattius, Terence, Cicero, Ovid, Seneca and Virgil are well represented." Mr. Gladstone laments that from the fall of Rome onward for one thousand years "not a single copy of Homer was to be found in the whole of Christian Europe."²⁹ His grief was uncalled for. Had he scanned monastic catalogues more closely, he would have found more than one early Homer indexed.³⁰ (The British Museum contains at least one such.) That he failed to do this is not so surprising, but we feel he might have recalled the oft-noted fact that the book which the dying Petrarch "held wistfully in his hands" was the "Iliad" of Homer. Returning to the friars, we find ourselves in an era when generous donations of books were in vogue. Richard Whittington built a library for the Franciscans of London at a cost reckoned as equal to £3,000 of present money. The Franciscans of Oxford were the legatees of Bishop Grosstête. Roger Dean, of Exeter, presented a library to the Grey Friars of his city in 1226, while the will of William de Wych, Bishop of Chichester, is notable for similar bequests to several orders. De Bury presented many books to the Benedictines of Durham. The good Duke Humphrey, of Gloucester, was the munificent benefactor of Oxford. Bishop Cobham had anticipated him here, while Henry VI. followed with his gifts to All Souls College.

We must now turn from monastic to the great public libraries formed under Catholic patronage. Of the cathedral libraries which, both in England and on the Continent, had been steadily growing since the days of Alfred and Charlemagne, we have had no time to speak, but may be able to note them later in connection with their dispersal. It is to the century immediately preceding the invention of printing that we must assign the effective beginnings both of university and communal libraries in Europe, as well as those which later became national, but which arose chiefly as royal libraries. We will glance first at the great libraries of Italy, on which a volume could be written. The *Bibliotheca Vaticana*, to quote the British Encyclopedia, "stands in the very first rank among European libraries as regards antiquity, since from the middle of the fifth century we have evidence of the existence of a Pontifical library at Rome." Pope Zachary, a Greek (725 A. D.), added largely to the

²⁸ Savage, "Old English Libraries," p. 124. Savage gives list of classic authors in English monasteries.

²⁹ Gladstone, "Books and Their Housing."

³⁰ Edwards gives a list of extant English catalogues; "Great Libraries," App. A. The catalogues by Mr. Montague James are most exhaustive.

Greek treasures of this library, then housed at the Lateran. After the return of the Popes from Avignon, the collection was permanently fixed at the Vatican. In 1447 Pope Nicholas V., often called its founder, is said to have added 5,000 manuscripts to the original store. Callistus III. enriched it with many volumes from the hands of the Turks. But for the treasures thus collected no adequate housing was provided till the time of Sixtus IV., who built what is known as the "old" Vatican Library, on the ground floor of the "Torre Borgia."⁸¹ That Sixtus intended this library for the widest possible use is proved from the document appointing the librarian, in which it is distinctly stated that this library was gotten together for the "use of all men of letters, both of our own age and of subsequent times."

The sack of Rome in 1527 by the Lutheran soldiers of the Constable de Bourbon inflicted an awful blow on the Vatican Library, amounting to nothing less than a wholesale destruction of the rarest specimens of early Italian printing. In 1587, however, Sixtus V. built the magnificent hall known as the new Vatican Library, visited by countless sightseers. About the time that Sixtus IV. was building the "old" Vatican Library another noble collection was being made at Urbino, then styled the Athens of Italy, by its Duke, Frederigo da Montefeltro, the friend of Sixtus and of Raphael, a patron of art and literature; the volumes collected by him were chiefly Greek and Latin classics. On the marriage of Frederigo's daughter to the Pope's nephew, Giovanni della Rovere, the della Rovere dukes continued the literary work begun by Frederigo until the last one, dying childless, bequeathed his estates to the Church, these remaining Papal territory until 1870.

The glories of Urbino are past! Much of its famous library was added to the Vatican by purchase, but many of its treasures have been scattered far and wide. A half-century earlier than this Niccolò Niccoli, a private citizen of Florence, has been adjudged the honor of founding the first library wholly free to all by bequeathing his books to his fellow-citizens⁸² (1363-1436). Cosimo the Elder, of the Medici family, one of Niccolò's curators, by paying his debts and thus saving the books from sale, acquired the right of having them placed where he would. He selected the famous Convent of San Marco for their resting place and for their custodian Tomaso da Sarzana, the future Pope Nicholas V. Cosimo added many manuscripts of his own, and journeys to the Orient were undertaken in

⁸¹ Clark, "Care of Books," p. 208 sq. *British Encyclopedia*, ninth edition, art. "Libraries."

⁸² Edwards, however, reserves this honor for Cardinal Mazarin; "Great Libraries," p. 37. Clark adds, p. 240, that *all* mediæval libraries were practically public.

search of others. Thus was formed the nucleus of the great library known later as the "Laurentinian."⁸⁸ At the sack of the Medici palace (1494) this library was dispersed. Many books saved by Savonarola were purchased at his death by Leo X. and taken to Rome. Later, however, Clement VII., himself a Medici, restored to Florence all the books belonging to his ancestors, commissioning Michael Angelo to build a hall for their reception. Among the most precious of its 9,000 manuscripts the "Evangetista Siriaca," of the sixth century, takes first rank, followed by the "Biblia Amiatina," written by Ceolfridus, an English monk of Wearmouth, and brought by him as an offering to the Tomb of St. Peter. Here, too, is the earliest known copy of the Justinian Pandects with other treasures too numerous for mention. Although many of the later Medici contributed to this library with little religious motive, yet the example had been set them by the Church. Their gifts rest side by side with those from illustrious Cardinals and prelates, and many also taken from monasteries, even before the French invasion. Indeed, the religious spirit of the age is prominent, even when men like Boccaccio and Malatesta bequeath their books on their death to religious orders. At Venice, in 1362, we find Petrarch making St. Mark the heir of his, in these words: "Sicosi piacerà a Cristo ed a lui," thus laying the foundation-stone of the "Biblioteca Marciana," although its real founder was Cardinal Bessarion, with Cardinals Grimani and Contarini as its munificent benefactors.

Passing now in rapid review the Roman libraries established between this time and the close of the Renaissance period, we find the library of the Collegio Romano, collected by St. Francis Borgia about 1550; the Barberini (containing letters by Galileo, Bembo, Bellarmine), by Cardinal Barberini, about a century later; the Biblioteca Vallicelliana was founded by St. Philip Neri; that of the Sapienza by Alexander VII., as was also the Chigi, or Alessandrine Library. The Corsini, rich in incunabula, owes its origin to Clement XII.; the library of the Propaganda to Urban VIII., in 1626. The Biblioteca Angelica was formed by Cardinal Angelo Rocca, in 1605, and numbered nearly 100,000 books and manuscripts, while, last among Roman libraries, the Casanatense, founded by Cardinal Casanata, in 1700, formed the great Dominican treasure house of books until its secularization by the Italian Government. Turning to other Italian cities, we have the celebrated Biblioteca Ambrosiana, founded by Cardinal Borromeo in 1609, in honor of Milan's great saint and doctor, a noble memorial on whose contents we long to dwell! Forever memorable in connection with this library will be the name of Cardinal Mai, who first taught the learned world how to restore the

⁸⁸ Bertini, "Storiedi Firenze," p. 493.

original writing of classics palimpsests. The library of the Brera, at Milan, though usually attributed to Maria Theresa, was really of earlier origin and probably owed its beginnings to the Uniliati and later to the Jesuits, who in 1572 were put in possession of the Brera, originally the home of the former order. The libraries of Naples are rich and numerous. The Farnese collection, made by Paul III. in 1570, was one of the noblest, containing upwards of 400,000 of the best specimens of early Neapolitan printing, now appropriated by the Italian Government. In 1675 Cardinal Brancaccio established the "Libreria Brancacciana" in connection with the Church of St. Angelo. That of the "Gerolimi" was originally the possession of the Oratory of San Filippo Neri. Of the other Neapolitan libraries it is difficult to speak at present, their contents having been largely secularized to set forth modern foundations, while of lesser ones, hidden in many a quaint Italian town, we cannot even make mention, although their combined wealth has made Italy for centuries the happy hunting ground for book lovers of all sorts. In this list of Italian libraries we have made no reference to those of universities. We would claim, however, the libraries of the great European universities as distinctly the fruit of Catholic influence, since the university was essentially the outcome of the earlier cathedral and monastic schools, adopted to broaden conditions.⁸⁴ They were founded, moreover, by Papal charter and continued during the ages of faith to be the active exponents of Catholic life and thought. Many of the earliest and most important took their rise on Italian soil and under direct Papal influence, as those of Salerno (ninth century), Bologna, Pavia and Pisa. Libraries here were early formed.

Of the twenty-one universities of Germany, *all* have libraries, mostly coëval with their foundation.⁸⁵ Could we enter into their history we would find Catholic kings to have been their nursing fathers and queens their nursing mothers. Of English Oxford, we know Bishops Cobham, De Bury and Arundel with good Duke Humphrey and Kings Henry V. and VI. to have been the chief founders, but a multitude of Bishops might be named among lesser donors.⁸⁶ Among great mediæval libraries we must not forget to note the Biblioteca Corviniana, founded by Matthias Corvinus, son of the heroic John Hunyadi and last but one of the dauntless defenders of Christendom against the Turk, whose 50,000 volumes won for it a place among the then wonders of the world. Founded between 1450-90, it was largely despoiled soon after, and in 1527

⁸⁴ Denifle, "Die Universitäten des Mittelalters."

⁸⁵ British Encyclopedia, ninth edition, art. "Universities."

⁸⁶ Savage, pp. 139-154.

seized by the Turks. Early in the fifteenth century, we note also the rise of *town* libraries in Germany and Central Europe. Here, too, we find evidences of a devout Catholic spirit in the various gifts. As early as 1413 Andrew Von Slomnow, a devout private citizen, founded a library in the old Polish town of Danzig in connection with the Church of St. Mary. His example was followed at Ratibon by Konrad Von Hildesheim in 1430, at Ulm by Heinrich Neidhart in 1440, at Nürnberg by Konrad Kühnhofer in 1445. We have testimony also of similar donations in France.

It remains for us still to trace the rise of several royal and private libraries built up for the "glory of God and the honor of Holy Church" in times when such words still expressed real and vitalizing forces in social Christendom. First among these in time and importance was the library of the French kings, which owed its origin to a request from Pepin le Bref to Pope Paul I. to be "furnished with a few books." So humbly began the library, long and perhaps still the largest in the world. To it Charlemagne made royal additions and committed its future care to his son, Louis. We may trace the existence of this infant library, with varying vicissitudes, through the reigns of Charles the Bald and St. Louis, who both sought to raise it to an estate worthy of the "most Christian King," down to the time of John, captive of the Black Prince, whose own literary zeal seems to have been kindled by that of his prisoner. In the reign of his son Charles V., the collection took more permanent shape and was removed by him to the Louvre. Under Charles VIII. and Louis XII., treasures from Italy poured in, especially those from the libraries of Sforza, Visconti, Petrarch and Greythuisse. A little later, nearly 2,000 volumes and manuscripts from the East were added through the efforts of Lascaris, the Greek exile, who had been invited by Leo X. to take charge of the Greek College at Rome. Under Henry IV., it secured the valuable library of Catharine de Medici. Its later growth was rapid. Under Louis XIV., a golden era opened for it. Finally, in 1724 it was lodged in the Palais Mazarin, which it still occupies. Meanwhile the Mazarine Library had been founded in 1643 by the Cardinal himself and bequeathed by him to the "Collège des Quatre Nations." Shortly after that of Ste. Geneviève had been founded by Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld.³⁷ As all these libraries fell under State control at the time of the French Revolution, their subsequent history can best be told later.

In Austria, we find the Royal Library of Vienna, founded in 1440,

³⁷ The inscription placed over the door of the Mazarine Library (Clark, p. 272): "Publicè patere voluit, censu perpetuo dotavit, posteritati commendavit."

by Frederic, father of Maximilian, while that of the university was greatly enlarged and enriched by Maria Theresa. The Royal Library of Munich, which claims to be the largest in Germany, was founded by Duke Albrecht V. in 1550; that of Ingostadt, now incorporated with it, in 1472. The history of these and other South German libraries is most interesting, being almost exclusively the product of Catholic life and zeal, while those of Northern Germany were built upon the ruin or suppression of the same. Turning to Catholic Spain, we find the Escorial, begun by Phillip II. in 1565, and placed by him under the care of the monks of St. Jerome. While owing to its disturbed condition during centuries of Moorish domination, Spain never attained the literary prominence of other Catholic countries, it was far from being without important libraries. That of St. Isidore of Seville (600-630 A. D.) is described by De Rossi,⁸⁸ while the University libraries of Salamanca, Santiago, Seville, Valencia and Valladolid, numbering from 30,000 to 70,000 volumes, despite the havoc played with them during the Napoleonic wars, the cathedral library of Toledo, the Jesuit foundations of S. Isidro and of Seville, and finally, the Biblioteca Nacional, once the Royal Library, at Madrid (quite distinct from the Escorial), with its 400,000 printed books and 10,000 manuscripts, still remain to testify to Spanish love of letters, generally underestimated. Perhaps few of us associate poor, desolated Poland with preëminent zeal in library building, yet the largest library of its day in Europe was the private one formed by the two Polish brothers, Counts Andrew and Joseph Zaluski, Bishops, respectively, of Cracow and Kief, numbering 262,000 volumes, but which had hardly been collected and housed ere it was seized and carried off to enrich the library of St. Petersburg!

One more royal library remains for mention, that of the kings of England, before we reach the era of the "Great Pillage." This library had always been rather a backward affair. "It is unquestionable," says Edwards,⁸⁹ "that the kings of England cannot be praised for any distinctive love of literature, or any conspicuous zeal in its encouragement." Certain kings had given generously to Oxford and Cambridge, but, with the exception of state papers and charters and some attempts at book collecting by the Black Prince, England could boast of little in the way of a royal library till the time of the seventh Henry. The Duke of Bedford, it is true, Protector during the minority of Henry VI., had collected a large library in France, mostly pillaged from the Louvre, while Cardinal Beaufort, another uncle of the king, had gathered a similar collec-

⁸⁸ Quoted by Clark, pp. 43-45.

⁸⁹ "Great Libraries and Their Founders," p. 144, p. 157.

tion. The Cardinal's library was bequeathed to Oxford, but much of the Protector's came finally to the King. With Henry VII., however, love of literature was checked by avarice. The former sometimes conquered, and he collected at Greenwich a library containing the princely number of 341 volumes and 329 manuscripts. Also one at Windsor, catalogued as containing 109 volumes, these last "magnificently bound in crimson velvet." To this inheritance Henry VIII. fell heir. This monarch, too, was a lover of books, yet spent little on them, as his accounts show. Nevertheless, before the close of his reign, his royal library had vastly increased in size. "Library and Jewel House," adds Edwards, "tell the same tale." They show conclusively that:

" 'He was to wit a stout and sturdy thief,
Wont to rob church's of their ornaments.' "

"Some of his finest jewels were plundered from monastic houses. Some of his finest books were the spoils of monastic libraries. Among the royal manuscripts now before me are some which were once shown with pride by the cowed librarians of Lincoln, Bury, St. Edmunds, Ramsay, Worcester, Jerveaux and Sempringham." In short, we have reached the era of the "Great Spoliation," which must be told under its own heading.

THE LIBRARIES OF MODERN EUROPE.

We have now reached the era of the "Great Spoliation," or, as it has been more euphemistically termed, the "Secularization" of Pre-Reformation libraries, and to make good our claims as to the Catholic substratum of the greatest collection of modern Europe we must make a rapid review of their number and briefly investigate their sources. Until well within the beginning of the present century the National Library of Paris, with its 2,600,000 bound volumes, and almost innumerable pamphlets, manuscripts and documents, led the way as incontestably the largest collection of books in the world; the Library of the British Museum, which till then ranked second in Europe, now claims to have equaled and even out-distanced its rival. When volumes mount up into the millions their enumeration becomes no light matter. Much, too, depends upon the manner in which the "count" is made, as we will realize when we remember that one-quarter million bound newspapers form part of the yearly increase at the British Museum. Leaving the matter of precedence, then to experts, we merely place these two libraries side by side as the largest in modern Europe. Third in numerical importance comes the Library of St. Petersburg, now Petrograd, founded by Peter the Great in 1714. The Royal Libraries of Munich

and of Berlin are contestants for the fourth rank. While none of the Italian libraries is the numerical equal, in printed works, of these great leaders, yet in the number and value of their ancient manuscripts and otherwise unique contents they far surpass them, even if the valuation be taken merely on a monetary basis.

Following in the wake of the two great German collections we may mention the Imperial and University Libraries of Vienna, whose united wealth may be placed at about one million volumes. Below this limit the number of libraries multiplies rapidly. The Bodleian, England; the Biblioteca Nacional, with the Escorial, at Madrid; the departmental libraries of France, many noble ones in old German universities rise up before us, with numerous others, of which we can only mention the most general outlines, yet such as supply, nevertheless, no uncertain index as to their connection with earlier foundations. As we have traced the formation of libraries in Catholic Europe through centuries of patient care, so we have now to consider the sad process of their dispersal through religious bigotry and personal greed before we can enter upon the reconstructive period in which the libraries of modern Europe took their rise, and in which the older material, arbitrarily appropriated, was incorporated with the new. We will begin our survey of this period of spoliation with the confiscation of the monastic libraries in England, since here the work of destruction was most drastic and complete and the traces of former ownership most carefully obliterated, so that but for the testimony of a few early witnesses and the recent efforts of modern "antiquarian societies," tardily aroused to a sense of the nation's guilt, it would be most difficult to estimate, at all adequately, its debt to its Catholic past. The "Great Pillage," as it has been aptly termed by a clergyman of the English Church,⁴⁰ was executed under State legislation, in the name of progress and reform.

Clark, in his "Care of Books,"⁴¹ tells the sad story of its effects. "I hope," he writes, "I have succeeded in showing that the fifteenth century was emphatically the 'library era' throughout Europe. Monasteries, cathedrals, universities and secular institutions in general vied with each other in erecting libraries, stocking them with books, and in framing liberal regulations for making them useful to the public. To the development of study in all directions, the sixteenth century offers a sad and startling contrast. In France, the Huguenot movement took the form of a bitter hostility to the clergy, which, after the fashion of the day, exhibited itself in a very general destruction of churches, monasteries and their con-

⁴⁰ Rev. Augustus Jessop.

⁴¹ Chap. viii., p. 245 and sequence.

tents, while England witnessed the suppression of the monastic orders and the annihilation, as far as was practicable, of all that belonged to them. I have shown that monastic libraries were the public libraries of the Middle Ages. More than this, the larger houses were centres of culture and education, maintaining schools for children and sending older students to the universities. In three years, between 1536 and 1539, the whole system was swept away as thoroughly as though it had never existed. The buildings pulled down, the materials sold, the plate melted, the books either burnt or put to the vilest uses to which literature can be subjected. Upwards of eight hundred monasteries were suppressed, and as a consequence upwards of eight hundred libraries of varying size and importance were done away with. By the year 1540 the only libraries left intact in England were those of the two universities and the cathedrals of the old foundations. . . . How great the loss was has probably been recorded by more than one historian, but, for the moment, I can think of nothing more graphic than the words of that bitter Protestant, John Bale, a contemporary who had seen the old libraries and knew their value. The loss of the libraries themselves proclaims that worthy, had not mattered so much, 'beynge so many in nombre. If there had been in every shyre in Englande but one solempne lybrary to the preservacyon of those noble workes and preferment of good lernynges in oure posterite, it had ben yet sumwhat. But to destroye all without consyderacyon is, and ever will be, unto Englande forever, a most horryble infamy amonge the grave senyours of other nations. A greate nombre of those whych purchased these superstycouse mansyons, reserved of those lybrary bokes, some to scour their candlestycks, and some to rubbe theyr bootes. Some they sold to grossers and sopesellers, and some they sent over see to the bokebynders, not in small nombre, but at tymes whole shyppesfull, to the wonderynge of the foren nacyons.' " "The universities," continued Clark, "though untouched by the suppression, were not allowed to remain long at peace. In 1549, commissioners were sent to Oxford and Cambridge by Edward VI. They considered that it lay within their province to reform the libraries as well as those who used them, and they did their work with a thoroughness that under other circumstances would be worthy of commendation." Anthony Wood,⁴² the historian of Oxford, has told us in periods where "sorrow struggles with indignation, how the college libraries were treated, how manuscript which had nothing superstitious about them except a few rubricated initials, were carried to the market place on biers and there consumed." Macray⁴³ gives an almost identical ac-

⁴² Wood, "Hist. Antiq. Oxien.," Vol. II., p. 106.

⁴³ Macray, "Annals of the Bodleian," second edition, p. 6.

count of the treatment meted out to the library of the university. This library, "now the central portion of the Bodleian," had been completed about 1480. It was well stocked with manuscript, the finest given by Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester. "Yet in this home of all that was noble in literature and splendid in art did this crew of ignorant fanatics cry 'havoc' with such success that only three of the Duke's manuscripts now remain in situ." Yet amid all this wanton destruction much was saved, and it is precisely of these survivals that it concerns us to speak. As we have already seen, King Henry and his myrmidons were shamelessly eager to enrich themselves at the expense of the nation. John Leland, the King's emissary, had already been commissioned to examine the libraries of cathedrals, abbeys, priories, colleges and other places wherein the records of antiquity were kept. But feeling his powers were insufficient to save much priceless material from destruction or theft, he wrote to Cromwell to extend his commission to collecting books for the King's Library. "The Germans," he says, "perceiving our desidi-ousness and negligence, are daily sending young scholars hither who spoil the books, cut them out of libraries and returning home put them out as monuments of their own country."⁴⁴ To the King's Library then, in London, were sent the "choicest volumes of St. Augustine's Abbey," with a goodly stock of others, for which Leland takes no little credit to himself as having "conserved" for the "most magnificent libraries of his majesty's royal palacis."⁴⁵ After Henry and his ministers, the Archbishops Cramner and Parker were the greatest beneficiaries of this literary spoil, and many a sumptuous volume or hoarded collection found its ultimate resting place in Lambeth, as its library still testifies. Thus, the Prior⁴⁶ of Lanthorn, with great risk and difficulty, had saved some of the books of his little community only, alas, that they might pass finally into the Archbishop's hands.⁴⁷ Parker made no secret of his acquisitions in this line, nor of the iniquitous means whereby he accomplished his ends, and formed out of other men's goods an "unusually large library, quite priceless in character." The purloiners of the age were indeed legion, but the two great reservoirs, into which numberless lesser tributaries found their way, were England's two greatest existing libraries; that of the British Museum and the Bodleian. Of the latter we do not need to speak directly, since it is generally acknowledged to be a "restoration" and its story has been eloquently

⁴⁴ Wood, "Athen. Oxon.," Vol. I., pp. 82-83; quoted also by Maitland, "Dark Ages," p. 285.

⁴⁵ Savage, "Old English Libraries," pp. 69-70.

⁴⁶ Dr. Montague James, "Manuscripts in Library Lambeth Palace," pp. 1-16. (Cambridge Ant. Soc. Pub., 33.)

⁴⁷ Priory near Gloucester, not the Abbey.

told in Macray's "Annals of the Bodleian." We will devote our attention to England's supremely greatest collection of books and show what part her pre-Reformation libraries, rifled and dismantled, have had in its formation. Although not organized under its present title until 1753-57 the history of its sources carries us back over three centuries, that is to say to the era of the Great Spoliation.⁴⁸ As originally founded, it consisted of five component parts, of which four were drawn from earlier and Catholic sources. These four components were: (1) "The Cottonian Manuscripts," (2) "The 'Old Royal' Library," (3) "The Arundel Manuscripts," (4) "The Harleian Manuscripts," the fifth and only originally post-Reformation contribution being the "Sloane Collection." Sir Robert Cotton, the original collector of the library known by his name, was born in 1570, and was one of those who petitioned Queen Elizabeth (vainly) for the formation of a national library. He took a leading part in the formation of the first English Antiquarian Society. In 1599 he traveled with the antiquarian, Camden, through Northern England, exploring "many an old abbey" in search of books.

"When that tour was made," writes Edwards, "the evidences of the ruthless barbarism with which the mandates of Henry VIII. had been carried out by his agents lay still thick upon the ground and may well have had their influence in modifying the religious views of such tourists."⁴⁹ This last clause seems added in allusion to the assertion of the Spanish Ambassador, Gondomar, that Cotton was a Catholic, an assertion which has been seriously considered by the historian, S. R. Gardiner.⁵⁰ It is indeed noteworthy how many contributors to the British Museum either were Catholics or labored under the suspicion of so being. Among the Cottonian manuscripts are many priceless treasures, gleaned on antiquarian tours, from suppressed monasteries. The titles of their catalogues give no clue to this fact, since they are somewhat amusingly named from the heads of Roman Emperors which decorated the presses in which they originally reposed. Thus "Nero, D, VI.," represents the Evangelary of Athelstan; Domitian, A, XVII., fol. 96," the Psalter of Henry VI.; "Nero, D, IV.," the Lindisfarne Gospels; "Claudius, B, IV.," Aelfrie's Pentateuch, etc. Before their final gift to the nation the Cottonian manuscripts received additions from Camden, the pages of whose "Britannia" give useful information as to the manner of the acquisition from Dr. Dee, the fortunate recipient of certain spoils from St. Augustine's and other abbeys. The Old Royal Library contained a rich collection of early works. Besides

⁴⁸ Edwards, "Founders of British Museum," Vol. I., p. 13.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

⁵⁰ S. R. Gardiner, "Letters of Gondomar" ("Archæologia," Vol. XII.).

those seized by the royal robber, Henry VIII., it boasted volumes belonging to English kings from Henry VI. and earlier. The Duke of Bedford, Protector during Henry's minority, had culled a rich library during his wars in France, as had also Henry's second uncle, Cardinal Beaufort. This latter was a munificent patron of Oxford, but Bedford's library seems to have fallen to the King. This royal library was refounded, or restored, by Prince Henry, eldest son of James I., whose early death was so great a loss to the English people. This prince purchased and incorporated with the royal library an ancient collection, known as the "Lumley Library," inherited by John de Lumley (born 1530) from his father-in-law, Henry Fitzallen, Earl of Arundel (not to be confused with the later donor of that name), who had profited by the opportunities monastic suppression so abundantly afforded collectors.⁵¹ Into the Lumley collection had also passed a part of Archbishop Crammer's library, and the two were further enriched by the acquisition of the Theyer Library, which included those very books the poor Prior of Lanthorn had so painfully endeavored to save. By the time these combined collections were incorporated into the British Museum they exceeded, we are told, 15,000 volumes.

Passing now to the Arundel manuscripts, properly so called, we find their collector to have been Thomas Howard, great grandson of the earlier Arundel. As that Earl had availed himself of the "golden opportunities which the reckless dispersal of monastic treasures" presented to booklovers in England, so the later Earl traveled abroad, establishing himself in Italy, where he was free to follow his religious convictions and where, between the years 1606 and 1646, he amassed a princely library for his native land. Besides valuable specimens of early printing gathered from Venice, Subiac and Rome, he found access through the ambassador at the Ottoman Porte to the "best libraries in Greece, where were loads of old books and manuscripts."⁵² It was probably at this time that he obtained certain portions of the once famous Corvinus Library, which had not passed into the Imperial Library at Vienna. Later, he purchased the entire Pirckheimer Library, confiscated a century before by the authorities of Nuremberg, Germany. In addition, many magnificent volumes, presented by Popes, Cardinals and great personages, found their way into the Arundel collection—all of which treasure was left, in 1681, to the Royal Society, England, and, after long delay, transferred in 1831 to the trustees of the British Museum.

Into the formation of the Harleian manuscript collection, gathered by Sir Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, entered a number of impor-

⁵¹ Edwards, "Founders of British Museum," pp. 20, 162, 173.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 193.

tant private libraries, English and foreign, dating back to Elizabethan days. Most important among these was that of Sir Simond d'Ewes, contemporary and fellow-collector with Sir Robert Cotton, and the Stow collection of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. Into the details of this accumulation time forbids us to enter. Before its final presentation to the nation it included 8,000 manuscripts, 50,000 printed works and about 400,000 pamphlets, charters, etc., containing material for early English history of inestimable value.⁵³ Of later contributions we will only mention briefly the (1) Grenville collections, noted for its rare incunabula and examples of early Italian printing. (2) The Jesuit libraries, purchased by the continental agents of George III. for the Second Royal Library at the time of the suppression of the Society of Jesus. (3) The manuscripts obtained by Lord Elgin from the "ransacking of the churches and convents of Attica," with the priceless store obtained later from those of Syria and Nitria, when the guardians of the early Fathers of the desert were induced to yield their wealth to English explorers. Later, the Christian world was stirred by the publication of the Ignatian and Clementine Epistles and of Scriptural codices even more precious, with little realization of the debt which British scholars of the nineteenth century owed to monks of the fourth!

Turning now to France we find a double depredation of Catholic libraries: That perpetrated by the Huguenots during the "Wars of the Religion," when libraries such as Corbie were scattered far and wide and others entirely burned. Martène furnishes many sad instances of such vandalism in his "*Voyage Littéraire de deux Religieux Benedictins de la Congregation de St. Maur.*" But the Great Pillage "par excellence" occurred in France at the time of her Revolution. In February, 1790, the National Assembly abolished the different religious communities, and in September of the same year, the provincial tribunals and parliaments met with the same fate. The books of these corporations, said to number between ten and twelve millions, were declared national property and a committee was appointed to consider what should be done with them. In the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*⁵⁴ this estimate of ten to twelve millions is reduced to 6,800,000, but only includes those actually transferred to large repositories. An addition of 93,986 manuscripts and 15,540 incunabula is allowed, with the possible farther one of 2,428,954 volumes now in universities, whose monastic

⁵³ Edwards, pp. 237, 242.

⁵⁴ There is a notable difference between the articles "Library" in the ninth and eleventh editions of the *Britannica*. Much data relating to monastic literature and its transfer is omitted in the latter, also a useful tabular synopsis, giving dates of foundations and hints as to contents. Except for recent statistics, etc., we have preferred to quote the former.

origin is not absolutely traceable. While grateful for these accredited lists of acknowledged "monastica," yet it remains sadly true that as in England, so in France, the change in literary ownership was not accomplished without great loss. The "Convention Nationale," which decreed the "Establishment and Augmentation of Public Libraries," did not meet until four years after the confiscation, and their orders were not always carefully executed. Pitiful tales are told of valuable works sold by the yard, as they lay upon the ground, of precious manuscripts and printed rarities left to rot in the open air or burnt as fuel. It is to the large number of books remaining, however, that the provincial libraries of France chiefly owe their oft-praised wealth. Many of these, as at Douai, Troyes, Besançon, Aix, Nantes, Grenoble and Bordeaux, are very noble, and take rank just below libraries of the first grade.

Many of these libraries, it is true, existed from earlier times, but this fact only confirms our claim as to the existence of pre-Reformation literature in modern collections. In regard to the great *Bibliothèque Nationale* at Paris, no doubt can be entertained of its ancient and Catholic origin, since it is simply the former "*Bibliothèque du Roi*," which traces its descent from Charlemagne and St. Louis, the name only having been changed at the French Revolution. We do not need to repeat the story of its founding, nor of the fostering care it received from early French kings. We will mention only two details of its later life, which show that, like its rival in England, it received direct increment from confiscated monastic sources. Colbert, the Minister of Louis XIV., was one of the greatest of book collectors, and persuaded that monarch to commission Dom Mabillon and other Benedictines to make an exhaustive search through the religious houses of France for manuscript suitable for the King's library. The famous Benedictine journeyed through Melun, Sens, Auxerre, Dijon, etc., visiting Cluny, Cîteaux and other abbeys, the results of his survey being summed up in his "*Iter Burgundicum*." The next year he was directed to proceed through Germany on a similar errand. The output obtained suggested a journey through Italy, and this in turn led to one through Alsace.⁵⁵ During this reign the library increased from less than 20,000 to 70,000 volumes. Again, at the time of the Revolution it was enormously increased both by contributions from suppressed convents and from the inherited family libraries of exiled or guillotined nobles. Another source of wealth to the *Bibliothèque du Roi* was from the many bequests of noted ecclesiastics and the valuable Oriental manuscripts brought from India, China and the Levant by France's devoted missionaries. The

⁵⁵ "*Voyage Litteraire*," Mabillon, quoted by Maitland in "*Dark Ages*," p. 22.

Mazarine Library and that of Ste. Geneviève, which rank next at Paris after the Bibliothèque Nationale, owe their origin wholly to ecclesiastical benefactions, as we have previously shown, the latter having been still further enriched in 1710 by M. Le Tellier, Archbishop of Rheims, with his collection of 50,000 volumes. The only library at Paris which even claims a modern origin is the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, which really traces itself back to the Marquis de Paulmy, in the time of Louis XIV., who devoted all his time and wealth to its acquisition, and at whose death it numbered 100,000 printed works, with 3,000 manuscripts. The great library at St. Petersburg, or, as we should now say, Petrograd, which ranks third in Europe, was begun with the spoliation of Catholic Courland by Peter the Great in 1714. In 1795 the great Polish library collected by the two Zaluski brothers, Bishops respectively of Cracow and Warsaw, and then under the charge of the Jesuits, was carried bodily to St. Petersburg. Since then it has received noble additions, but not the least of these have been from Greek and Oriental convents, the number of Patristic and Biblical codices being very large. The crowning glory of these latter is the "Codex Siniaticus," brought by Tischendorf from the Convent of St. Catharine on Mount Sinai.

Hence we see that of the three largest repositories of books in the world one was founded in Protestant England, indeed, but almost entirely from English Catholic sources, while pains were taken later to procure the best early works Catholic countries could supply. One was founded and maintained by Catholic kings until 1800, then nationalized, but still preserved intact, while the third was founded entirely on spoil from conquered Catholic countries, though later augmented by a remarkably large number of private collections by Slavonic and German scholars and by the Hermitage Collection of the Empress Catharine II. (chiefly French), yet not disdaining the purchase of many valuable incunabula from Italy and the purveyance of manuscripts from Oriental convents of the Greek and Latin rites. In regard to Italian libraries, we have no to prove their ancient and Catholic origin, yet here, too, the work of secularization has been carried on so sweepingly as to disguise as far as may be future evidences of such origin. The movement began with a gradual suppression of religious houses as far back as 1848, the property of such suppressed houses passing after a few intermediate steps to the State. More sweeping acts followed in 1867, but it was not until 1874 that a general secularization of all libraries under religious control was proclaimed. During the

⁵⁶ *British Encyclopedia*, ninth edition, art. "Italy," p. 459; art. "Library," p. 528.

Ministry of Signor Bongi this secularization was carried out and almost all the great libraries of Italy formed under the protecting care of the Church and endowed by the generosity of her children passed under State control, including university libraries, since education was secularized. Meanwhile the Minister of Public Instruction "kept a watchful eye" upon the "literary treasures of the suppressed monastic bodies."⁵⁶ Seventeen hundred of these confiscated libraries, chiefly in the States of the Church, were found to contain two and one-half million books. Of these, 650 collections were distributed among existing libraries; the remainder served to form 415 communal libraries. The library of the venerable Collegio Romano became the "Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele." Later the great Dominican library, the Casanateuse, was seized by the Government, although admission was freely given to the public, the annual number of readers being about 18,000. In Naples the "Nazionale" was formed from the library of Cardinal Scipando, enriched by "many private and conventual collections thrown upon the Neapolitan market in 1848." The Palermo "Biblioteca Nazionale" was formed from the Collegio Massimo of the Jesuits, "enriched" by additions from other libraries of the same order. We need not continue the tale, since the same plan of secularization was adopted everywhere throughout Italy till of all her glorious religious libraries none remained inviolate save only that of the Vatican, the personal property of the Holy Father at Rome, with the world-famous cradle of Benedictine life, Monte Cassino, the latter only escaping confiscation through the indignant protests of Christendom. As in England and France, these literary confiscations were not accomplished without loss and theft. Julius Hare, in his "Walks in Rome," tells a sad tale of volumes and papers piled in reckless confusion on the first floor of the Collegio Romano, being quietly disposed of by the janitor for his personal advantage, until one day the attention of a worthy citizen was attracted by finding his morning's supply of butter wrapped in an autograph letter of Columbus! and the mischief was traced to its source.⁵⁷

Turning from Italy to those strongholds of Catholicity, Southern Germany and Austria, we still find the same secularization of Catholic libraries, although here much has been spared. The Royal Library at Munich, itself of pre-Reformation date, received large accessions in 1803 from "disestablished monasteries," 1803 having been in Germany an era of disestablishment, following as a species of tidal wave in the wake of the French Revolution. Many especially of its rich incunabula and rare musical manuscripts were derived from this source. In like manner the University Library of Ingol-

⁵⁷ See "Collegio Romano," Hare, "Walks in Rome," Vol. I.

stadt, founded in 1472, but removed early in the nineteenth century to Munich, participated in the same divided treasure. The public library of Stuttgart, of so-called modern formation, owes its fame almost exclusively to its collection of over 7,000 mediæval Bibles. The library at Darmstadt, though modern, was built upon the foundation of an older library. The ducal library at Gotha, established by Ernest the Pious in the seventeenth century, is largely drawn from "monastic collections."

In Austria the wealth of monastic libraries is still very great. Dr. J. Grant Wilson, returning from his literary tour of investigation, made in the early nineties, speaks of "the hundred or more monastic libraries in Austria, varying in size from 1,000 to 80,000 volumes."⁵⁸ Of these, the largest as well as the oldest is that of St. Peter, at Salzburg, founded by St. Rupert in the sixth century, which possesses 60,000 books, with 20,000 incunabula. Next in point of antiquity comes Kremsmünster with 50,000 volumes, Lambach with 22,000, Admont with 80,000, Melk with 60,000. Dr. Petzhold, the great authority on German libraries, mentions in his report of 107 libraries 56 possessed of over 5,000 volumes.⁵⁹ But in countries so wholeheartedly Catholic as Southern Germany and Austria have always been we do not need to draw specific attention to monastic literature, except as confirmatory evidence of its wealth, since the whole output is Catholic and has come down to us from the ages of faith. In Northern Germany, on the contrary, Lutheranism began its religious life with the sweeping destruction of monastic houses and property. Catholic universities were denied subsidy and their libraries removed to newly founded Protestant ones.⁶⁰ Did space permit, it would be most interesting to follow in detail the history of the Imperial Library at Berlin. We should find it almost identical in outline with that of the British Museum—i. e., founded originally on appropriations from Catholic sources. A little reflection will show us it could hardly have been otherwise, for of all the German States Prussia was the latest in development, its inhabitants remaining pagan till far into the thirteenth century. As late as 1257 Ottokar, King of Bohemia, led a crusade against the heathen "Preussi." When the "Great Elector" in 1661 founded his library, choosing Berlin as his capital, it was a small provincial town, whose citizens spoke Wendish! At this date the terrible Thirty Years' War had but recently ended (1648). Germany was in a state of inanition. More than a century was required to recover from a contest which had reduced the population from thirty millions to

⁵⁸ Dr. J. Grant Wilson, "The World's Largest Libraries" (monograph), p. 39.

⁵⁹ Petzhold, "Katechismus der Bibliothekenlehre," Leipzig, 1871.

⁶⁰ Denifle, "Die Universitäten des Mittelalters."

eight millions, turned the fairest provinces into blackened and dreary wildernesses and brought out the wild beasts of the forest to prowl through the streets of towns! The great writers of Germany had not yet been born, and anything like native literature was unknown in Prussia. That a famous library could be founded at such an epoch surely indicates that the founders drew from earlier sources. We know where such books were preserved; we know, too, that from the first establishment of the printing press for fully a century later its efforts were directed to printing and publishing these works of the past. Not till this task was fairly accomplished did modern works begin to claim their attention. It seems evident also that a library rich in manuscript literature—Berlin boasts over 16,000—Incunabula, rare Aldines and other early editions, all of which ceased to be produced before or shortly after its foundation, must have borrowed from the past, though time forbids us to trace the course of their acquisition.⁶¹ For such details we must refer our readers to Petzhold's "Katechismus der Bibliothekenlehre" and two valuable works of Dr. Edwards, "Memoirs of Libraries" with "Great Libraries and Their Founders."

The lesser libraries of North Germany still date largely from mediæval times. The cities of Dantzic, Marienberg and Koenigsburgh belonged originally to Poland, and their libraries were founded either by Catholic Poles or by the Teutonic Knights. Those of the Rhineland, Aix, Strasbourg and Frankfurt are all early. That of Leipsic, in Saxony, dates back to 1409. The library of Dresden, indeed, was of post-Reformation date, but is so famous as a treasure-house of all that is rare and artistic in early book work that we do not need to prove its debt in this respect. Moreover, the art-loving sovereigns of Saxony abjured the Lutheran faith and returned to Catholicity in 1697. The "Bibliothèque Royale" at Brussels is chiefly drawn from two sources—the famous collection of the "Ducs de Bourgogne," which was really the library of the Austrian rulers of the Low Countries, which had accumulated for centuries, and that of the Bollandists, "acquired" about 1830, united with the Royal Library in 1837. The libraries of Ghent, Louvain and Liège are or were admittedly Catholic in foundation and character. It may surprise some to learn that Spain's National Library outranks that of Belgium, standing thirteenth on the European list, while that of Brussels stands nineteenth.⁶² As no one will dispute Spain's

⁶¹ When Frederick the Great determined to erect a new building for his library, till then housed in a wing of his palace, he told the architect to choose a chest of drawers as his model. In this ugly building they remained until just before this present war. The opening of the present beautiful new library designed by Ihne, March 22, 1914, was attended by our Ambassador, Gerard.

⁶² "World's Largest Libraries" (monograph), p. 52.

Catholicity, however, we will add nothing to the brief outline already given of it. In closing this attempt to indicate the Catholic origin of Europe's great modern libraries we would fully recognize their marvelous increase in content during the few last centuries. But we may be tempted to ask ourselves whether *values* have increased in equal ratio. Will the volumes running up so rapidly into the millions retain their places for centuries to come and become the glories of their respective repositories as the old pre-Reformation folios have done? Leslie Stephen⁶³ tells us that "not one author in a thousand can make his voice audible at the distance of a generation," while J. Grant Wilson⁶⁴ adds that "much which comes from the press represents a tremendous waste of human effort and energy melancholy to contemplate." Such thoughts as these must give us pause. At least they will enable us to feel that the Church will centuries before the invention of printing could inspire men to form such libraries as the "ages of faith" produced and later could utilize the press for such noble work as that to which early printing attained in Germany and Italy may well be reverently and proudly hailed by her children as preëminently the patroness of literature.

E. VON RYCKEN WILSON.

⁶³ "Duties of Authors;" address, London Ethical Society, February, 1894.

⁶⁴ "World's Largest Libraries" (monograph), p. 50.

THE BALKANS AND THE WAR.

IT WILL hardly be denied that the nursery of the present world war was the Balkan States, and this being granted, there will not be much difficulty in conceding that the cradle of it was Macedonia, which Lord Lansdowne once said was "a standing menace to European peace and the most dangerous spot in the danger zone."

The Balkan States differ from the Great Powers not only in being small nations, but in being uncertain of their own limitations. They have no fixed boundaries and do not know on which side, if any, they will be allowed to expand when peace is made. For them, therefore, the eastern front is more important than the western. They are more interested in the defeat of Austria, not to speak of Turkey, than of Germany. If Bulgaria had thrown in her lot with the rest of the Balkan States, they would have been equal in strength to one of the great Powers, but Bulgaria's defection was a great blow, not only to the Allies, but to all these smaller nations in particular. The whole existence of each and all of these States was at stake when they joined in the war, so they were perforce obliged to think of what they believed to be their own individual interest. This was the reason why Bulgaria and Roumania, a small nation, though not a Balkan State, sat on the hedge so long, and then decided as each conceived to be for their own advantage.

Fortunately for them, many of these nations are very hardy and die hard, and are apparently indifferent to pain; they certainly bear it most heroically. The Serbians in particular fought through the first winter of the war in those mountainous districts, where the cold is intense, without great-coats and without shoes or boots; they had only sandals, and they suffered more from frost-bite, which is agonizing pain, than from wounds, and they bore the most painful operations without anæsthetics.

Three great facts have dominated the situation in the Balkan States for generations. First and foremost, the rule and oppression of the Turks for centuries; second, the self-interested interference of the Great Powers, and, third, the awakening of the spirit of Nationalism and the assertion of their rights in all these unhappy countries. Before the present war Serbia, under Kara George, had achieved her liberation, but she was the only one of these States, if we except Montenegro, that had done so. Nationalism, which is now the policy and aim of all these States, owes

its origin to Napoleon, who formed from the Southern Slav provinces the State of Illyria, with its capital at Laibach, whose poets were the Slovene priest, Vodnik, and the Montenegrin Prince-Bishop, Peter Petrovic Njegos. It was French influence also which stirred Roumania to assert her nationality and made her realize her Latin origin, just as it was English influence which stirred Greece to remember her former greatness and reassert herself, and Russia who helped Bulgaria in the same cause.

Austria and the Hapsburgs have one redeeming fact to their credit until the present war. They have always sided with the Christians in the Balkans and protected them from the Turks, but political considerations have now made Turkey their ally, and these small and for the most part Christian nations their enemies. We say for the most part Christian because it must not be forgotten that there is a very large Moslem population in Bosnia and a good many Moslems are in Albania and scattered about among the other Slav nations. The inhabitants of these States are all peasant nations, democratic, owning their own land, having no aristocracy, the Turks having exterminated the nobility, and there is a very small middle class.

Before the war we heard a great deal of Greater Serbia, by which was meant the union of Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia and the Slovene districts in Austria. These if united were to form a large kingdom within the Austrian-Hungarian Empire, but this dream of Ugo-Slavism, as it was called, is over now so far as Austria-Hungary is concerned.

Bulgaria, which has been called the Judas of the Slav nations, has refused to join in the struggle for Pan-Slavism.

Bosnia and Herzegovina, which were annexed by Austria in 1878, are Serbo-Croat purely and are far from contented with Austrian rule, although they prefer it to Turkish government, unless they adopt Islam, as most of the Bosnians have done, from political reasons. Dalmatia also is pure Slav. The Croats, Serbs and Slovenes all feel they are one people, and that united they would make one strong nation, and in considering them we must never forget that their national instincts are stronger than their religious feelings. The churches in all these countries are more or less political instruments, generally more than less. The Serbians have a proverb which accurately defines this characteristic: "He is my brother, no matter what his faith may be."

The terms Croat and Serb are now used more in an ecclesiastical sense rather than in a political meaning. The Croats are Catholics and use the Latin alphabet; the Serbs are Orthodox and use the

Cyrillic characters. The great champion of Southern Slav unity is the Catholic Bishop, Strossmayrr. It was in the seventh century that these Southern Slavs spread from Slovenia, now an Austrian province on the northwest, to Bulgaria, on the southeast, inhabiting all these countries, Slovenia, Croatia, Dalmatia, Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, all speaking the same language and approximating in numbers to their present neighbors, the Magyars.

Christianity was introduced to these States from two opposite sources—the Croats were converted to Catholicism from Salzburg and Aquileia; the Serbs to the Orthodox Church from Byzantium, and gradually the names Croat and Serb have, as we said, come to be used in a religious rather than in a political sense.

All these nations have always been handicapped by their geographical positions, and the conditions which this imposes upon them—the numerous mountain ranges of the Balkans, the rapid rivers, and the rocky soil have hindered agriculture as well as commerce, and with the inaccessibility from the land of almost all the Dalmatian ports, have been serious drawbacks to trade. Montenegro is fortunate in this respect; her one seaport, Antivari, has an imposing harbor, but the Black Mountain rises immediately behind it, which, while on the one hand safeguarding the country, denies it railway development.

The Croats flourished till the beginning of the twelfth century, when they were annexed by Hungary. Dalmatia came under Venetian rule in 1420, but is now a crownland and kingdom of the Austrian Empire. Serbia attained the zenith of her prosperity in 1336-1350, under the Czar Stephen, but lost her independence in the battle of Kossovo, when she was defeated by the Turks. The Croats and Slovenese have always remained Catholic, and came under the Hapsburg rule, while the Turks ruled Serbia and Bosnia, till, with the aid of Russia, Serbia regained her independence. In the twelfth century the Armenian heresy penetrated into Bosnia, when the perverts to it were called Bogumils, and most of the Bosnian nobles embraced this faith. In the fifteenth century the Bosnian landowners adopted Islam, and prosperity followed this course, though it fluctuated with the fortunes of Turkey. After these general remarks it will be more convenient to deal with each of these Balkan countries separately, and we will begin with Serbia.

SERBIA.

Serbia in a sense is a second Belgium, both countries being conquered and occupied by the Central Powers. Through Serbia, Germany hopes to advance to her real objective, India, and in the

opinion of some writers, who are bold enough to venture into the dangerous realm of strategy, it is through Serbia rather than through Belgium that we can best hope to conquer Germany. Be that as it may, Serbia was the chief obstacle in the way of the Germanic powers to the East. She stood between Berlin and Bagdad; that is why they hate her so bitterly.

Old Servia included Bosnia, Montenegro and Herzegovina. Its centre was in the plain of Kossovo, and it extended to the north of that, and under its last Emperor, Stephen Dushan, it covered the whole Balkan Peninsula except Constantinople and Salonica. On Stephen's sudden death in 1356 his empire collapsed on the fatal field of Kossovo. The Serbian aristocracy fled to Montenegro, Bosnia, Hungary and Macedonia, and Turkish rule prevailed over the former Serbian empire.

The Serbians have had more fighting than all the Balkan States, which is saying a good deal, and up to the present moment they have lost more, the latest news of them being the atrocities they are suffering at the hands of the Bulgarians. They fought Bulgaria in modern times in 1885, in 1912 and now again 1916-1917. They fought the Turks three times in the nineteenth century and twice in this. Austria has been their enemy, besides Turkey and Bulgaria, for generations.

Serbia attained her independence again under Kara George, whose murder in 1817 was the first of those dynastic crimes which have stained Serbian history. The murder of Michael Obrenovitch was the second of these crimes, the murders of King Alexander and Queen Draga the third, and the assassinations of the Grand Duke Ferdinand the last, and the ostensible but not the real cause of the present world war.

The Obrenovitch Kings, Milan and his son, Alexander, with his wife Draga, were pro-Austrian, and this was the cause of the deposition of Milan and the murder of Alexander and Draga, a crime which for a long time blackened the reputation of Serbia in Europe, but though inexcusable, it was done in that struggle for the life and nationalization of small nations for which we are now supposed to be fighting. So long as Serbia was under Austrian domination she could not hope to be a free country, and so long as an outlet to the sea was denied her, her hands were tied and her commercial and economic prospects crippled by Austria on the one hand and by Turkey and Bulgaria on the other side. In 1918 the Serbian Prime Minister, Pasich, achieved a great triumph when he succeeded in getting Turkey to allow his country to export through Salonica. A vital necessity for Serbia when peace is made is a seaport.

The Serbians are a democratic nation. The present royal family

of the Kara Georges were originally swineherds and that not so many generations ago. The peasants have charming manners; all Serbians are naturally kind and courteous, and women are safer in Serbia than in many other European countries. It is almost unknown for a Serbian soldier to molest a woman. All who have nursed Serbian soldiers speak of their gratitude, their gentleness, patience and the marvelous courage with which they bear terrible pain and suffering. In addition to this they have the highest military qualities. They love the French and English and all English-speaking peoples, and think that the English will never forsake them and their cause.

They are as devoted to art and to poetry as they are to war and are very sentimental. Their national songs are handed down from generation to generation. They have all the dreaminess which characterizes the Slav nations, but they are more progressive than the other Slavs and look towards Western civilization.

Their religion is Orthodox, but like all the Eastern Churches, the Serbian Church is independent and has a liturgy and ritual of its own; Mass is said in the Slav language. The Serbians, the peasants especially, are strongly attached to their Church, but quite as much, if not more, because it is a national organization as from any religious or ecclesiastical reasons. This is true of all the Eastern Churches, and they tend more and more to become political institutions. Recent travelers in Turkey tell us that much of the fanaticism attributed to the Turks is not due so much to Islam as to political reasons. The massacres that so frequently occur in countries under Turkish rule are not so much the risings of Mahomedans against Christians as of Turks against alien nations. This is more and more the case since the coming into power of the Young Turks; the old-fashioned Turk regarded Christians as unclean animals, but the Young Turk regards them rather as political enemies.

All the Eastern Churches are one in doctrine. Even the Bulgarian Church, which is in schism with all the others, does not differ from them on doctrinal questions, but it rejects the authority of the Greek Patriarch and is ruled by its own Exarch.

The head of the Serbian Church is the Archbishop of Belgrade. In Hungary the Serbian Church there is autonomous and under the government of the Patriarch of Carlowitz.

The Serbians, like all Eastern Christians, fast most severely. They have four Lents. Besides the six weeks' Lent before Easter, they have a thirty days' Lent before Christmas and a week or ten days' fast before Pentecost and the Feast of the Assumption. The Orthodox fast is a black fast; fish, eggs, milk and butter are for-

bidden as well as meat, and the Serbians observe these fasts most strictly.

In addition to the feasts of the Church, the Serbians have a feast called the Slava. Every Serbian family and every Serbian regiment has its Slava. In the family it is handed down from father to son and is celebrated on the feast of the patron-saint of the father or in the case of the regiment of the patron-saint of the regiment. It is kept up for three days, the *pièce de résistance* being roast pork, pigs being Serbia's greatest export. During the present war the Serbian regiments celebrated their Slava day whenever it was possible, and at Christmas some of the officers with a priest went to cut down with the usual ceremony the Christmas log and brought it into camp, to be lighted on Christmas Eve after the Serbian custom, for it is the great feature in their celebration of Christmas.

DALMATIA.

Dalmatia is pure Slav. This is proved by the fact that for one thousand years the ancient Slav liturgy was sung in the churches in Northern Dalmatia and in many of the Dalmatian islands on her coast line. In the past both Venice and Hungary fought for the possession of Dalmatia, and in the fifteenth century Venice conquered and won the part on the coast. Two of the most celebrated Venetian painters, Carpaccio and Schiavone, were both Dalmatian Slavs. From 1813 to 1866 Dalmatia was under Austrian rule; from 1867 to 1903 the Serbo-Croats predominated. Three to four per cent. of the population are Italians, and from a strategic point of view portions of the Dalmatian coast are necessary to Italy, but for Italy to annex Dalmatia would be to violate the great principle for which the Allies are fighting, the independence of small nations.

Zara, the capital, is the only place where Italian can be said to be the native language. Educated Dalmatian Slavs speak Italian as a second language, just as educated Russians speak French as a second language, and the educated Greeks of the Ionian Isles, Italian. In the shops, on the quays of the numerous ports, in the streets of the town and in the villages Southern Slavonic is everywhere spoken. The inhabitants are of Croat origin and the religion of eighty-three and one-half per cent. of the population is Catholic.¹

When the maritime parts of Dalmatia were under Venetian rule, as they were from 1301 till 1797, the Doges of Venice took the title of Duke of Dalmatia. When Napoleon united Dalmatia and

¹ Bouillet, "Dictionnaire Historique."

Croatia Slovenia in the province of Illyria he renewed the title of Duke of Dalmatia and bestowed it upon Marèchal Soult.

ALBANIA.

None of the Balkan nations bear a worse reputation than the Albanians for fierceness, cruelty, massacres and atrocities on the one hand, and none have a better name for bravery, honesty, truthfulness and honor on the other hand. Christian or Moslem, whichever he be, the Albanian is to be trusted with untold gold by the master he has promised to serve. He is often a brigand, never a thief, for he looks upon brigandage as a profession and would scorn to steal. Proud as he is fierce, to strike him is almost certain death to the striker. Cruel as the massacres in which he took part in the Morea, in Old Serbia, in Macedonia and Adrianople within recent times prove him to be, he has redeeming qualities, among which his chivalry to women may be reckoned; and his handsome person, his splendid attire, his noble courage, have won him the admiration of most travelers, in spite of the terror he strikes into the hearts of his enemies and the persistence with which he keeps us blood-feuds.

The Albanians call themselves Arnauts and Skipetars; they never use the word Albanian. Two-thirds of them are Moslem and fill high office in all parts of Turkey. The Sultan's palace guards are Albanians, and yet in spite of the high esteem in which the Turks hold them, they hate and despise the Turks and consider themselves a race apart, and they never marry any one who is not of their own race and their own rank, and, when Moslems, they rarely if ever have more than one wife. The Christian Albanians in the North are Catholics; those in the South are Orthodox. Albania was invaded and settled by Slav tribes in the middle ages, and the town of Prisren was formerly the capital of the Serbian Kings.

Twice in its history Albania has been an independent kingdom for a short time—once in the fifteenth century and again under Ali Pasha from 1807 to 1822, but the Albanians seem too wild a nation at present for self-government, capable as many individuals are of administrative power.

The conversion of about three-fourths of the Albanians to Islam is not very sincere. Many villages have a public mosque and underneath it a subterranean Christian chapel, in which they worship quite as devoutly. Their children are frequently baptized as well as circumcised, while devotion to Our Lady is very great and common to both Moslems and Christians, which leads one to think that if they were released from Turkish rule they would soon revert to

Christianity. They are a most warlike people and practically live with their rifles in their hands, and even when engaged on field labor they will sling them on their shoulders and seem to be ashamed to be seen without them. They are nearly always at war with some tribe or engaged in a blood-feud. That they are capable of being famed is shown by the Albanian Sisters of St. Vincent de Paul who are at Monastir, and are as gentle as they are patient and courageous in suffering, and are an excellent example of the educational power and sanctifying influence of the Catholic religion.

It would seem that there is a mystical element latent in the Albanian nature, for the more sincere Albanian Moslems belong to the Bektashis, an heretical sect of Mahommedans, a sort of religious order, whose priests are dervishes and to whose monasteries are attached thousands of lay brethren. They are mystics and strive after a kind of union with God, but their teaching is pantheistical and has been influenced also by Buddhism, and they believe that no life, even of insects, should be wantonly taken. They were founded by a monk named Bektash, and though there is no open schism between them and Islam, the Turks call them atheists and they mutually hate and despise each other.

The Greco-Italo-Albanian question is one that will have to be settled at the end of the war, particularly with regard to the southern frontier and the port of Avlona, which Italy desires and partially occupied in November, 1914, and whose neutralization she will consider vital to her interests, and again with regard to the Epirus, whose inhabitants are Greek in nationality and sentiment, and which province the Powers included in Albania in 1913. The return of M. Venizelos to power will doubtless facilitate matters, as he is inclined to adopt a moderate policy with regard to Albania, whose nationalization will affect greatly both Greece and Italy. There are also differences between Montenegro and Albania which will also have to be adjusted with regard to Skodra, most important to them both.

The feuds between the Montenegrins and the Albanians on the frontier are constant. The Albanians make raids across the border and steal sheep and kill the shepherds, then the Montenegrins have a vendetta against them and do not rest until the crime is avenged. The Montenegrins often win in vendettas where they only number ten to Albanian hundreds. One clan of Albanians are subject to Montenegro and they are loyal to her.

All Northern Albania is Catholic, though there may be a few Moslems among them, and the safest guide for travelers in a country where traveling is most dangerous is a Franciscan friar. The Franciscans in Albania are mostly Neapolitans and they lead a very

hard, strenuous and perilous life, traveling about and saying Mass in out-of-the-way places. These wild Albanian men bring their rifles, from which they are never separated, to Mass with them and pile them up against the walls or hang them on the trees. Sometimes on feast days at the close of Mass they salute with a fusilade from their rifles, firing the bullets, not blank cartridges, up in the air. Mr. Wyon, who has traveled much in Albania and Montenegro, was present at a Mass where this was done near the Montenegrin border of Albania. He was not a Catholic, but he was greatly impressed by the Catholic services he attended in this wild country and by the devotion of the Franciscan friars. On another occasion he was present at a Mass said on a wild plateau surrounded by mountains, some of them snow-peaked, where there was formerly a church, but where not a vestige of it remained but a heap of stones, which served as a bell, and the congregation consisted of shepherds and peasants. The women prostrated, with their faces on the ground, at the elevation and the men held up their hands, their rifles being left where the walls of the former church stood.

The Albanians in their picturesque costumes of white serge embroidered with black, into which the women introduce some red embroidery, made a most impressive spectacle on this wild background of mountains. Sometimes the friar will call the shepherds and other peasants together on the downs and say the Rosary. They teach the Albanian boys to read and write and to sing in the choir, but they cannot teach them not to murder. These terrible blood-feuds are actually considered holy by them and they cannot be taught to abandon the custom. Life is held terribly cheap, indeed, there is an Albanian proverb to the effect that "a man's life is worth the price of a cartridge."²

The Albanians hate the Turks and have vendettas against them, and one clan of Albanians is frequently at war or has a feud against another clan.

MACEDONIA.

In this most dangerous spot to European peace in the Balkan Peninsula the population consists of Bulgars, Greeks, Serbs, Albanians, Vlachs, Turks, Slavs, Jews and gypsies. Of these the Bulgars are the most numerous. They all hate each other, but they all hate the Turks more than they hate each other. This in itself is not a condition conducive to peace; neither does the fact that all Serbian Macedonia (where the Bulgars are the most numerous) is Bulgarian in sympathy and wishes to be under Bulgarian rule, exactly make for unity.

² "The Balkans From Within," by Reginald Wyon.

The Jews are very numerous in Macedonia. In Salonica alone they number 80,000, and here they are a very rich and powerful community, monopolizing commerce and terrorizing the Christians, who fear that any day they will join with the Turks to massacre them. In 1913 Salonica and most of the coast was assigned to Greece, and the interior to Serbia, and, roughly speaking, the majority of the inhabitants on the sea-line, barring the Jews of Salonica, are Greeks and the majority of the interior inhabitants are Bulgars. In the interior the people if asked do not seem to know whether they were originally Serbs or Bulgars. Mr. Brailsford, who has studied the question on the spot, thinks they were neither Bulgar nor Serb, but a Slav people, "derived from various stocks."³ There are villages where the people are Bulgars to-day, but a few years ago were Greek. To the Greek, Macedonia is the country of Alexander; to the Slav, it is a land which for generations and generations his forefathers have tilled. Its cosmopolitan population and its geographical position alike make it a hotbed of contention, and the politician who settles the Macedonian question on a firm basis will be a second Solomon, for the principle of autonomy for small nations does not apply to a country populated by so many different races, where anarchy would probably follow if self-government were granted. Nevertheless, the Greeks of Macedonia look forward to liberation and unification. On one point in this unhappy land, where race hatred is so prevalent and so strong, all the Slav nations are agreed—that is, that the Turk must go and liberation from Turkish rule be one of the conditions of peace. But even here complications arise on religious grounds. Many of the Albanians, Slavs and Greeks of Macedonia are Moslems, and when this is the case they are loosely called Turks, whatever their nationality may be, and then they are opposed to their Christian fellow-countrymen.

Under Turkish rule no Christian in any rank of life is allowed authority over Moslems. As recently as 1906 in the Turkish army a Negro officer, if a Moslem, might command Turkish soldiers, but never could a Christian do so. This has been modified, though to what extent is not exactly known to us, since the Turkish army has been officered by Germans, though before the war, when Von der Goltz was the commander-in-chief of the Turks, he had not the power to put a Moslem private under arrest.⁴

Conversions to Islam arise not from religious conviction, but because converts wish to belong to the dominant class and to be free from the tyranny to which Christians are exposed and to enjoy the wealth and position denied to them so long as they remain true to

³ "Macedonia: Its Races and Their Future." H. N. Brailsford.

⁴ H. N. Brailsford, "Macedonia."

their faith. The unhappy state of Macedonia is best realized by the knowledge that the predominant passion of the people is fear. It has become a disease. People are reported as ill with fear; even the stolid Bulgars, who appear almost insensible to pain, succumb to this fear, which periodically seizes all the subject races of Macedonia. One reason for it is that they never know when a massacre may break out or when a punitive expedition by the Turks be undertaken, for there is no regular police. These expeditions take their place. That the Turk must go from Macedonia when peace is proclaimed seems to be one condition that all the Christian nations there would be unanimous in supporting.

There are very few Catholics in Macedonia, and those there are almost entirely Albanians. The Greeks, Bulgars and Serbs are all Orthodox, though each nation has its own Church, with its own ritual and liturgy in its own language, and the Bulgars are in schism with all the other Eastern Churches. The gypsies, who are very numerous in Macedonia, are nominally Moslem, but when they wander into Bulgaria or Serbia, they invariably profess Christianity, but their religion, whatever it may be, sits very lightly upon them.

The Greek contention that Macedonia belongs to them is based on two grounds, one religious, the other political. On religious grounds they claim Macedonia, because they say that the inhabitants owe their conversion to Christianity and their civilization to the Greek Orthodox Church; on political grounds they say the country is theirs by right of conquest, beginning of course with Alexander the Great. They say "the Slav is the enemy," and this being so, according to them, the Greek Bishops, who are both intolerant and corrupt, persecute the Bulgars in Macedonia in a very cruel way. At a place called Castoria, where the Greek Archbishop resides, a Bulgarian Bishop ventured recently (1906) to enter the town. The Archbishop was informed, and the Bulgar was seized and carried out of the town into one of the forests, and there abandoned in a place said to be inhabited by wolves and bears and Bulgars. It was Turkish soldiers who escorted the Bulgar Bishop thither, but it was by the order of the Greek Archbishop. The Greek Bishops are rarely educated, but this particular man was. Another story told of him is that he blessed the cannon some Turkish troops and his own soldiers were about to use in a massacre of Bulgars.

The Greeks in Macedonia despise the Bulgars and regard them as excommunicated schismatics, because they are out of communion with all the other Orthodox Churches and do not acknowledge the authority of the Greek Patriarch. The Greeks are considered loyal to the Turks, and join with them to oppose and oppress the Slavs; "the Slav is the enemy." The Greeks are the aristocrats and live

in the towns, and Bulgars are driven into the country and their peasantry inhabit the villages. The progress of Hellenism in Macedonia is much affected by the language question. There are, to begin with, two kinds of modern Greek, the written and the spoken language; only the educated classes, and not all of them, know the written modern Greek language, and it differs almost as much from the spoken tongue as modern Greek does from ancient, which the written language approaches. All the Balkan races are good linguists, and in the towns the various races will often speak several languages, while in the villages the Greeks have forgotten Greek and speak mostly Bulgarian, and say this is because their fathers had to learn it to speak to their Bulgar servants and serfs. In point of fact, the struggle of Hellenism in Macedonia is much more a religious than a political question. It is the endeavor of the Greek Church to force all the Slav nations into it, and to do this they will join hands with the infidel Turk.

MONTENEGRO.

This heroic little nation, partly owing to the geographical position of the country, has enjoyed for at least five hundred years its independence; it has never come under the yoke of Turkey or Austria, nor did it ever submit to Venetian rule. It has been usual to date the independence of the Montenegrins from the fatal battle of Kossovo (1389), when the Serbians were conquered by the Turks and the empire of Old Serbia, with which Montenegro with Bosnia and Herzegovina formed part, was broken up. Some modern historians, however, point out that Montenegro for 700 years before the battle of Kossovo enjoyed a great deal of independence in the district of the Zeta, a rich alluvial country, out of which the modern kingdom was formed. From the beginning of the sixteenth century the title of Vladika⁵ was given to the ruler of Montenegro up to 1831; in the Serbian language it meant a Bishop, but a Bishop who united in his person secular and ecclesiastical powers. Vladikas have been compared not inaptly with the Popes in the days when they exercised the temporal power as well as the spiritual, but with this difference: Vladikas were Bishops because they were princes, not like the Pope, who was a sovereign, because he was the Bishop of Rome and the head of the Catholic Church.

The rule of the Vladika until the middle of the nineteenth century was hereditary, and had been so since Danilo, the founder of the present dynasty, made it so, that is for 150 years. This is specially interesting because in the Eastern churches the higher clergy do not marry, and the Montenegrin Church is one of the

⁵ "A History of Montenegro," by F. S. Stevenson. 1912.

Orthodox Churches. The close union of Church and State, which is one of the characteristics of the Eastern churches, enabled Danilo Petrovic Njegus in 1711 to make the office of Vladika hereditary in his own family, instead of elective, as it had been previously. He the founder of the present royal family of Montenegro, was elected Vladika in 1697, and under his rule the country emerged from the obscurity of the two previous centuries, and he raised it to the independence it has enjoyed ever since until the present war. In 1702 the Serbs invited him in his capacity of Vladika Bishop to consecrate a church at a place called Podgorica, which was outside Montenegro and under Turkish rule. The Turks granted him a safe conduct and then treacherously seized him and threw him into prison. They condemned him to death and led him to execution bearing the stake on which they proposed to impale him. The Bishop of Herzegovina intervened and saved his life and procured his release. On his return to Montenegro the Montenegrins retaliated by celebrating their Sicilian Vespers. They seized all the Moslem men of whatever nationality in their country and massacred them, sparing the women and children and any men who forsook Islam and embraced Christianity. This took place on Christmas Eve, 1702. Nine years later Danilo got over the ecclesiastical difficulty of Vladikas marrying by making an exception in favor of the Prince Bishop and made his office hereditary. The Montenegrin Church still continued to be intimately connected with the Serbian Patriarch, although not subject to his authority, but the Vladikas had to go to him or to Carlowitz to be consecrated. In 1857 Prince Danilo, father of the present King, secularized the supreme power and made the Metropolitan an ecclesiastical power only, and since then Montenegrin Bishops have been to Russia to be consecrated by the Holy Synod.

The Vladika Peter I., who lived during the French Revolution, and reigned from 1784 to 1830, is regarded as a saint by the people of Montenegro, and he was a great and holy man. He was consecrated Bishop at Carlowitz and reigned during a critical period of Montenegrin history, for the principality was involved to some extent in the Napoleonic wars, and for two years Montenegro and Russia fought side by side with fluctuating fortunes. Peter did much to establish unity among his own people during the last fifteen years of his life by putting down the blood feuds which were a cause of incessant little internal struggles. When he was an old man of eighty-one he was sitting by a great kitchen fire composing some of these quarrels when he felt death approaching, and had himself carried to a hermit's cell with no fire in winter, and lying on his bed there, died a most holy death surrounded by his chiefs.

In 1875 Montenegro joined Serbia in intervening in favor of the Christian peasants who were Serbs in Bosnia, but they were utterly crushed by the Turks, and so were the Bulgars who had joined their Slav brethren. The Turks acted with terrible savagery, and in consequence Russia in 1877 declared war on Turkey, which was concluded by the treaty of San Stephano in 1879. In 1910 the principality of Montenegro was raised to a kingdom under the present King Nicolas I., at present in exile. Nicolas is a poet and the author of patriotic poems and dramas. He led a most simple life as King, and used to administer justice seated under a historic tree. Before his defeat in the present war he had, however, a Council of State and a Ministry, but the judges frequently consulted him by telephone to his palace. Although the office of Vladika is abolished, Nicolas was credited with some of the sanctity with which the office of Prince Bishop was clothed in olden times.

The Montenegrins have one good harbor at Antivari, where steamers can come alongside the quay, but the Black Mountain rises immediately behind and renders railway development very difficult, while at the same time it safeguarded the independence of the country for centuries. Antivari was assigned to Montenegro in 1878, but it is insufficient for their needs, although they have cleverly succeeded in constructing a small mountain railway across the barrier. The place the Montenegrins have always coveted is Skodra (Scutari), but Skodra is purely an Albanian city, and both these countries need it equally, although the rightful owners are the Albanians. Austria-Hungary is at the bottom of this trouble, as she is of the Balkan difficulty altogether; she has denied Montenegro her lawful outlet to the South Slavonic coast. If the Montenegrins could reach the sea by the Cattaro fiord, Skodra would not be so vital to them if they could have freedom of traffic through it. Albania might be induced to grant this right, if Montenegro would give her a similar privilege in Dulcigno, the port granted to her by Mr. Gladstone. When peace is made and Montenegro is restored to the Montenegrins, freer access to the sea for this brave little nation is one of the problems that will have to be solved, if justice is to be done to a people who have suffered so much in the present European or rather world-wide conflagration.

The Montenegrins have all the charm of the Serbians; they are courteous and well-bred, however lowly their position in life. The peasants live in huts without a chimney, amid choking smoke, which does not appear to affect them. They are fine, handsome men, almost giants, all of them soldiers and most of them decorated with medals. Cetinje, the capital, contains the King's palace, the Bishop's palace and a monastery. There is a wonderful monastery at a place

called Ostrog, which contains the body of St. Vassili and is a great place of pilgrimage. Once a year thousands of pilgrims come to visit the tomb of St. Vassili; they come from all parts of Montenegro, from Bosnia, Herzegovina and Dalmatia. Catholics as well as Orthodox join this pilgrimage, and Moslems are sometimes found among them. The pilgrims sleep in booths. The monastery is in two parts, an upper and a lower, and stands on a high cliff, with the Bishop's palace and a tiny church adjoining. Mirko, the Prince Bishop, father of the present King, once held the upper monastery for ten days with thirty Montenegrins against 15,000 Turks. Then other Montenegrins came to the rescue and surrounded the Turks and slaughtered them by thousands. The Turks called Mirko the Sword of Montenegro.

According to the legend of St. Vassili, the place where the monasteries now stand was shown to him in a vision. He is believed to have come from the Herzegovina, but the Turks have destroyed all the written records of his life, and very nearly on one occasion secured his body, which is believed to possess miraculous powers, and the lame, the blind, the diseased flock to his shrine to be healed. All classes are represented among the pilgrims, beggars, peasants, warriors, richly dressed women from Bosnia and Herzegovina, and even these last may be seen entering the monastery barefoot and all prostrate and kiss the lowest step of the church before entering. All come fasting and on foot and the rich bring presents to the Bishop. The body of the saint lies in a dimly lit chamber, hewn out of the rock.

The sacrament of confession is administered by the Orthodox priests in this chapel in a peculiar fashion. The penitent, if a woman, kneels before the priest, who covers her head with his stole and then reads aloud a prayer from a book to drown the words of her confession. On Sunday the Montenegrin men dance the national dance in a ring round the Bishop, who sits on the top of the steps above them. Then for the feast which follows kids and lambs are roasted whole, and the slopes of Ostrog are covered with booths or tents for St. Vassili's feast. The variety of costumes makes a most brilliant scene; the Montenegrins, who are such splendid-looking men, dressed in their red and gold jackets and blue knee-breeches with a little round blue cap put on at an angle, present a very smart appearance. There is another monastery perched among the mountains at a place called Moraca; it stands on a high cliff with a rapid river at the base and mountains and forests surrounding it. Here, too, the Turks who besieged it were defeated and slaughtered in thousands by a comparatively few Montenegrins. Even in peace time these wild, fierce, but heroic Monte-

negrins are constantly having fights with Turks and marauding Albanians, especially on their borders. There is a Catholic church at Zatrijebah; this is served by Franciscans and attended by Albanians, a clan of whom are under Montenegrin rule. These wild men hear Mass armed to the teeth, with their rifles piled against the walls of the church or hanging on the trees outside, and with the rifles hangs a trumpet to give the alarm in case of need.

At Easter all the chains are removed from the prisoners in the prison at Cetinje for a week, and the King goes to the prison every Easter to examine the sentences on the prisoners, most of whom have killed a foe in a vendetta; some he pardons outright, to some he remits part of their sentence, and others he confirms. These vendettas, which are of such frequent occurrence between the Montenegrins and the Albanians and between one clan of Albanians and another, prove that these two nations are in a lower stage of civilization than the other Balkan races. Before the outbreak of the Great War these two nations had not emerged from the stage of private wars being considered the normal state of life. If Serbia's dream of a great Siberian Empire of the Southern Slav nations is ever realized, these vendettas would cease and Montenegro emerge into a higher state of civilization.

BULGARIA.

Although Bulgaria in June, 1913, attacked her allies treacherously and has since ranged herself with the Central Powers against the other Slav nations, nevertheless she has an equal right with them and Greece and Roumania, with the whole Balkan peninsula in fact, to enjoy racial unity and autonomy; therefore in considering the Balkan States we must not omit Bulgaria, enemy though she be to us and our Allies. Nor must we forget that the true enemies to the union of the Balkan States are the Germanic Powers. United like the United States of America, they would form a formidable opponent to any of the European Powers; disunited, they are as they always have been and always will be, the constant cause of trouble and unrest to all Europe. The Balkan League, which originated in Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria, was broken up by Germany and Austria-Hungary and the Old Russia had a share in its destruction, but Old Russia is no more. The origin of the Bulgars is a subject on which volumes have been written, and many savants have had as many opinions about it: "*Quot homines tot sententiae.*" The three principal of these theories are: (1) that they are pure Slavs, (2) that they are Ugsians or Finns, (3) that they are of Turco-Tartar origin, and the last opinion is the latest pronouncement made by a learned ethnologist on the matter. On one point all are agreed,

that they are a terrible race, and this is no modern opinion. "Bulgares toto orbe terribiles" is based on historic testimony. The reasons for considering them to be Turco-Tartars are historical, ethnological and philological.⁶ Long before this war they were often called Huns, like the Hungarians, and in pre-war days they were said to be the Judas of the Slav nations. They originally settled on the banks of the Volga and called themselves Volgamen; their "b" and "v" being interchangeable, we get Bolgar or Bulgar, but all students of etymology do not accept this derivation; another theory is that Bulgar meant "water-people."

We do not propose to enter into their history here. They have been oppressed by the Turks politically for five centuries and ecclesiastically by the Greeks. Those who fled into mountains remained free; those who remained in the plains, which are rich and fertile and inhabited by the Turks, lost their independence and sometimes their faith. In character the Bulgars are not amiable; they have none of the charm of the Serbs; they are slow, plodding, suspicious, reserved, silent, apparently almost insensible to pain, dour, blunt, without any imagination, driving hard bargains, but hard-working, economical, prudent, cunning and above all patient. Patience is the great virtue of the Bulgars, learned from years of serfdom, and industry is their next best quality. They have a parable to this effect: "When God gave men their Kismet all the nations went to Him to ask for it; the first that went were the Turks, and they asked, as did all the other nations, for sovereignty. The Bulgars were the next to go, and they also asked for sovereignty, but God said that was given to the Turks, so He gave the Bulgars Work, to the French He gave Artifice, to the Jews Calculation, to the gypsies Poverty, and last of all came the Greeks, and like all the others asked for sovereignty, and God gave them Intrigue."

There was published some years ago an excellent book called "The Shade of the Balkans,"⁷ from which the above parable was taken, and it contains a large collection of Bulgarian proverbs, a few of which we will quote here, as they throw some light on the Bulgarian character, and incidentally on that of their enemies: "The Greek will fail because he boasts; the Bulgar through pig-headedness." "God grant that the Greek does not discover your money, nor the Turk your children." Another proverb which perhaps accounts for the silence of the Bulgar is: "With silence one irritates the devil." Another which suggests their industry and self-helpfulness is: "God will give, but He won't carry home for you." Yet another which quaintly teaches the value of prayer is: "God can be held by ten fingers."

⁶ "Nationality and the War;" Arnold Toynbee. 1915.

⁷ Henry Bernard, Dr. Dillon and Slaveikoff. 1904.

Nightingales and roses are both plentiful in Bulgaria, and many of their folk-songs, which are frequently love-songs, mention both. One of their proverbs is a very pretty idea: "Only the nightingale can understand the rose." Bulgarian love-songs are very restrained in character and pure in feeling, but when they deal with married love they are full of the unfaithfulness of the wife. "The Shade of the Balkans" contains a beautiful collection of Bulgarian folk-songs which the Bulgarian poet Slaveikoff, called the Lion of Sofia, translated, after he had collected them, into German, and Mr. Bernard translated them into English from the German. A century ago Bulgaria possessed no literature but the Psalms, prayer books and damascenes. The Turks had burned many of their ancient historical manuscripts, many most valuable, but a large number of folk-songs had existed and been handed down by word of mouth from generation to generation for at least fifteen centuries—i. e., from which the Bulgars first invaded and settled in the Balkan peninsula. Slaveikoff collected thousands of these, and out of them Mr. Bernard has given us a century. They do not rhyme, but although they are not rhythmical, they vary in structure and are not monotonous, but very charming in their English dress.

One or two wedding customs throw a sidelight on the Bulgarian character. After the wedding the bride goes to live with her husband's parents, and for some weeks after her marriage is supposed to keep silence to show her respect for them. In the west of Bulgaria, when the newly married couple arrive at the house of the bridegroom's father, he meets them with a pair of reins in his hands, which he fastens to their heads, as if they were a pair of horses, and drags them into the house with them. There was a previous edition to Mr. Bernard's of folk-songs, made by two sons of a potter in Macedonia, published through the generosity of Bishop Strossmayer, a Catholic, the Bishop of Djakovo, in Croatia; these were printed in the Bulgarian alphabet, that is the Cyrillan, so accessible to the Bulgarian people. These two brothers for daring to discover some Bulgarian songs in Macedonia were delivered into the hands of the Turks as revolutionaries by the Greeks. The Turks threw them into prison, and there they were poisoned and their corpses thrown out and recovered by a Bulgarian, who was subsequently executed for burying them. Among the old Bulgarian prayer books are to be found some lives of the saints and some legends. Bulgarian saints are very numerous; there are no less than twelve St. Ivans of Rilo, one whose claim to sanctity seems to rest on unusual grounds; he was a shepherd who cut off a Turk's head! Three of their saints are personifications of three of the days of the week, which appears to be a pagan survival. St. Nedela or St. Sunday

is said to be venerated also by the Irish. St. Wednesday figures in some legends and St. Petka is St. Friday. The Bulgarians have a saying that "St. Nedela sleeps on the lap of Holy Petka," meaning that he who feasts on Sunday must also fast on Friday.

The Bulgarian Church, as we have mentioned before, is in schism with all the other Eastern churches, though identical with them in doctrine. The Greek Patriarch has excommunicated them, and the Greeks treat them as heretics and persecute them almost as much as the Turks do. At the present time the Bulgars who are occupying Serbia are treating the Serbs with the greatest cruelty, so that it seems impossible for unity ever to prevail among all these Balkan States again, but it is the impossible which sometimes happens.

ROUMANIA.

Roumania is not a Balkan State, neither is she a Slav nation, but as she forms the northeastern part of the Balkan peninsula and lies between Bulgaria and Austria-Hungary and is one of the vanquished nations in this great war, some mention must be made of her here. She consists of three provinces, Moldavia and Wallachia and the Dobrudja, which last was added to her by the Treaty of Berlin. She is a Latin nation. Roumania was a Roman province as long ago as the time of Trajan; her language is one of the six Latin or romance languages, although a good many foreign words, especially Slavonian and French and Hungarian, have been incorporated in it. The Roumanian Church is one of the sixteen Orthodox churches, but the Roumanians are not a religious nation. The peasants, it is true, fast very strictly, but the upper classes lead a very gay, worldly life, or did before the war, so much so that Bucharest, the capital, used to be called the City of Joy. In character the Roumanians are the very reverse of the Bulgars, their neighbors; they are gay, frivolous, pleasure-loving, fashionable, very tolerant except towards the Jews, whom they hate passionately, possessing all the charm of the French, but not the other admirable qualities of that most noble nation. What sobering influence the fiery furnace through which this unhappy nation is now passing will have on Roumanian character is one of the "after the war" problems time only can solve. There are two Catholic Bishops in Roumania, most of the people being Orthodox, but there is a large Jewish population and also a great number of gypsies. Nearly half the Roumanians live in Transylvania, the Bukovina and Macedonia, but a very strong national feeling has grown up in Roumania, and another after the war problem is how her claims to her Austrian "Irredenta" are to be satisfied. The Roumanians are the strongest non-Magyar nation in Hungary, and they are concentrated near

their own country; if Roumania were permitted to incorporate this district of Transylvania in Roumania proper, the gain to her power would be very great, but at the time of writing this seems a vain dream. But the lightning changes of the times we live in are so quick no one can tell what the next move on the European chess-board may be.

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA,

Bosnia is one of the most beautiful countries in Europe, not excepting Switzerland; its mountains and hills, its woods and forests, its rapid rivers, its glorious waterfalls, its rich pastures all combine to make the lovely scenery in which the towns with their pointed gable-roofed houses are most picturesquely situated. It is mostly a pastoral country, though there are mining districts. It was first peopled in the seventh century by Slavs; from the time of the rise of the old Serbian empire it was incorporated in it until the disastrous battle of Kossovo (1389), when the Turks being victorious and the Serbian empire broken up, the Bosnian Serbs came under the Ottoman rule, and remained there throughout the struggles between the Hapsburgs and the Turks, from 1527 until 1878, when the Berlin congress gave Austria-Hungary leave to occupy the two provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina with the Sanjat Novi Bazar, until 1908, when the Austrian Minister, Aerenthal, annexed the Occupied Provinces, as they were called, to Austria-Hungary, thus striking a fatal blow at Serbian hopes of national independence, at which Bulgaria connived and Russia supported Serbia, though not then in a position to defend her actively.

In the twelfth century an offshoot of the Armenian sect called the Paulician heresy penetrated into Bosnia, and most of the Bosnian nobles embraced it and were called Bogumils. They adhered to it through three centuries, although subjected to much persecution from their neighbors, the Croats and Slovenes, who have always loyally adhered to the Catholic Church. The Bogumils appear to have had something in common with the Moslems; at any rate, when Bosnia came under Turkish rule many of the Paulicians embraced Islam from political motives and from that time enjoyed prosperity and political freedom under Turkish rule. About one-third of the population now are Moslems; the rest are either Catholics or Orthodox, the proportion of each and of Moslems varying in the different towns. The Catholics are called Croats, the Orthodox Serbs, and the dress of the women varies so you can tell at a glance to which Church they belong, while the Moslem women are not only veiled, but masked also. The Catholic women both in Bosnia and Herzegovina wear white dresses and long white veils at Mass, and

under the veils white caps trimmed with gold or silver coins and a great many gold and silver ornaments. The costumes of both men and women are most picturesque, for the people have all the Serbian artistic temperament. Both men and women wear flowers at Mass on Sundays and feast days. Sarajevo is the centre of Catholicism in Bosnia; there is a Bishop of Sarajevo, and since the Austrian occupation a beautiful Catholic cathedral. The Franciscans, who were the first religious order to be established in Bosnia, have a monastery here, and there is also a large Jesuit college, to which a good many Jews are admitted as students. Although Sarajevo is the seat of a Catholic Bishop, one of the most celebrated and finest mosques in the world is in this city, the capital of Bosnia. The old Serbian, that is Orthodox, church here is hidden behind a high wall and sunk below the level of the street, as under Turkish rule no Christian church was allowed to show even its roof. On Easter Monday there is held in the courtyard of this old Serbian church what is called the "marriage market," when all the Orthodox Christian girls, dressed in their best beautiful costumes and wearing all their gold and silver ornaments and coins, parade up and down the yard with the youths of Sarajevo. This is a very old custom still kept up; it originated because the Turks would only allow the girls to possess as much jewelry as they could carry on their persons, and this is their dowry.

The East and West meet in Bosnia, and many Moslem customs have been introduced into the Christian churches; for instance, the Christian peasants take a little prayer-carpet, such as the Moslems use, into church with them to kneel upon, and sit on the ground at certain parts of the Mass in Eastern fashion, and prostrate on the ground at the Elevation and hold up their hands, palms turned upwards, at the blessing, which is an attitude adopted in prayer by Mohammedans. There is a famous Trappist monastery at Banja-luka (the Baths of St. Luke), which was established under Turkish rule, when the monks were expelled from France and afterwards from Germany. There are between two and three hundred monks who are excellent farmers and make cheese celebrated all over Bosnia, and a light ale; they also have an orphanage for Bosnian children.

The Franciscans have several convents in various parts. The oldest is at Sutjeska and was founded in the fourteenth century; the church remains still, but all the rest was destroyed in 1658 by the Bogumils who had turned Moslems, but it has since been rebuilt. For sixteen years it was deserted, and the monks hid in caves and in the mountains, but were always to be found when wanted by Catholics. This church was the first in Bosnia to pos-

sess a belfry and permitted to ring a bell, for nothing irritates the Turk so much as church bells.

There is another Franciscan monastery at Fojnika. The Franciscans in Bosnia have good libraries containing many valuable books and rare manuscripts. The Christians in Bosnia and Herzegovina, especially the Croats, that is the Catholics, enjoy much more liberty under Austrian rule, and the Austrians have developed the country and made many railways and excellent roads, but none of the roads lead to Serbia, while the railways were constructed to facilitate the Eastward trend of the Central Powers. Bosnia and Herzegovina are the Alsace-Lorraine of the Balkans, and should be restored to Serbia when peace is made.

CROATIA-SLOVENIA.

These two Southern Slav provinces now belong to Austria-Hungary, to which they are subject, although in all internal, religious and educational and judicial matters they enjoy autonomy. They are united into one kingdom, ruled by a Ban chosen by the Emperor of Austria. The Hungarians only form a bare majority of the population of Hungary itself; that is, they number about 8,600,000, while the other nations number little over 8,000,000; of these 1,991,000 are Slovenes, 189,000 are Croats.

The Croats, although they are Catholics, have been abominably treated by the Magyars, while the Slovenes on the other hand seem to have nothing to complain of so far as their treatment goes, but their nobility are Germans, which probably accounts for this. Of the population of Croatia-Slovenia, 72 per cent. of the population are Catholics. Agram is the capital and is the see of a Catholic Bishop and possesses a university; it is in Croatia, while Laibach is the chief town of Slovenia. Education is slowly advancing, but the Slovenes have never developed a literature of their own: they speak a dialect quite distinct from the Southern Slav. The Croats are ethnologically Serb, and speak the Serbian language. The system of family communities with a *gospodar* at the head prevails among them. Since the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina a strong national feeling has sprung up among both Croats and Slovenes.

The Balkan States have two great needs—the first is capital, the second is education, and the United States of America have contributed largely to supplying both these wants. Capital, as an anonymous diplomatist tells us, was needed not only for large enterprises, but also for smaller objects, such as farms, schools and shops. American money has supplied many of these needs. Again, the Macedonians have been enabled to release themselves from bondage to Moslem usurers by emigrating to America, where they quickly

earn sufficient money to save and send home and pay off mortgages and debts.

Emigration to America is in itself an education to any of the Balkan peasants; there they come in contact with a very high civilization and return enlightened and Westernized, for we must not forget that the bottom of all the trouble in the Balkans is the struggle between Eastern and Western civilization. The tendency of all the Balkan nations now is to become Westernized, and in proportion as this tendency exists will peace become established among them. It is the Turk who is the real enemy to Balkan peace, the Turk and his present Allies.

The United States by the establishment of Robert College in Constantinople has been of the greatest help in promoting the higher education of the Balkan people, particularly of those highly intellectual nations, the Armenians and the Greeks. The diplomatist above quoted says in this connection: "The United States has for a quarter of a century been educating the Balkans from the top downwards, through Robert College. There is probably no educational foundation in the world which has rendered such special services to contemporary progress, or which has kept so closely in touch with the crisis of European politics as this American institution."

By some irony of fate there is, he tells us, writing at the beginning of the present war, scarcely a Bulgar politician who did not receive his education there. Bulgaria, it must be confessed, is the most progressive of all the Balkan nations, and after the Second Balkan War, or the War of Partition, as it is sometimes called, enlisted the sympathies of many of the European powers, which her subsequent conduct in joining the Central Powers and Turkey has alienated.

The above brief summary of the condition of the various countries in the Balkan peninsula, exclusive of Greece, whose circumstances are too well known to require recapitulation, shows a few of the chief factors in the strife. The modern tendency towards the of the war.

The eternal struggle of East against West is, as we have seen, one of the chief actors in the strife. The modern tendency towards the assertion of nationality, and the desire for freedom and independence among the smaller nations, are both very strong, and the difficulties in the way of realizing these hopes very great, involving as they do so many interests, both religious and political, which clash with one another. It seems to the onlooker an impossible task to find a settlement which will do justice to all and satisfy all legitimate aspirations, but as "in the multitude of counsellors there is

wisdom," we must hope that when these counsellors meet to settle the peace terms a wise solution may be found.

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IN THE LAND OF THE TROUBADOUR.

A PILGRIMAGE to Provence, the *Provincia Romana* of the Romans, gives splendid returns. It is a land dowered with historic monuments, ancient and mediæval, full of the breath of song, gay and charming in its life and customs, full of beauty, full of moral sweetness and bearing on its forehead everywhere the chrism of faith. Here the arm of the Cæsars once extended and has perpetuated Roman genius in aqueduct, bridge, theatre, triumphal arch and arena, bearing witness to the practical character of a people who carried their subjugation into Spain, Germany, England, France and the far East. A wonderful empire indeed was the Roman Empire, and to-day when you visit Nîmes, Arles, Carcassonne, Orange and Aix, in Provence, you realize how large and all-embracing was the Roman mind and how widely it differed from that of the Greek.

Perhaps no other part of France has undergone such vicissitudes of fortune as Provence. It has been the theatre of more peoples and changes of government and rule than any other portion of that Gaul once conquered by the arms of Cæsar. Phœnician, Greek, Celt, Roman, Visigoth and Saracen have all in turn occupied some part of it and left traces of their civilization and culture in its soil and life. It is of deep interest to the student of archæology, ethnology, art, literature and government and holds in its keeping a charm for poet, painter and traveler.

Provence of to-day lies between the Atlantic on the west and the Pyrenees and Mediterranean on the south and the Alps on the east and is bounded on the north by a line proceeding from the Gironde to the Alps and passing through the departments of Gironde, Dordogne, Haute-Vienne, Creuse, Allier, Loire, Rhone, Isère and Savoy.

History has been made in its councils and capitals and life has flown in dramatic and lyric currents where its peoples have lived and labored and fashioned society and government according to fixed plans and ideals. There is, however, little to-day to witness in monument or memory to its once occupancy by Phœnician, Greek or Saracen. Its ancient remains are unquestionably Roman in physiognomy.

Yet you meet among its people, notably at Arles, faces as clearly Greek in type as those seen in Corinth or Athens. Yea, even the Celtic type appears here and there to have survived and occasionally the soft, languid and voluptuous eye of that race whose banner went down at Granada before the Catholic Sovereigns of Spain in 1492 greets you.

Provence is indeed a land overflowing with tears and laughter,

where the olive and the vine in the midst of roses and hawthorns seem to consecrate and hold in their keeping memories of the bygone days of chivalry. And what a glory rests in the Provençal skies, soft and dreamful! There indeed there is a touch of infinitude in the setting sun that magnifies the splendor of the landscape: that sun—"the only liar in the Midi," which not only magnifies, but transfigures everything and makes it greater than nature, touches and caresses the heart of Provence with all the tenderness of a true mother.

It is strange but true that the greatest and most ancient city of Provence, Marseilles, the Massalia of the Greeks and the Massilia of the Romans, contains but little of the remains of its ancient civilization. What you do inhale in modern Marseilles is the breath and *aura* of the Orient. There is, however, little witness to the Phœnician and Celt, the Greek and the Roman who once fashioned the dramas of its life when Rome was mistress of the world and Carthaginian triremes sought supremacy of commerce on the waters of the blue Mediterranean.

In the wars between Carthage and Rome, Marseilles, then a Greek colony, aided Rome, but in the civil strife between Pompey and Cæsar this ancient mistress city of the Mediterranean sided with Pompey. In the early centuries of the Christian era the schools of Marseilles became quite famous, and to these Greek schools we owe several editions of Homer. Christianity was introduced A. D. III by St. Victor. The city was ravaged in succession by Visigoths and Saracens, and finally it lost its independence and became a part of the kingdom of Arles.

During the Crusades Marseilles flourished and its commerce extended in every direction. It was a port of departure for the soldiers of the Cross. In these gala days of commerce between the Orient and the Occident the three great rival cities of Marseilles were Pisa, Genoa and Venice.

In 1481 Marseilles was annexed to France. In the war of religions Marseilles stood firmly by the Catholic Church and refused at first to acknowledge Henry IV. as King. In the French Revolution of 1789 Marseilles strongly espoused the cause of the Revolution, and the stirring lines composed by Rouget de Lisle, sung for the first time by a regiment of soldiers from Marseilles, gave the title of "Marseillaise" to that greatest of French patriotic songs.

Marseilles has been the birthplace of many eminent men, amongst others Thiers and Puget. It has colleges of science, medicine and law, which form part of the University of Aix-Marseilles. The Cathedral of Marseilles, built in the Neo-Byzantine style, is a most imposing structure and cost about eleven million dollars.

Hard by Marseilles is the old city of Aix, founded by the Romans B. C. 123. This was the *Aquæ Sextiæ* of Roman days. In the fourth century it became the capital of *Narbonenses Secunda*, and later on, in the fifth and eighth centuries, it was occupied by the Visigoths and Saracens. In the twelfth century, under the houses of Aragon and Anjou, Aix became a great artistic centre and seat of learning. Nor has it in our day entirely lost this prominence. Aix is still the seat of the college of arts of the Aix-Marseilles University and its library has the richest and fullest collection of works and manuscripts dealing with the Provençal language and literature to be found in Provence. A fine statue of Mirabeau, who was Deputy for Aix, stands in the court of the Hotel de Ville.

Indeed, the glory of Provence rests in its mediævalism. From the moment one enters Provence or the Midi, if you will, one is face to face at every step with a wealth of monuments, with a wealth of classical remains across which the finger of history has written through the centuries. These indeed fill the mind with wonder and admiration. Here you find, as in Arles, for example, monuments that testify to the very beginnings of Christianity in France. Constantine fixed his residence at Arles and the old palace in which he lived is still to be seen. St. Trophimus became first Bishop of Arles sometime in the first century, although Gregory of Tours places the episcopacy of Arles as late as A. D. 250. In the fifth century Arles became the primatial See of Gaul. The first council of the Western Church was summoned here by Constantine in 314 for the purpose of dealing with the Donatist heresy. Two other councils of the Church were held at Arles—one in 353 and the other in 1234. The latter dealt with the Albigenses. Arles, however, reveals its early origin—that is the Græco-Gaulish beginnings—more than any other city in Provence. Notwithstanding that it called itself *Gallula Roma Arelas* and flattered itself that it was like its new parent on the Tiber, with its forum and temples, triumphal arches and circus, it could not break away from or conceal its Keltic and Greek origin. Indeed, the very name Arles *Ar-lath*, which means “moist habitation,” is of Keltic signification. The people of Arles pride themselves on their purity of racial descent, and the Arlesian women have been recognized for centuries as the most beautiful women in Europe. Racine and Daudet and Mistral have each paid tribute to the beauty and charm of Arlesian women. To me this beauty seems to flow from a union of the Celt, the Saracen and the Greek. Then, too, there is something to be credited to the fact that the women know that they are handsome, and every Arlesian woman, like the goddess in Virgil, walks a queen.

It is strange yet true that while the men of Arles are clumsy and

small, the women have preserved all their ancestral delicacy and reveal a sort of Attic grace transmitted to them from their mothers. Their costume, which is most becoming, consists of a black skirt, white muslin or tarlatan fichu and a picturesque white cap with a band of embossed white velvet around it, which hangs gracefully at one side. Arles possesses the finest Romanesque church in Provence, the Cathedral of St. Trophimus. By the way, it is worth noting that the Romanesque is the *patois* of the classic architecture with a history singularly analogous to that of the language, developing finally into the eloquent Gothic of our great cathedrals. Of the porch of St. Trophimus the engaged pillars are classic as to their capitals and Romanesque in the half barbaric carving of their bases. The figures in the niches formed by the pillars are Roman in general type, yet with a touch of Byzantine which may be described as the architectural romance dialect of the East.

In 1651 in clearing out the orchestra of the ancient theatre at Arles the Venus of Arles, one of the most admirable works of Greek sculpture, was discovered. It is a reproduction of the celebrated Venus of Praxiteles, now lost. The head and body are almost intact, only the arms being gone. This masterpiece is now in the Louvre at Paris. Lying well to the southwest of Provence is the ancient city of Nîmes, with a population of some eighty thousand, which gives it rank after Marseilles of being the second largest Provençal city. This is preëminently a city of Roman monuments and remains. Indeed, nowhere, not even in Italy, is Roman art and architecture better represented than in Nîmes. The amphitheatre, capable of seating twenty-four thousand people, is wonderfully well preserved. Then there is the Temple of Diana, the *Pont du Gard* and the *Maison Carrée*. The latter is built in the style of the Parthenon at Athens, with Corinthian columns, and is undoubtedly the finest monument of the period of Roman occupation in France, and according to an inscription, it was dedicated to Caius and Lucius Cæsar, adopted sons of Augustus Cæsar, and dates from the beginning of the Christian era. The Cathedral of St. Castor, occupying the site of the temple of Augustus, is partly Romanesque and partly Gothic. It was in Nîmes that Alphonse Daudet, the eminent French novelist, was born in 1840, and a monument has been erected in the city to his memory. Still further to the southwest of Nîmes lie Montpellier, Carcassonne and Narbonne. Montpellier has been for centuries an educational centre of Southern France. Its great medical school dates from 1140 and its law school dates from 1180. After Bologna, Paris and Oxford, Montpellier University is the oldest in Europe, being founded earlier than Salamanca, in Spain; Heidelberg, in Germany; Upsala, in Sweden, and Louvain, in Bel-

gium. Here it was that the Italian poet Petrarch attended school and here it was, too, that Rabelais was once a professor.

Carcassone is the old "*Carcassona*" of the Middle Ages. Arriving in this quaint old city is like stepping bodily into the Middle Ages. A double line of earthy brown walls, three barbicans and forty-eight strong towers, each bearing a name of its own, a moat without, a mighty castle within—this was the "*Carcassona*" of the Middle Ages, and this with little change is the Carcassone of to-day. In visiting this old mediæval city, stowed away in a corner of France, one is reminded of the poet Nadau's pathetic lines beginning with "*Je me fais vieux j'ai soixants ans*":

"You see the city from the hill,
It lies beyond the mountain blue;
And yet to reach it one must still
Five long and weary leagues pursue,
And to return as many more.
Had but the vintage plenteous grown—
But, ah, the grape withheld its store;
I shall not look on Carcassone!"

Narbonne is situated thirty-seven miles east of Carcassone and five miles from the Mediterranean. Here the first Roman colony in Gaul was established and in due time it became a rival of Marseilles. In the days of the Roman Empire the Roman fleet was stationed at Narbonne. One of its chief buildings is a Gothic palace. What a wealth of associations, what a wealth of *memorabilia* linger and cluster around St. Remy, Les Baux, Carpentras, Orange and Vaucluse! How the mind at once reverts to that incomparable French humors, Alphonse Daudet, as Tarascon looms in view. It is claimed by some that Daudet is but an imitator of Dickens, and that had Dickens never lived, there would have been no Daudet. This is not fair to Daudet nor to the genius with which he was dowered. Alphonse Daudet is indeed a true child of the *Midi*. Born under its capricious and caressing sun, his genius blossomed in the warm soil of Provence. Only a Provençal could have written "*Tartarm de Tarascon*" and "*Lettres de Mon Moulin*." These are racy of the Provençal soil, absolutely indigenous and full of the breath and color and spirit of the *Midi*.

Daudet was an intimate friend of Edmond de Goncourt, Flaubert and Zola, and so belongs essentially to the naturalist school of fiction; but as Pellisier in his "*Literary Movement in France During the Nineteenth Century*" tells us, while Daudet is of the same school as Zola, he is not of the same family. This is the way Pellisier distinguishes Daudet as a literary artist from Zola: "Daudet is spon-

taneously optimistical and in this is he distinguished from all the novelists of the contemporary school. There are characters quite as depraved as those of Flaubert and Zola to be found in his works, but we feel by the manner in which he presents them that he despises their bestiality. Now the pessimist who considers bestiality the basis of man's nature is not accessible to indignation."

Daudet's Tarascon is situated opposite to Beaucaire, across the Rhone, each with its castle and, as a writer tells us, "Beaucaire, a grand pile on a crag, Tarascon dipping its feet in the water and sulkily showing to its enemy a plain face, reserving all its picturesqueness for its side toward the town." It is said that Louis IX. of France heard Mass in the old Romanesque chapel of Beaucaire before embarking at Aisnes Mortes, the old port of the Mediterranean, for the crusade to Egypt. The pretty old Provençal poem of Ancassin and Nicolette, which Andrew Lang has translated into English, has its scene laid at Beaucaire.

An interesting old Provençal town, originally a Greek colony founded from Marseilles, is Carpentras. It is one of the most poetic of places and reaches very far back in ancient days. Pliny, the Roman historian, knew of it. By the way, it is worth noting that Pliny the younger, the poet Virgil, the historian Livy the Great, Catullus and Cornelius Nepos the elder were born in Cis-Alpine Gaul and were consequently Celtic in origin. Carpentras was the residence of Pope Clement V. when he was in "Babylonian Captivity," before Avignon was chosen, and it was here that the Cardinals met in 1313 to choose his successor.

North of Avignon, some twenty or twenty-five miles, is the old Roman town of Orange with its *theatre antique* and triumphal arch. This old Roman theatre, the best preserved in Europe, was built during the first century of the Christian era and was capable of seating seven thousand people. It has been enlarged in our day and can now hold ten thousand. The theatre formerly had seventeen entrances and the original stage was one hundred and eighty-three feet in breadth. Every summer some distinguished dramatic company from Paris plays in this old Roman theatre and cheap railroad excursions enable the people from all over Provence to see French dramatic masterpieces interpreted by the greatest actors and actresses in France. Sarah Bernhardt has appeared here in "Phedre," Mounet-Sully in "Edipa-Rex," and in the summer of 1904 in company with a hundred students and several professors from the University of Grenoble the writer saw Coquelin *ainé* at the *theatre antique* in Racine's "Britannicus" and a comedy of Moliere.

A few miles from where the Durance joins the Rhone, on the left bank of the latter, stands the ancient city of Avignon, a place

of much importance in the *Gallia Narbonensis* of Roman days. It is of Celtic origin, though the colony proper owes its foundation to the Procasans who came there from Marseilles. Avignon was held in turn by Goths, Ostrogoths, Burgundians and the Frankish Kings of Austrasia. The Saracens seized it, but were driven out by Charles Martel in A. D. 736. Then Conrad II. obtained possession of it, and it became a part of the Empire, then a Republic, and finally, through Charles the Fair, it became the possession of the Count of Provence, who was King of Naples and Sicily. In 1348, Joan, Countess of Provence, sold it to Pope Clement VI. for 80,000 florins, and finally, in 1791, Avignon became a part of the French realm. Avignon is a city replete with mediæval interest—full of historical and literary associations. Aside from the fact that it was the residence of nine Popes during the "Babylonian Captivity," from 1309 to 1377, this quaint and ramparted city holds in its keeping much to interest the student of art, archæology and letters. Of course when political and factional turmoil obliged Pope Clement V. to leave Rome and seek an asylum at Avignon it greatly added to the life of the latter city. Italian bankers followed the Papal Court and trade flowed in to Avignon from the great centres of Europe, from Bruges and Pisa and distant Brittany.

In 1303 Pope Boniface VIII. established a university at Avignon, and soon it became a centre of learning, especially during the Papal occupation. We read a great deal about the revival of learning and the spread of humanism, with which movement is inseparably linked the great name of Petrarch. Yet it was the patronage of the Papal Court of Avignon, the very sunshine and favor of the Popes, that nurtured, aided and made possible the splendid genius of Petrarch and even stimulated the study of Greek in the Papal hope and desire of bringing about a union of the Greek and Latin Churches. In fact relations of friendship bound together the men of letters of Avignon and Constantinople in such manner that there was often an exchange of manuscripts between the East and the West. One thing is quite certain, that it was the relation of the Papal Court to the Greek Church at Constantinople and the religious controversies that took place during the fourteenth century between Avignon and Constantinople that gave an impetus to the study of the Greek Fathers, a large number of whose works were in the Papal Library at Avignon.

The history of mediæval libraries, too, attests to the fact that in the number and quality of volumes the Apostolic Library at Avignon was second only to the ancient libraries of the Sorbonne and Canterbury. But what monuments, you will ask, remain to-day to witness to the Papal occupation of Avignon? The Palace of the Popes,

perhaps the largest civic Gothic structure in the world, still stands fronting the severe tower of Villeneuve, on the opposite side of the Rhone, and the old Romanesque Cathedral which, however, was built more than a century before the Popes occupied Avignon. It is worth noting that nearly all the fresco in both the Palace of the Popes and the Cathedral is the work of Siennese artists. The mausoleum of Pope John XXII. in the Cathedral is a splendid example of fourteenth century sculpture.

The names of many men eminent in science and letters are associated with Avignon. Here it was that the Provençal poet, Aubanel, was born and John Stuart Mill, the English economist, died in Avignon and is buried here. But perhaps the most eminent name in letters connected with Avignon is that of the great Italian poet and humanist, Petrarch. Born in 1304 in Arezzo, Italy, his father brought young Petrarch here in 1313. Like Dante, the elder Petrarch was driven out of Florence, and after wandering about for some years chose Avignon for his residence. Young Petrarch was sent to the Universities of Montpellier and Bologna by his father with the view of studying law, but Virgil and Cicero and Ovid claimed his heart and votive offerings, and when his father died in 1326 young Petrarch turned entirely to the pursuit of letters. He remained in Avignon for more than twenty years, browsing in the Pontifical Library and advancing in his humanistic studies through the grace and favor of the Papal Court.

One of the great events in the life of Petrarch was his meeting with Laura in the Franciscan Church of St. Clara in Avignon on Good Friday, April 6, 1327. To this event we certainly owe his "Canzoniere," perhaps the noblest sheaf of sonnets ever devoted to the subject of love. There are those who doubt the existence of Laura as they doubt the existence of Beatrice, but there is evidence conclusive that both Laura and Beatrice were creatures of flesh and blood and capable of evoking the passion of love in both Petrarch and Dante. But in the world of letters Dante and Petrarch fill a different place. Both are the glory of Italy and the supreme flowering of Catholic mediæval life and faith. But Dante belongs essentially to the "age of faith"—to the world of the allegorical and mystical—while Petrarch's mind is swayed by mundane things, by humanity and by reason. In the one there is submission to the divine will, in the other conflict between the spirit and the flesh. The poet of the "Divine Comedy" wandered from city to city wearing on his brow the thorny crown of an exile; the poet of the "Sonnets" visited Paris, Lieges, Bruges, Ghent, Venice, Verona and Rome, not to eat the "salty bread" of

a stranger, but to share in the feasts of friends and be crowned with a poet's laurel.

Petrarch left Avignon in 1333, and after wandering through France, Belgium, Germany and Italy, finally fixed his abode at Vacluse, a picturesque spot about twenty miles from Avignon, where the noisy and limpid little Sorgue issues from the fountain of Vacluse, Petrarch's *chiare fresche et dolci acque*, across which it is related Robert Browning carried in his arms his newly wedded, invalid wife, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, when on their way to Florence, Italy. In this quiet and secluded vale, where nature whispered to his soul, almost under the very shadow of the neighboring mountain, old Ventoux, which he one day ascended, with a copy of St. Augustine in his hand, Petrarch dreamt and fashioned in his soul the creative works which give him preëminence not alone among the poets of Italy, but among the inspired singers of the world.

It is rather strange that Petrarch should have set such store and value upon his Latin epic, "Africa," which is scarcely ever read to-day. He imagined this, not the "Canzoniere" or "Trionfi," would bring him immortal fame.

Laura, "the lady of the Sonnets," died during the pestilence in Avignon in 1348, which fact Petrarch noted marginally in a copy of Virgil that may be still seen. Like Beatrice, Laura had married another. Though she had inspired courtly love in Petrarch, she never saw in him but the poet crowned with laurels without roses. Laura was buried in the Church of the Cordeliers, in Avignon, where her tomb was found and opened in 1533. In 1350 Petrarch visited Florence and met for the first time his greatest literary contemporary and most sympathetic friend, Giovanni Boccaccio. It was through Boccaccio that the Seignior of Florence offered Petrarch the rectorship of the newly established university at Florence, which Petrarch, however, declined.

Petrarch prevailed upon his friend Boccaccio to publish in Latin the "Iliad" and "Odyssey." It was Leontius Pilatus who took charge of this work a little time after, and thus began the great work of translating Greek authors, which Pope Nicholas V. was later to bring to so successful an end.

The last twenty years of his life Petrarch spent in Italy, his native land. But like Voltaire and Erasmus, Petrarch was truly a citizen of the world. Perhaps the Latin authors that influenced him most were Cicero and Virgil, and in his search for Latin manuscripts he found that of Cicero's Letters at Verona and a manuscript of two of Cicero's orations at Liege. Some critics of to-day have placed Dante and Petrarch among the skeptics of

the Italian Renaissance. This is unscholarly—nay, absurd. Both in their faith were uncompromising Catholics. The fact that Dante was a Ghibelline and lauded the Holy Roman Empire did not make him a skeptic, nor did Petrarch's love of Cicero and contempt for Aristotle touch in any way the fulness and integrity of his faith. Referring to this matter, James Harvey Robinson in his admirable life of Petrarch says: "Petrarch was much too ardent and sincere a Catholic to allow Brutus and Cato to crowd out St. Peter and St. Paul." Furthermore, Petrarch never took holy orders as a priest, as the "Encyclopedia Britannica" states, having simply received one of the minor orders, that he might be enabled to hold a Church benefice.

In his "De Contemplant Mundi" Petrarch pours out his soul to St. Augustine as he would to a very father confessor. Those who think that the poet of the "Sonnets" was a skeptic should read his letters to his younger brother, Gherardo, who became a Carthusian monk. It is true that, like all men of the Renaissance period, Petrarch was intense in his character. He hated with a Renaissance fervor, and he was not free from the jealousy and vainglory which belonged especially to the spirit of his times. After having lived sixteen years at Parma and Padua, in Italy, Petrarch retired to Argnà, a quiet little village among the Euganean hills, where the tomb of the "Father of Humanism" and the poet of the "Sonnets" may be seen to-day. His death occurred in 1374. There belongs to Provence a movement which has had a far-reaching influence upon poetry and its development in many lands, especially that form of poetry known as the lyric. I mean the rise of the Troubadours. Indeed, Provence is known as "The Land of the Troubadour." This movement grew out of the chivalry of the Middle Ages. Linked together and coëval are these three: The Crusades, Chivalry and the Troubadours. It was Christian Europe stirred into passion by the warm breath of the Orient. No more glorious years ever hung over the skies of Europe portending a great dawn in things of faith and art than when armed Europe threw itself upon Asia—when the anointed sword of the Crusader pierced the tents of Saladin, when the soldiers of the Cross brought back to the altars and shrines of European civilization something of the perfume and incense of the East—something of that finer Oriental chivalry which when touched by Christian faith and the *cultus* of the *Madonna* gave us the exquisite flowers of Christian chivalry and the strong knighthood of heroic passion and deed.

But this great art-poetry of the Troubadour was cultivated far beyond Provence. It was nurtured, too, in the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon and amid the flourishing city States of Italy. Among

the most celebrated of its patrons were Alphonsus the Second of Aragon, Raymond the Fifth, Count of Toulouse; Richard Cœur de Lion of England, and Eleanor, wife of Louis the Eighth of France, afterwards Queen of England.

The twelfth and thirteenth centuries marked the full ripening of Provençal poetry and the strong reign of the Troubadours. Of course, the central point of all Provençal literature in the Middle Ages, as has been already indicated, is the lyric, and the central point of the lyric is love. As a writer tells us, among the Troubadours in the general cultus of woman love was reduced to the position of a fine art. The lyric, too, belongs essentially to the age of chivalry, and the poets were generally knights. Even kings and princes were proud to take their places in the ranks of the Troubadours. The court was naturally the *milieu* in which the singers preferred to exercise their art. It is true that Provençal literature presents us with no grand figure like Dante, Homer or Shakespeare. Indeed, Troubadour poetry has left no lineal descendant, perhaps, as a writer tells us, in order that all our modern literature may look to it as a parent. Now what was the character of a Troubadour? He certainly was versatile. Justin H. Smith in his exhaustive work, "The Troubadour at Home," says: "The Troubadour was a chevalier with a nightingale in his casque. Allied with him was the joglar, an ancestor of our juggler, who assumed the various roles of a vaudeville performer."

Perhaps, however, we can get a better estimate of the Troubadour from his own avowal of his varied gifts. "I can play," says the minstrel in the Bodleian manuscript at Oxford, "the lute, the violin, the pipe, the bagpipe, the syrinx, the harp, the gigue, the gittern, the symphony, the psaltery, the organstrum, the regals, the tabor and the rote. I can sing a song well and make tales and fables. I can tell a story against any man. I can make love verses to please young ladies and can play the gallant for them if necessary. Then I can throw knives into the air and catch them without cutting my fingers. I can do dodges with a string most extraordinary and amusing. I can balance chairs and make tables dance. I can throw a somersault and walk on my head."

Then there were Courts of Love which laid down rules for love. They allowed married women to receive the homage of lovers, and even nicely directed all the symptoms they were to exhibit. But while love was treated very fancifully, it was also treated very seriously. André in his book, "The Laws of Love," cites thirty-one laws which governed the art of love among the Troubadours. Here are the first six: "1. Marriage cannot be pleaded as an excuse for refusing to love. 2. A person who cannot keep a secret can

never be a lover. 3. No one can really love two people at the same time. 4. It is not becoming to love those ladies who only love with a view to marriage. 5. A person who is the prey of love eats little and sleeps little. 6. Love can deny nothing to love."

As to the *Langue d'oc*, in the twelfth century we are told by John Rutherford in his work, "*The Troubadours*," that it extended from the Po to the Ebro and from the Mediterranean to the basins of the Loire and of the higher Rhone. The principal dialects spoken over this stretch of country—that is, the Piedmontese, the Provençal, the Gascon and the Catalan—were mutually intelligible. They were used indifferently by the Troubadours and often in the same song.

Provençal poetry was divided into four kinds: The *Cansos*, which was used to impress the devotion of a Knight or Troubadour for his lady; the *Serventes*, which composed in the service of some patron extolled his merits; the *Planh*, which was usually a lament for the death of a patron, and the *Tensos*, which took the form of a discussion in dialogue of some question of love, morals, religion or chivalry. Almost coëval with the reign of the Troubadours in Provence and the rich and varied flowering of Provençal song was the appearance and extension of the Albigensian heresy. But in truth this strange religious sect was not a Christian heresy, but rather an extra Christian religion. It was a kind of Neo-Manicheanism. Its dissemination became rapid, especially in Languedoc, and this was largely owing to the relaxed state of ecclesiastical discipline, the wealth and luxury of the citizens and the licentious theories embodied in the poetry of the Troubadours. Add to this the fact that in Southern France there was a strong Jewish and Mahometan element.

It is a well-known fact that many of the abbots were placed at the head of monasteries through the influence of noblemen, and so great abuses and corruptions crept in among the clergy, as was the case in Germany when Pope "Hildebrand" undertook the reform of the clergy in that country. The Rev. Baring Gould, an Anglican clergyman, in his "*In Troubadour Land*" when referring to the Albigensians, writes: "The Albigensians are often erroneously confused with the Waldenses, with whom really they had little in common. Actually the Albigenses were not Christians at all, but Manicheans. The heresy was nothing other than the reawakening of the dormant and suppressed paganism of the south of France."

The Albigensian heresy in its essence and spirit was anti-national, anti-religious and anti-social. The French historian Michelet sums up the state of the moral degradation of the country where this heresy prevailed in these words: "This Judea of France, as *Langue-*

doc was termed, recalled the other Judea not only in its bitumen and olives, but it also had its Sodom and Gomorrah."

The Church at first endeavored by persuasion to win over the Albigensians from the errors of heresy. But the evil had taken too deep a root, and besides their cause was secretly if not overtly championed by the Counts of Toulouse, who paltered with the question and in some cases compromised by their actions with truth, honor and fidelity.

Two great saints were delegated by the Pope to preach against the Albigensians—St. Bernard and St. Dominic; but it really required more than moral eloquence to root out this strange and immoral heresy. So bitter became the war between Rome and the Albigensians that the latter rose up and murdered the Pope's Legate. Soon the question became more temporal than spiritual, and kings and counts became involved in it for the purpose of territorial gain and plunder. Nothing, however, can excuse the excesses and death penalties which marked the crusade against the Albigensians, though it must be confessed that the excesses sometimes were provoked. Nor can Simon de Montfort be excused for his heartless cruelties or for using the zeal of religion as a pretext to usurp the territory of the Count of Toulouse. Pope Innocent III. counseled moderation and disapproved of the selfish policy adopted by Simon de Montfort. As a writer tells us, however, what the Church combated in the Albigensians was principles that led directly not only to the ruin of Christianity, but to the very extinction of the human race.

A phenomenon, one of the rarest indeed in literature, marks the literary history of modern Provence. The old Provençal language, about which Dante in his "*De Eloquentia Vulgaris*" writes so entertainingly, if not always accurately, fell gradually through the centuries from its high estate and became only local patois, bearing on its unpruned branches neither literary flower nor fruit. Or to use another simile, the Provençal language became a deserted palace, devoid of both life and beauty, with its walls crumbling and the birds of the air nesting in its desolate stairways and chimneys. Readers of Daudet's "*Lettres de Mon Moulin*" will remember the beautiful tribute which the author pays to the genius of the great Provençal, who restored the modern *Langue d'oc* to its rightful place among the great literary languages of the world. Daudet says that one fine day the son of a peasant beholding the ruins of this palace or castle became enamored of it and restored its walls, its windows, its court, its great hall and the very throne upon which princes once sat. and the author of the "*Letters*" adds:

"The restored palace is the Provençal language and the peasant's son Mistral."

It was certainly a marvelous literary movement that stirred the heart of Provence early in the fifties of the last century. The soul of that movement was unquestionably Frederick Mistral, poet, philologist and lexicographer, who was born at Maillane, near Avignon, of peasant parentage in 1830. But Mistral was not the first to feel the new Provençal impulse in letters. This honor belongs to Roumanille, the son of a gardener of St. Remy, who later became a teacher and bookseller in Avignon. Mistral relates his joyous feeling on reading Roumanille's work, "*Margarideto*," when it appeared in 1847. "Behold," exclaimed young Mistral, "there was the dawn which my soul was awaiting. I had up to then read some little Provençal, but what discouraged me was to see that our language was always employed in a manner of derision. Kindled with a desire on the part of both to restore the language of our mothers, Roumanille and myself studied together the old Provençal works."

Mistral's early studies were pursued at Avignon, and from there his father sent him to Aix to study law. But as in the case of Petrarch, the young Maillanese, who was a very Greek in his love of beauty in every form, soon abandoned the Pandects of Justinian and the Code Napoleon for the seductive company of the muses. The great event in the revival of the Provençal language and literature was the organization of the Felibrige at Fontsegugne on May 24, 1854. The founders of this literary and fraternal guild destined to do so much for the language and literature of Provence were Roumanille, Mistral and Mathieu. The organization became fully constituted and organized in the great assembly held at Avignon the 21st of May, 1876.

Richard Watson Gilder, one of the most gifted of American poets, touches upon the charm of these modern Provençal Troubadours, who were the actual founders of the Felibrige, in the following beautiful sonnet:

"They said that all the Troubadours had flown—
No bird to flash a wing or swell a throat!
But as we journeyed down the rushing Rhone
To Avignon, what joyful note on note
Burst forth beneath thy shadow, O Ventour,
Whose Eastward forehead takes the dawn divine;
Ah, dear Provence! Ah, happy Troubadour,
And that sweet mellow antique song of thine!
Then Roumanille, the leader of the choir;

Then graceful Mathieu, tender, sighing, glowing;
Then Wyse all fancy, Aubanel all fire,
And Mistral mighty as the north winds blowing;
And youthful Gras, and lo! among the rest
A mother-bird that sang above her nest."

Gaston Paris, the eminent French philologist and mediævalist, in his volume, "*Penseurs et Poètes*," tells in a most charming manner of a visit he once paid to Mistral in Maillane at Christmastide, 1872. Indeed, the picture which Gaston Paris draws of Mistral with such a faithful and personal touch is the best estimate to be found in all literature of the greatest of Provençal poets.

In the chapter devoted to Mistral, Gaston Paris tells also of Mistral's meeting with the poet Lamartine and how the latter hailed Mistral as a great epic—a true Homeric poet. He further recounts how Mistral, searching for words and special terms used by the peasantry which he purposed placing in his great Provençal dictionary, would visit the fishermen and note down the words they used with their signification. According to Gaston Paris, the language which the Felibres have made a literary language in Provence is that which is spoken at St. Remy and the surrounding country, and this same character of language without any notable difference prevails along the Rhone from Orange almost to Martigues. Nor must it be thought that this literary movement in Provence which had its inception about the middle of the last century is narrow, unpatriotic or provincial. Felix Gras, one of the most distinguished of the Felibres, has expressed the gospel of this movement in these lines:

"I love my village more than thy village,
I love my Provence more than thy province,
But I love France more than all."

Many explanations have been given as to the derivation of the word *Felibre*. According to Mistral himself, the word is taken from a prayer which was formerly recited in Provençal families. To-day this literary movement begun by the Felibre group extends to the ends of Provence, where if there have not yet appeared gifted poets such as Aubanel, distinguished prose writers such as Roumanille, the charming story-teller of Avignon poets of nature or history such as Langlade of Languedoc, and Abbé Roux, of Limousin, this literary movement has at least stirred up an enthusiasm among the Provençal people and educated the public to the idea that a language is no longer to be despised which is an expression of the morals, sentiments and traditions of a whole people.

Mistral's great masterpiece, "Mireille," appeared in 1859. It is an epic—a rustic epic. The tale itself is nothing, but into the simple web of the story Mistral has woven descriptions of Provençal life, scenery, character, customs and legends that give the poem a worth and a dignity, and in truth a unique place in literature. In 1866 appeared "Calendau." "Mireille" is the apologia of Provence, the poem of the Cram, of the Camargue and Rhone; "Calendau" is the epic of Southern France, the song of the mountain and sea.

But perhaps, after all, Mistral's greatest work is his "Tresor du Felibrige"—a dictionary of the dialect of Maillane which was adopted as the literary tongue by the modern school of Provençal poets, the Felibres. Mistral was offered a seat in the French Academy in 1897, and in 1904 he shared with Echegaray, the great Spanish dramatist, the Nobel Prize as the most distinguished poet of his time. Full of years, the idol of his countrymen and honored by the literary élite of the whole world, Frederick Mistral, the most illustrious representative of modern Provençal song, passed away at his home in Maillane on the 25th of March, 1914, at the ripe age of eighty-four.

So *ave atque vale*, beautiful and historic Provence, where Emperor and Pope once sojourned and the pro-consuls and legions of Cæsar issued edicts and built triumphal arches! You still hold in your keeping the splendor of mediæval castle and the soft light of mediæval faith. The Troubadour has indeed passed away, but the light of love and the love of joy still reign in the heart of your people passionate and warm. Your children still join in the hymns to the "Grand Soleil de la Provence" and "hail the Empire of the Sun which the dazzling Rhone borders like a silver hem." The music of your vintage and the fragrance of your thyme-scented hills alike intoxicate the youths and maidens as they dance the endless farandoles in the soft light of a Provençal moon. For all is still charm and loveliness "In the Land of the Troubadour!"

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THE CAPUCHINS IN CONSTANTINOPLE.

A PHILOSOPHICAL treatise might be written on the influence of the ideal on human conduct and on the course of history, civil and ecclesiastical. Shallow thinkers discredit idealists as theorists and dreamers; but theories often become concrete facts and such dreams waking realities. The famous French Capuchin, Père Joseph du Tremblay, surnamed "his grey Eminence" on account of his being the alter ego of Cardinal Richelieu and the coöperator of that great statesman in his masterful policy, long cherished an ideal, though he failed to realize it. His grand ideal, noble and chivalrous in its conception, was the revival of a crusade for the liberation of the Holy Land. But the old crusade spirit had died out in Europe since Peter the Hermit, who first raised the inspiring cry of "God wills it!" had passed away. Other men and other ideas prevailed; the division and supineness of the so-called Christian Powers prevented cohesion and unity of aim and action, and after a futile effort to organize an armed movement the scheme had to be dropped. The contemplated crusade was abortive, but the spirit that prompted it was not wholly extinct. Du Tremblay, an austere and zealous religious, a model Capuchin, although immersed in high affairs of state as Richelieu's confidant, became the leader of another crusade. As organizer and controller of the Capuchin missions in the Near East, with Constantinople as the chief base of operations, he formed and directed a crusade which was waged not with weapons of war, but with the two-edged sword of the Spirit; not for the liberation of Palestine from Turkish thralldom, but for the liberation of souls from the worse thralldom of vice and error.

The pioneers or precursors of the Capuchin mission in Constantinople were two Spanish and Italian friars, Father John, of Medino del Campo, in Castile, and Father John, of Troia, in Italy. They were men of exalted holiness, who may be regarded as uncanonized saints. The former, who passed from the Observantines to the Capuchins in 1539, in spirit and in aspect resembled St. Francis, according to a description of him given by a contemporary. He is said to have had many revelations from our Lord, who often appeared to him. The little cell near the Capuchin convent in Montepulciano, constructed of branches of trees and clay, to which remote retreat he was wont to retire to give himself up to contemplation, and where he was the recipient of these divine revelations, is still religiously preserved and venerated.

Father John, of Troia, originally a Franciscan lay Brother, a courageous soul whose great desire was to follow in the footsteps of

the martyrs, had been four times in Africa, where he was scourged and flung into a cistern, in which he remained for twenty-two days with his companions until rescued by some Christians. Undiscouraged and still intent on martyrdom, he went to Rome with a view of getting back to the Dark Continent, when he joined the Capuchins. A very austere and self-denying religious, the Passion was the constant subject of his meditations, and a cave at the base of a hill within the convent grounds his customary dwelling. One day, weeping at the foot of a crucifix, he heard these words as if they came from the lips of the Figure on the Cross: "Why weepest thou?" "I weep," he replied with emotion, "because I see that Thou hast shed all Thy blood on the Cross for me and I not a drop for Thee; because I am thinking of the youths and children who triumphed as martyrs, and I in this age am far from such a triumph." Jesus said to him: "Desirest thou martyrdom? Thou shalt have it." In the sequel both friars, after suffering much in Palestine, went to Egypt, where they earned the martyr's palm. Meanwhile they were destined to be fellow-laborers in the mission field. It was at Assisi, where they had gone for the feast of Portiuncula, they met and read each other's souls with that mysterious insight given to the saints. With the permission of their respective superiors and the mandate of Julius III., they proceeded about 1551 to Constantinople, missioned to preach the Gospel to the Mahometans, the same mission with which the saint of Assisi had begun his apostolate. But the moment they attempted to preach the Turks fell upon them and threw them into prison. The Catholic residents engaged in commerce, fearing that a general persecution, to the injury of their business, might ensue, bribed the jailers and procured their liberation; but they were expelled from the city. But with all that, their work was not fruitless. They had opened a way for other missionaries. In 1583 five Jesuit Fathers founded a mission in the Church of St. Benedict, now served by the Vincentians; but after five years the superior was summoned to Italy and three of them died of the plague. Very soon Propaganda recalled the remaining Jesuit, having decided to confide the mission to religious of another order.

In 1587 the general chapter of the Capuchin Order, deliberating in Rome, devoted serious attention to the missions among the infidels. Some Capuchins, having obtained faculties from Sixtus V., were sent to Constantinople. This expedition was celebrated because of the participation of St. Joseph of Leonessa, the great precursor of the Capuchin missions.¹ When, with four companion

¹ Eufranio Desiderio, born in 1556 at Leonessa, in Umbria. He joined the Capuchins when he was sixteen years of age and made his novitiate in the convent of the Carcerelle, near Assisi. He was noted for his

friars, he reached the mouth of the Dardanelles, a furious tempest arose which threatened to engulf them; all on board gave themselves up for lost except the saint, who betrayed no alarm, but with his thoughts directed heavenwards, when danger was imminent, had recourse to prayer, and presently the storm ceased and there came a great calm. Strangers to the city, which was a *terra incognita* to them, the missionaries did not know where to find the street that would lead them to their destination, when a young boy of seven made his appearance and offered to guide them to Pera, which he did, and then, smiling, disappeared. No one knew who the boy was, but later St. Joseph of Leonessa affirmed that it was his little nephew, who had died a few days before they left Italy.

At Pera the Capuchins got possession of a ruined church that had formerly belonged to the Benedictines, and which they repaired. At that epoch pirates infested the seas, and many thousands of Christians were imprisoned in Turkey. This alone opened up a wide field for missionary zeal. St. Joseph did everything to alleviate the lot of these poor prisoners, to console them and help them to endure patiently their sufferings, spending his days in the prisons from morning to night and sometimes remaining there for a whole week. He effected a marvelous reformation among them: obscene speech, perjury, hatred and despair gave place to better sentiments, until the prison was almost transformed into a monastery. This transformation, pleasing to God, was displeasing to the devil, so that the saint had to minister secretly to baffle the opposition raised against him, to escape the vigilance of the guards, being scourged almost to death when his presence was discovered. Himself made prisoner, he only obtained his release a month afterwards through the intermediary of the Venetian agent or consul. Then in addition to the scourges of the jailers came the scourge of a plague, when the reaper Death thrust his sickle in among the stricken population and mowed down many lives. The four Capuchins were to be found wherever the plague made most ravages, ministering to the sick and dying. Two of them, Father Peter and Father Dionysius, forfeited their lives in this pious exercise of heroic charity. St. Joseph caught the contagion, but did not die of it. All his solicitude was devoted to the Catholics and to the conversion of schismatics. But his great desire was to win the crown of martyrdom, and, with that end in view, as the Mahometans did not come to the church, he boldly preached in

austerities, especially his great abstinence. In 1599, the year before the jubilee, he fasted the whole year by way of preparation to gain the plenary indulgence. He died on February 4, 1612, at the age of fifty-seven. Beatified in 1737 by Clement XII., he was nine years afterwards canonized by Benedict XIV.

the streets, and with such fearlessness, earnestness and fervor that Father Peter of the Cross, shortly before his death, dreading their expulsion, counseled the saint to observe prudence. After Father Peter passed away, the idea of Christianizing the Turks wherever and whenever he came in contact with them again took hold of him, and he devoted himself to it with all his ardor. He went farther. In his sublime audacity he tried to convert the Sultan, following him to the mosques and even penetrating unobserved into the imperial palace, until, discovered by a janissary, he was thrust out, and when he later renewed the attempt, fared much worse, was bastinadoed and thrown, more dead than alive, into prison. In those times it was difficult, even for those entitled to it, to get audience of the Sultan. Ambassadors of the greatest Christian Powers were only admitted after assuming garments prescribed by court etiquette, addressed him with a curtain intervening, and received his oracular utterances through the medium of the mouth of a dragoman, or interpreter; dealing of affairs of state solely with the Grand Vizier. Such formalities are no longer observed, but the Sultans have been always environed with a pompous ceremonial. St. Joseph had been guilty of an unpardonable crime for attempting to accost the Sultan in his imperial palace and incurred the death penalty. When he heard his sentence, he exclaimed: "And is it true, sweetest love of my soul, that Thou has deigned to confer upon me such an honor, such a grace? Yes, yes, I shall depend totally on Thy will. Who shall separate me now from Thy love, if a chain binds me thereto, if a hook² attaches me? Ah, death, so much the more useful the more painful thou art, I thank thee for the favors I anticipate from thy duration; thou wilt not devour me so voraciously as not to give me time to testify to my God the desire of suffering for Him not one, but a thousand martyrdoms." After uttering these words, he was at once led to execution by order of Amurath II., then reigning. Having ascended the ladder resting upon the beam upon which he was to die, the executioners drove two hooks, one through his right hand and another through his right foot, and then withdrew the ladder and left him hanging. The executioners then lit a fire of fagots underneath the suspended body; but the saint, with a placid countenance and a tranquil mind in the midst of this atrocious punishment, implored the divine forgiveness for his merciless torturers. For three days he hung on the gallows and was already almost at

² St. Joseph was sentenced to death by the hook, as it was called, a peculiarly painful and lingering death. The right hand and right foot were pierced by a metal hook, by which the sufferer was suspended from a projecting beam and left to die of pain, hunger and exhaustion. Several witnesses afterwards testified that they saw the scars of the wounds in the saint's hand and foot, both during his life and after his death.

the last gasp when he was miraculously released by an angel, who told him to return without delay to Italy, where he would consummate his martyrdom. He then returned to Italy. While others congratulated him on his escape from death, he lamented having barely missed the martyrdom he so earnestly desired.

The mission of Constantinople, the first instituted in the East, dates from the opening of the seventeenth century, when the crusaders who triumphed at Lepanto were replaced by diplomats who, though they laughed at Achmet's boastful title of "Emperor of victorious emperors and distributor of crowns to the greatest princes in the world," sent ambassadors and consuls to the Porte, privileged to take under their protection foreign subjects and commerce. It did not fare equally with civilization and religion; the latter had to rely solely on the work of the missions for its existence and development. It was then Father Joseph du Tremblay confided his new and pacific crusade to the missionaries, first sending, on January 22, 1622, Father Pacificus, of Provins, of the Paris province, on a journey of exploration to survey the ground; for the work of preparing the way for the struggles and conquests of the future should from its birth be based on solid foundations initiated by men of strong faith, singular courage and heroic virtue. He embarked at Marseilles in the *San Francesco*, one of a flotilla of sixteen sails; for it was necessary to provide against a possible attack by Barbary pirates, it being the epoch when daring corsairs, terrorizing and enslaving, ruled the waves. A storm scattered the vessels near Malta. The one in which Father Pacificus and two of his brethren sailed made for the Adriatic and drifted about for four days until it reached the Ionian Archipelago and the Dardanelles, anchoring at length at Constantinople on March 2, 1622. He remained two months in the city investigating, and after traversing Egypt, Palestine and Syria, went to Rome, when Propaganda determined the limits in which the Capuchins were to carry on their apostolate, namely, in the city of Constantinople and in the neighboring countries of Greece and Thrace.

It appears to have been at the instance of the French Ambassador, Philippe d'Harley, that the Capuchins were introduced to Constantinople. Pope Gregory XV. and the Sacred Congregation having approved of the project, Father Pacificus and two other fathers were deputed to begin the work. Furnished with a letter from Propaganda to the Ambassador, in which mention is made of a church at the disposal of the Latin Patriarch being assigned to them pending the establishment of a regular convent of the strict observance whence the religious could exercise their ministry "with that fruit which the Capuchins accumulate in different parts of the world to the great satisfaction of the Sacred Congregation," and another

letter to the Vicar-Patriarchal, Benedict of Verona, they returned to France, where they obtained the approval of the King and Cardinal Richelieu and subsequently of the reigning Pontiff, Urban VIII. Father Joseph was nominated superior of the Eastern missions in 1625, with absolute power to select out of all the Capuchin convents the religious who seemed to him the most fitted for the work to the number of a hundred. Father Pacificus, having been assigned to another mission, that of Syria, Fathers Archangel, of Fossés; Leonard, of Tours; Evangelist, of Reims, and Raphael, of Neuville, were sent to Constantinople.

The four missionaries were for eight days lodged in a house near the French Embassy, the Ambassador himself supplying them daily with food, until the Church of St. George, in Galata—a suburb of Constantinople in which all the European merchants, agents and tradesmen of different nationalities resided—and a small house (now the convent of the Vincentians) were assigned to them. They had to learn the languages of the country, particularly Greek, and also Italian, which was spoken by the Venetians and Genoese; only those connected with the Embassy and the French merchants and sailors speaking French. For about two months they daily received the necessary provisions from M. de Césy; but they politely declined the pecuniary assistance tendered to them by the Catholic community of Pera, preferring to abandon themselves wholly to Divine Providence in accordance with the spirit and practice of the primitive Franciscans. All were attracted by the simplicity of their life. There was a rivalry in generosity among those good Catholics. The representatives of the Powers first gave the example, in which they were followed by heretics as well as Catholics, who sent their gifts to the Capuchin convent.

All, however, were not of the same mind. Although they had been graciously received by the accredited representatives of France, the Venetian Republic and England, by the Vicar-Patriarchal and the prior of the community of Pera, the foundation of the mission set malignant tongues talking adversely; some attributed a political scope to it and others a plot against the Moslem Empire, using the Turk against the House of Austria. They had no difficulty, of course, in refuting these absurd accusations.

They dwelt in the little house alongside the church at Galata, the first Capuchin convent in Constantinople up to the fire of 1666. Meanwhile they devoted themselves to preaching in their own church or in whatever churches they were asked to preach; and invitations were not wanting. In the beginning they had not many heterodox hearers on account of their unacquaintance with the Greek language, but they soon mastered it and were seen in the pul-

pits of Greek churches, and not only there, but in the streets, in the baths or on board ship whenever an opportunity of fulfilling their ministry presented itself. The penury in which they lived, begging their bread from door to door, never questing for money, and their self-sacrifice so impressed the people that it was said the sole sight of a Capuchin did more good among these Orientals than would the sermons of the most fervent preacher effect among European Catholics. All, however, were not so impressed. Father Archangel, the guardian or superior, writing to Paris on April 15, 1627, relates how, when he went questing through the city, he met a great number of Turks who, seeing him strangely garbed, treated him differently. While some stopped him and kissed the hem of his garment or the edge of his beard, others spat in his face, gave him a blow in passing, or pulled his capuche. One day a young Turk picked up a stone and flung it at him, severely wounding him in the head. Thinking he was much more seriously injured than he was, he put up his hand to feel if his head was bleeding, and raised his hands and eyes to heaven. A Turkish gentleman had the boy arrested and made the bystanders give him ^{na}thirty strokes of a stick. "If I had not run to succor him," says Father Archangel, "I believe he would have died under the same; and I ran, to tell the truth, rather to give good example than for his sake. It was then it pleased the Divine Goodness to cry 'halt!'; for since the good Turk was touched with compassion for me they have not done me any injury. In the beginning all the Turks displayed great hatred of us, sent their children who could hardly walk alone with knives in their hands and drove them towards us. I took hold of them, called upon the name of Jesus, and carried them to their mothers, who were at their doors. Now they have learned all about us from renegades and are fond of us, come to eat with us, wish us to observe all our rules in their presence, such as keeping silent and reading at meals, and are as discreet as one could tell. They hear our Vespers in choir where we chant, and say that they love us so much that if any movement against the Christians should arise we need fear no evil, being, they add, men consecrated to God, which they recognize by this infallible sign, that in abandoning the world we have not reserved the use of money, with which we could have all that we wished. There are not more beautiful places in the world, no city greater than this. The grandeur of this prince is unspeakable; his stable alone contains five thousand horses. Finally we see his fleet returning from the windows of our convent; it was headed by one hundred and twenty-two galleys, and when they passed before the Grand Vizier, posted on the seashore, the salvo of cannons that saluted him made the earth tremble. We are only four, and we have already conquered

Constantinople. We have still the island of Scio, where there is the finest city in Greece after Constantinople. We are then separated, two here and two there. We preach earnestly and declare the truth to as many as come to hear us."

The two friars at Scio were Fathers Leonard, of Tours, and Raphael, of Neuville. From thence the missionaries multiplied their zeal and daily gained new souls to the faith; scattering themselves in increased numbers among the Cyclades and extending their operations over the whole East; all the stations at first being dependent on Constantinople.

Father Archangel had not at first much to say in praise of the Greeks, whom he characterized as ignorant, proud and vicious, the most antagonistic to Catholics properly so-called. Father Clement, of Terzorio, general secretary of the Capuchin missions, from whose interesting work³ we quote, is not more hopeful, and says if their prejudices were removed great multitudes of them would open their eyes to the light and see in Western Europeans not old enemies, but twin brethren in religion. "The missionary," he adds, "ought to revive in himself austerity of life and regular observance in order to produce more fruit among the people whom he spiritually feeds. To infuse the Spirit of God it is necessary to be full of it, as the Apostles were. And our four missionaries, with their successors, deserve on that account to be praised, for they always adhered to the regular observance; renewing their spirit in prayer and in religious acts in common; and then went forth burning with the love of God and their neighbor to instruct the people."

Tolerated only as chaplains of the foreign ambassadors and consuls, they were affected by the political vicissitudes of the time and were treated with favor or disfavor according as the relations between the Porte and the Powers were amicable and strained. To France belongs the honor of having, from the beginning, taken these missions under its protection. The King of France was the only sovereign who had the status of Emperor at the Porte; hence he was more listened to and his influence was more valuable to the missions. The principal office of the French Ambassador was officially declared to be "to protect the name and authority of His Majesty [Louis XIII.], religious institutions established in different places in the Levant and also Christians going and coming to visit the sacred places of the Holy Land." The official document specially refers to "the piety, devotion and doctrine" of the Capuchin missionaries, which "rendered them commendable," and proceeds: "We have for this reason, and on account of the great edification which

³ "Le Missioni dei Minori Cappuccini," Vol. II, p. 56; Roma, 1914.

the public receive from their salutary instructions and conferences, taken to heart the advancement of their order likewise in distant countries and regions and, with our authority procured their establishment in various places in the Levant, where, desiring to maintain them, being well informed of the fruit they have gathered there for some years for the glory of God, we make known that for all these motives and other sound considerations we have declared, etc., etc., that we place under our protection and safeguard the Capuchin religious who are in the said countries of the Levant." This document is dated "from the camp before Rochelle, July 22, 1628."⁴

The establishment of the Convent of St. Louis in Pera, which has survived all the vicissitudes of centuries and still exists as a centre of Capuchin missionary activity, dates back to the first half of the seventeenth century. Its genesis was the opening of a school in an old house belonging to a lady named Subrana, in the vicinity of the French Embassy, in which Father Thomas, of Paris, took up his abode along with an old converted Armenian called Abraham. Soon after its opening, about Eastertide, 1629, it was frequented by boys of every class and creed. The missionaries said Mass in a room of the house until there was added to it a chapel dedicated to St. Louis, which was used as a public church and was served by Father Bernard, of Paris, and Father James; the former, being the most skilled in the Turkish idiom, hearing the confessions of those who only spoke that language or Greek, Italian and French, and the latter applying himself to the instruction of the pupils, who numbered forty, including not a few Greeks.

Another and rather arduous task which these zealous Capuchins imposed upon themselves was to lead back to the fold Armenian and Greek schismatics, who, at the commencement of the mission, fled from them, but were gradually drawn towards them, attracted by their exemplary lives and preaching, when they approached them with confidence. Moreover, there were two schismatic prelates who came within the scope of their apostolate. Conferences to the Greeks having been started, Greek priests and Greek notabilities and the two Bishops referred to attended the mission to have conversations or discussions with the Fathers, whose unflagging zeal went so far as to attempt the conversion of the Patriarch. There was then on the throne of Photius the celebrated Cyril Lucaris, a man not easy to be induced to change his opinions, who had by every method disseminated the doctrines of Calvinism in the Greek Church, already rent by the Photian schism, and who, having displayed hostility to French influence in the Mediterranean, was deposed and put to

⁴ Manuscript record in the general archives of the Capuchin missions in Rome.

death. It was with his successor, Cyril II., Contaris, the Capuchin missionaries held discussions in the hope of leading him into the bosom of the Catholic Church. He was orthodox in doctrine, had partly studied under the Jesuits, and there was ground to hope for his reconciliation. We have not sufficient information as to the way in which he was persuaded to abandon the schism, but we know for certain that during his journey in France Father Archangel, of Fossés, presented to the King a letter from the Patriarch Cyril, who begged him to take the Church of the East under his royal protection. It appears that Propaganda interested itself in his case and gave the Capuchin all the necessary powers to reconcile Contaris to the Church,⁵ but it does not seem to have led to any practical result. The disgraced Patriarch, reëstablished on his throne in 1631, was deposed by a council in 1633; recovering his dignity in 1635, he was relegated to Tunis, where he died a violent death. If history is silent about this conversion, it is perhaps because of the dread of discovery and undergoing the disagreeable consequences. Father Clement, of Terzorio, observes: "One should not, however, think that, once the conversion of a Patriarch is secured, the whole people will follow him. By no means. Persons who know the East and the Patriarchal organization know that even if the Patriarch should wish it, so opposed always is his mixed council, composed of fanatical heretics, and even if all the Bishops were in agreement, perhaps not even then would there be a glimmer of hope of converting the people."⁶

St. Paul says "the Greeks seek after wisdom." They have always had a passion for dialectics, and, stimulated by curiosity and that alertness of mind and fondness of controversy which are their racial characteristics, they often came to see the missionaries and discuss with them, deferring to the judgments of the Greek priests present. These courteous conferences produced conversions which, however, through dread of the Patriarch Cyril, were kept private. But they were soon convinced that such conversions were not lasting; the weak and timid, at the first whisper of fear, fell away and returned to the schism. Then they thought of accepting only public conversions. "Such was the zeal of our fathers," wrote Father Thomas, of Paris, "that a large number of Greeks went to them for confession, and all who approached them returned to the bosom of the Catholic Church and made public profession of the faith, since they had refused to hear those who would not abandon the schism. They often sent for them at the moment of death; the priests themselves some-

⁵ A Brief of December 10, 1630, accords to Father Archangel powers "to absolve Cyril Contaris from every censure of schism and heresy."

⁶ Op. cit., Vol. II., pp. 63-64.

times had recourse to their ministry at that extremity." It is noted as a wonderful and truly apostolic incident that the Greek Bishop of Thermia went in person to Constantinople on the 22d of November, 1642, and begged, solicited and conjured the Custos to send him at least one Capuchin to instruct his people, pending the arrival of others. But this good prelate could only get promises for the future.

In explanation of the conduct of the missionaries towards the Greeks, it is noted that in the seventeenth century the schism was not so complete as not to leave some hope of a return, but when in 1704 the Patriarch of Constantinople issued an encyclical forbidding intercourse with Roman Catholics, the rupture between the Churches was definite and the prohibition of communicating *in divinus* with schismatics came into full force.

Towards the middle of the seventeenth century the great mission of Constantinople was divided into three Custodies, entrusted to the Provinces of Paris, Touraine and Brittany. The first Custos of Greece, which included twelve stations, among them being Galata, Pera and Constantinople, was Father Archangel, of Fossés, who, after opening a mission in Andros, an island of the Cyclades, returned to France in 1639. This distinguished Capuchin visited all the missions of Eastern Europe, Asia, Africa and America. He continued for thirty more years to serve the missions, earning the praise and gratitude of Propaganda, and died in Paris on the 22d of July, 1670.

At this epoch numerous Turkish corsairs swarmed in the Mediterranean, while the war with Austria and Poland continued to be waged on the Continent. All the prisoners of war taken by the Turks who refused to apostatize were made slaves. They were cast into ill-lighted, unhealthy, crowded prisons, their half naked limbs loaded with heavy irons, which were never removed until they died, and were chained two by two when at work; that of Constantinople often containing up to two thousand prisoners, some of whom through grief and desperation apostatized.

Their sad condition appealed irresistibly to all Christians. The Catholic Church, the first to liberate the slave, promptly responded to the appeal. The religious orders led the way in a movement for the redemption of these poor slaves. St. John of Malta, St. Felix of Valois, and St. Peter Nolasco devoted their possessions and their lives to their liberation, founding for that purpose the Order of Mercy, with the obligation of taking the place of the slave if necessary to redeem him. St. Raymond of Pennafort similarly, by an heroic act of charity, gave himself as a hostage for them. Money, ever a great power for good or evil, was generously and self-sacrificingly spent in furtherance of this work of mercy. Authority and

influence, too, occasionally prevailed. In 1647 the Ambassador of The Hague liberated after three years' imprisonment Father Francis Gallipoli, general preacher and Custos of Calabria, and on another occasion three Dominicans and two Theatines.

The Capuchins, unable to succor them by pecuniary means, brought them spiritual succor, like St. Joseph of Leonessa. One day they had the consolation of announcing to them their complete liberty. On the accession to the Pontifical throne of Alexander VII., a universal jubilee, "*urbi et orbi*," was proclaimed. Father Urban, of Paris, went into the prison at Constantinople and communicated the joyful news to two thousand prisoners, exhorting them to have confidence in God who, when they had first liberated themselves from the slavery of the demon, would bring about their liberation from that of the Turks. The Capuchin's words were prophetic. For fifteen nights he heard their confessions; some of them had not been to the tribunal of penance for ten, twenty, thirty and forty years. On an appointed day they all received Holy Communion, so glad and content that their chains seemed lighter. Three months afterwards took place the battle of the Dardanelles, between the Venetians and the Turks, when the former achieved a glorious victory, sinking ninety-four ships of the Sultan's fleet and setting free eight thousand slaves from the galleys, and among these the two thousand in the prison at Constantinople.⁷

Another work of mercy in which the Capuchins coöperated was the relief of the fugitive slaves who took refuge in the French Embassy, whom they fed, clothed and instructed, reconciling to the Church those who had apostatized and converting yearly not less than two hundred. The houses of the ambassadors, consuls and every foreign subject had the right of sanctuary or domiciliary inviolability; but the Turks could not endure this privilege, and woe to the fugitive slave who had sought immunity there if he ever fell into their hands again!

In succoring the plague-stricken the Capuchins did heroic work, even at the cost of their lives, the Province of Paris alone, in the first century of the mission, having lost fourteen missionaries who died of the pestilence. The plague was an epidemic common in those

⁷ Though slavery has been abolished in the Turkish dominions, at Djeddah in 1888 there were 12,000 slaves sold to Arab agents, who resold them in Constantinople, Smyrna, Salonica, Beyrout and other cities. At that time the commerce in slaves at Hodeida was more important than in any other place because of the annual deportation of 20,000 black and white slaves, men and women, besides 20,000 from the Soudan and others from Tripoli, Murzuk and Fezzan, until they reached a total of 100,000. In 1857 the Ottoman Government published a law imposing punishment on any person discovered to be implicated in the slave traffic. In 1880 England entered into a convention with Turkey for its prevention.

times. The Turks, moved by a kind of fatalism, would not allow any preventive or remedial measures, such as prudence would suggest to be adopted, and hence the mortality was always very great. An account of its ravages sent from Scio in 1653 states that in that year from 6,000 to 7,000 persons perished of the plague, and that those stricken with the disease saw no deliverance but in the mercy of God, to whom they had recourse in fervent prayers. The Capuchins organized public processions, headed by the Crucifix, in which they walked barefooted, without sandals; crowds of men, women and children following, many of whom, after the example of the friars, going barefooted for an entire novena. They were living skeletons, emaciated and exhausted, beating their breasts and imploring pardon from God for their faults, each one promising to perform some good action if his life was spared. After that the plague began to diminish, and what is particularly worthy of observation is that notwithstanding the missionaries were daily in close contact with the plague-stricken, exhorting and consoling them and administering the sacraments to the dying, none of them died of the pestilence on that occasion. Father Archangel, of Tillet, a man of illustrious family and of singular charity, who was attacked by the malady but did not fall a victim to it, was reduced to such a state of weakness that he had to return to France, followed, on his embarkation, by a weeping crowd of all creeds to whom he had been a great benefactor, administering to their spiritual as well as corporal needs; baptizing Greeks, Jews and Mussulmans at the point of death and converting numbers of schismatics whom he led back to the Church.

A great disaster befell the mission in 1660 which threatened to destroy the work of thirty-four years. On the night of April 10 the Church of St. George, with all the property adjoining it, and the Galata quarter became a prey to the flames. It was very difficult to obtain a new permission to build a church and convent. Meanwhile, to allay the suspicions of the Turks, they constructed a large store with some cells above; but as soon as the Ottoman Governor was made aware of the subterfuge he immediately had the building demolished. Ten years elapsed; but the missionaries, who continued to labor in Pera and the islands, did not lose hope of one day being able to rebuild St. George's. The Court of Paris, availing of the arrival of a new French Ambassador in 1670, asked of the Porte the required permission, which was granted in 1673, perpetual possession of their churches in Galata being secured to the Capuchins and Jesuits. It meant the practical reestablishment of the Catholic religion in the Ottoman Empire. The church was hardly finished when another disaster occurred. Having been constructed too has-

tilly, half the roof fell in. This entailed the necessity of a new permission. Finally in 1677 the whole church was rebuilt and solemnly blessed by Monsignor Rido'fi, suffragan of the Vicar-Patriarchal of Constantinople. An inscription in incised golden letters on a black marble slab commemorates the event. The poor convent of St. George was to pass through other troubles. In 1696 a fire consumed St. Benedict's and St. Francis' and destroyed the convent; the church was saved as by a miracle. In 1731 it was again rebuilt. In 1761 the Church of St. George (like that of the Jesuits and Dominicans) was profaned by the arrest of some Armenian Catholics who took refuge there, fleeing from the galleys to which they were being led.

The Sultan in a letter dated 1678 to the Pope, whom he styles "Great Priest of Rome and Sacrificer of Jesus who was massacred by the Hebrews in the city of Jerusalem," after declaring that for a long time he had put to death all the "sacrificers" sent into the various cities and countries of his jurisdiction, gives as one of the reasons why he had "restrained his just fury" the "great humility and obedience towards him of these sacrificers and penitent Capuchins," whom he "permitted to live" in his Empire; his lieutenants and governors having informed him "that their manner of life and conversation with his subjects is very modest and without scandal," at which he greatly marveled! This and the recommendation of the King of France (Louis XIV.) were the considerations that hindered him from banishing them and moved him to treat them with much consideration by licensing those who call themselves "servants of a certain prophet of theirs named Francis" to remain in Constantinople and "serve the Nazarene and their prophet according to their statutes." The letter, which is in the grandiose and verbose style affected by Orientals, is signed "Mecmet, Emperor of the whole world, King of the Terrestrial Paradise of Jerusalem and Lord of the Holy Sepulchre of the God of the Christians, Confederate of the great Most Christian King and Benefactor of the Great Priest of Rome."

The Pope (Innocent XI.) in the course of his reply tells the Sultan that "the holy desire and interior movement" to permit the Capuchins, "the most humble servants of Jesus Christ," to build "a new and little house" in Constantinople proceeded from God, "who governs kings and emperors and holds in His hands the hearts of monarchs," and that "the poor religious penitents are disciples of the great St. Francis, who was in his life the true imitator of Jesus Christ, who by His death gave life to the world and without whom none can be saved." Having referred the Sultan to the Apostles' Creed as containing a summary of the chief articles of the Christian

religion, the Pontiff proceeds: "We do not wish to specify them here, having given orders to our brethren, your most humble servants, who are in your great city of Constantinople to offer to satisfy your desire, which will be better done by word of mouth than by written and dead words." Alluding to the Holy Sacrifice, His Holiness adds: "As to how this Sacrifice is performed, the fathers who are in Constantinople will tell you if it pleases your Majesty to hear them; this cannot be taught at once, but requires much time and lengthy discourses."

After the burning of Galata all the foreign residents went to Pera, where very soon was erected the Church of St. Louis, the expenses being borne by the faithful and chiefly by the French Ambassador. *Pari passu*, with the enlargement of the church proceeded the acquisition of other properties, and the convent of Pera, growing in importance, became the principal centre of the mission. The Comte des Alleurs, when dying, left his heart to the Capuchins and was entombed in the chapel of St. Felix. It was the chapel of the French Ambassador and all his household, and one of the Capuchins was his chaplain and accompanied him on his journeys. The convent was the residence of the superior general of the missions, or the Custos of Greece. These Custos were men of remarkable gifts, of indefatigable zeal. One of them, who held office four times, Father Urban, of Paris, who died in 1703 at the age of eighty-four, after being sixty-seven years in religion, fifty of which he spent in the mission, often exposed himself to the plague, converted numerous schismatics, consoled, fortified and catechized the poor slaves, arbitrated on disputes among Christians, secretly baptized children and adults, men and women, and was frequently punished for making converts, glorying to suffer something for the love of God.

Shortly after the peace of Carlowitz (January 26, 1699), Turkey was again at war with the Venetian Republic, and after the conclusion of a new peace diplomatic relations were resumed. In accordance with the usages of the time among Catholic nations, the Venetian Ambassador was accompanied by a theologian. This office was later filled by Paolo Francesco Giustiniani, a member of a ducal family, whose head was senator and procurator of St. Mark's. Giustiniani's mother, Elisabetta Morosini, was niece of that Francesco who was Doge and the first to bear the title of Peloponnesiaco. Born on April 14, 1715, and baptized with the name of Giulio Ascanio, he was in the flower of his age. Moved by an extraordinary spirit of piety and total detachment from worldly things, renouncing to the surprise of everybody and with wonderful constancy the honors and distinctions that might be expected by one of his illustrious birth and rare talents, he entered the humble institute of the Minors

Capuchin in the Province of Venice on the 1st of May, 1736. Humility was thenceforward his devise, austerity what most distinguished him. At Rome, where he pursued the higher studies, he acquired the reputation of being a good theologian, and on his return to his native place was sent, with faculties from Propaganda and the Senate, to fill the office mentioned at Constantinople. But he did not long retain it, for before he was thirty years of age he was chosen and consecrated by Benedict XIV. Bishop of Chioggia (July 1, 1744) and then translated to the See of Treviso (November 16, 1750), already previously ruled by his ancestors, Francesco and Vincenzo Giustiniani, and Silvestro, Marco and Fortunato Morosini. In the first see he got the Capuchins to catechize in the public square; in the second his missionary work lasted for thirty-seven years, at the end of which, weighed down with age, he resigned under Pius VI., who nominated him Archbishop of Chalcedon (March 10, 1788). He died on February 17, 1789, and was buried in the Capuchin church at Treviso.

We have heard much in these days of Armenia in its relations with the Ottoman Government and the world has been shocked by the pitiless persecution to which the Armenians have been subjected. At the epoch referred to the French missionaries were embroiled with the Ambassador Ferréol⁸ in the famous Armenian question which originated at the time when that nation adopted the Eutychean heresy, and, withdrawn from the vigilance of the supreme hierarchy, the see of Gregory the Illuminator split into four. An Armenian Bishop of Stamboul was made a Patriarch of Constantinople about 1307. The Sultan, Mahomet II., having subdued Constantinople in 1453, commanded Gioachino, Archbishop of Bursa, to bring into the capital a large number of Armenian families and, being favorably disposed towards them, assigned to them a quarter which they were to inhabit, making the Archbishop not only their hierarchical head, but also his political lieutenant, with the title of "Patrik," or Patriarch, for the maintenance of order and as security for their fidelity, as he had previously confirmed to Gennadio, the Patriarch of the Greeks. He gave him authority over all the Armenians dwelling in Greece and Anatolia, with power to change, confirm or depose the Bishops and prelates subject to his jurisdiction. About the middle of the seventeenth century the Bishop of Jerusalem, who had the

⁸ The action of Count Ferréol, Minister of Louis XIV. at Stamboul (1689-1709), in carrying off to Paris the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople, who evinced strong anti-Catholic tendencies, served to bring persecution upon the Armenian Catholics in the Turkish Empire, which lasted down to 1830. Of the Catholic Armenians, the greater portion are under the Patriarch, whose full title is "Patriarch of Cilicia of the Armenians." In Rome there is a titular Bishop of the Armenians.

faculty of consecrating the chrism, began arbitrarily to call himself Patriarch. Such a conflict of authorities split up the nation, already extinct as a kingdom (1375). In the beginning of the century one Melchisadec was called Patriarch of Constantinople and a certain Ephrem Archbishop of Adrianople. The latter, a most ambitious man, did everything in his power to displace the other, and having discovered three of his priests in relations with the Capuchin missionaries, suspended them from every office and sent them to Melchisadec, that by his authority he might have them condemned to the galleys. The Patriarch absolved them. The Archbishop then denounced him to the Court—at that time in Adrianople—and Mustapha II. deposed Melchisadec and elevated Ephrem, ordering that none of his Armenian subjects should give shelter to any missionary, were he an Armenian or of any other nation, on pain of death or confiscation of all his property. A violent persecution followed. The heretics were on the point of obtaining a decree ordering all Armenians to return to their Church under pain of being sent to the galleys, and that those who frequented the French churches should be heavily fined, when an arrangement was come to between the two parties, subject to the approval of Rome and the Patriarch of Armenia (Ecmiazin), the points under discussion to be submitted to the Latin Archbishop, the superiors of the religious houses, and other theologians. The *modus vivendi* laid down that the schismatics should not require any profession of faith from Catholics, forbade them to anathematize the Pope, the Council of Chalcedon⁹ and St. Leo; the Armenian rite to be common to all, the Roman Church recognized as holy and having priority, and other provisions; the transgressors to be handed over to the Ambassador to have them punished by the Caimacam. One copy of the act was to be lodged with the Ambassador and another with the Capuchins of St. Louis of Pera, to be preserved in their archives.

Notwithstanding this compact, a new persecution was stirred up by an intriguer named Avedick, notorious for his schismatical opposition to the Jesuit mission at Erzerum, in combination with Feiz-ulla-Effendi, through whose influence he got himself nominated Bishop of Essenga. As soon as he heard of the persecution of Ephrem, he hurried to Constantinople, put himself at the head of a peace party and, with the help of the aforesaid mufti, was elected Vicar of the Patriarch. Peace concluded, not many weeks elapsed when, under the same accusation of favoring foreigners, Ephrem

⁹ The Council that in 451 expelled Eutyches, who was exiled. He had been previously (448) degraded, excommunicated and deposed at a synod presided over by St. Flavian, Bishop of Constantinople. The Eutychian or Monophysite heresy asserted that Christ had but one nature after the Incarnation.

was exiled to Esmiazin, and Avedick was named Patriarch (December, 1701). The mufti, shortly after, secured for his friend the Patriarchate of Jerusalem. He was a wolf in sheep's clothing, who ravaged the fold, obtaining from Adrianople twenty decrees against the Capuchin missions. But after the revolution, which resulted in the deposition of Mustafa II., the people demanded and obtained from Acmet III. the death of the Mufti Feiz-ulla-Effendi, the chief cause of all the trouble. With the fall of Mustafa fell all his adherents and Avedick in 1703 was imprisoned in the Seven Towers, from which he was relegated to Abratadas, near Tripoli, in Syria. But his friends, by bribing the Turks, got him restored to the Patriarchate in 1704. He promised to no longer torment the Armenian Catholics, to prohibit anathema being pronounced against St. Leo and the Council of Chalcedon in the churches or Dioscorus and the other heretics the schismatics honored as saints invoked. But after a short time he returned to his old practices of bastinadoing, imprisoning and extortion. Again deposed (February 25, 1706), bastinadoed in his turn and imprisoned, after two months he was driven into exile. Some say he was carried off to Scio and handed over to France, was first consigned to the care of the Benedictines of Mont Saint Michel, then sent to the Bastille, and finally liberated and attached to the Church of St. Sulpice. He was one of those alleged to be identical with the famous "man of the iron mask," one of the mysterious and unsolved problems of history. Others say he was found by Maltese in the waters of Tenedos, taken to Malta and then to Messina, where penitent, he ended his life among the Capuchins in the sentiments of a true Catholic.

The succession to the Patriarchate was like the succession to the Imperial dignity during the last stages of the decadent Roman Empire. They were elevated and deposed more or less ignominiously every three years. The ferocious John, of Smyrna, who, through revenge, continued the old persecution, was particularly antagonistic to the Capuchins and those of their race. He slaughtered atrociously. Nineteen were beheaded; one, Der Comidas, a convert priest of the Armenian Church of St. George, was arrested at night, two of his teeth broken, and he was then consigned to the Vizir as a foreigner (November 3, 1707). But he was not beheaded, as Serpos asserts.

Clement XI. got Louis XIV. to write to the Ottoman Government to obtain from the Turks better treatment for the Armenians and other Catholics of the Levant, but little or nothing came of it. A new Patriarch, elected in 1724, renewed the persecutions, because the Catholics would not put down a sum equivalent to what he had

spent to purchase the Patriarchal dignity. This state of things was protracted for a century, during which the poor Armenian Catholics had to be subject to schismatic Patriarchs, who, ever avaricious and simoniacal, imprisoned and tortured them in virtue of the powers given them by Mahomet II. At the close of 1714 the Catholics tried to emancipate themselves by demanding a Patriarch of their own, but their opponents were too strong for them. At length, after a final struggle under Mahmud II., through the mediation of the King of France and the Emperor of Austria, they made their voices heard. A responsible head was accorded to them in 1829, elevated to the rank of Primate by Pius VIII. on July 5, 1830, and joined to the Patriarchate of Cilicia by Pius IX. on July 12, 1867.

Louis XV., when he succeeded to the French throne, followed the example of his predecessors in regard to the protection of the missions of the Franciscan Capuchins, who were missionaries apostolic and exercised parochial functions. In a letter from Versailles, dated March 1, 1724, he expresses the satisfaction which the Capuchins by their zeal, piety and conduct had given, not only confirming and maintaining the royal protection accorded to them on November 25, 1687, but helping them to extend the sphere of their labors "to the glory of God and the consolation of the faithful;" giving commands to that effect to the French Ambassador, consuls and vice consuls, specially charged to safeguard the hospices, churches, chapels and convents of the Capuchins, who were not to be molested by any one in their missionary work; and likewise requesting the Turkish governors to give them every protection and assistance. The French protection was of the utmost importance, as the Janissaries very often acted like the pretorians in the last days of the Roman Empire. There were frequent tumults leading to bloodshed, to the death of the Grand Vizier and to the deposition of Acmet III. (October 16, 1730.) Under Mahmud I. there was a reaction when the revolutionaries or mutineers were severely punished. Incendiary fires were of frequent occurrence; under Acmet there were 140 and the city was rebuilt five times.

When Charles III., of Naples, following the example of France, established a college near the Capuchins in Galata, the house there, the first dwelling of the Capuchins, after being 157 years in their possession, passed, in 1783, into other hands, purchased by the Vicar Apostolic of Constantinople, Monsignor Franchia.

For a long time the lack of trustworthiness, tact and honesty of many interpreters in the employ of the French Embassy and Consulate was lamentable. They had to correspond with the natives, destitute of civil and literary education, and many could scribble and read a little Turkish. Their task was of the greatest importance,

as they had to treat of the most delicate affairs with the Porte. On November 17, 1669, the King of France issued an edict directing that dragomans or interpreters should be competent Frenchmen nominated by an assembly of merchants and sworn in presence of the Consul; and that to be sure in future of their fidelity, six boys of nine or ten should be sent to Constantinople and Smyrna every three years and placed in the Capuchin convents to be educated and instructed in the Catholic religion and in languages. So one college was established at Smyrna and another at Constantinople, an annual pension of 300 francs being allocated for each boy, the number of the boys being increased from six to twelve in 1718. The results that followed were most satisfactory. From 1710 to 1726 the Capuchin College of St. Louis furnished for the service of the nation forty-three youths, mostly French, who were an honor to their teachers and to the order. This institution existed up to the close of the Napoleonic régime. The Capuchins also devoted themselves to the study of local dialects. Father Bernard, of Paris, published an Italian and Turkish vocabulary and a French and Turkish dictionary, while another father compiled a dictionary of French, Turkish and Greek.

The French Revolution, in its devastating fury demolishing all that the monarchy had raised or created, seriously endangered the Custody of Greece. There being no longer Provincials in France, the Custos, Father Hubert, of Amiens, was nominated (1797) Prefect Apostolic of the missions of the Archipelago, Asia Minor and Constantinople, an office he filled until his death in 1813. They had a hard time of it. The French Capuchins were insulted by their own countrymen. With the destruction of the Provinces the missions decayed. Galata, Andros and Milo were abandoned. The great mission of Candia was reduced to a single missionary. In Canea the convent was attacked and the church profaned. The religious remained in Athens until the Consul hunted them out.

Pending the arrival at Constantinople in 1793 of Citizen Descorehes, the representative of revolutionized France, Father Hubert, the Custos, had to assume the foreign protectorate in order to save the missions confided to him. In 1796 General Aubert Dubayet arrived as Ambassador in the East. Both were hostile to the missions. The latter asked the Sultan to confirm him in his rights as Ambassador of France and protector of the Catholic religion in Constantinople and the Levant, but it was with a malignant intention, for, as soon as he obtained his object, he hastened to declare that a portion of the church should be changed into a barrack for French soldiers. There was a time when they apprehended a general confiscation, as in France, but it did not ensue. Then the courageous Prefect,

Father Hubert, addressed a strong letter to the Ambassador to show him what were the duties of the Catholic protectorate, and demanded the reinstatement of the missionaries in Athens. General Dubayet was moved and took the Custos' recommendations to heart. In a letter to the Consul at Athens he upheld the right of France to protect Catholicism in the East. The Holy See, no longer relying upon French protection, in 1803 Propaganda directed Father Hubert not to ask for it, the Pope begging the Sultan to protect the Catholics in his Empire. This was like putting the lamb in the wolf's mouth. They were troublous times for religion in France and the missions in the Mediterranean.

Other grave dangers menaced the missions. Napoleon I., unable to invade England, thought of attacking its colonial possessions through the conquest of Egypt, for which, on the 19th of May, 1798, he embarked with a force of 30,000 picked troops. Turkey hotly resented this and swore vengeance against the French. All French subjects in the East, all the churches, religious institutions and mission property were in great danger. St. Polycarp's, in Smyrna, was menaced by the Greeks; the convent of Scio was lost, that of Athens closed for three years; and the very lives of the missionaries were imperiled. They were constrained to have recourse to foreign protection, the Capuchins trusting to Austria and Spain, which was leaning upon broken reeds. It was only after the conclusion of peace in 1801, and particularly after the Concordat with the Holy See, when France became outwardly, at least, Christian, that the French protectorate was effectively resumed. The decree restoring public worship and official religious festivals was taken advantage of by Father Hubert to improve the situation. A man of great energy and extraordinary courage, the last Custos and first Prefect of Constantinople, seeing this mission which his brethren of Paris had maintained for 206 years on the point of extinction, he did everything to preserve it. But where was he to find subjects to keep up the supply of missions? France had no longer any. Propaganda sent as many Italian Capuchins as it could and later some Spaniards; but the ambassadors and representatives of France wanted French religious, the French Government being wishful of extending its influence in the East by means of missionaries. The reconstruction, under the auspices of the Bishop of Valence, of a community of five Capuchins at Crest, a small village of the Drôme, inspired a hope that the mission would be saved and that new French missionaries would soon be sent to the East. The Ministry allowed them to wear the habit publicly on condition that they did not call themselves Capuchins, but "Franciscan Missioners of the Levant" and their house "Seminary of St. Francis of Assisi for the Missions of the Levant."

The superior, Father Archangel, despite his eighty-five years of age; Father Michelangelo, aged seventy-six, and a young religious who had lately joined the order, volunteered out of the small community of five; but only the two latter went, Father Michelangelo getting the title of Prefect. The other, Father Bonaventure, discouraged, returned to France, and Father Michelangelo died after two years, succumbing to fatigue and infirmity. Father Alexis, of Arras, followed and spent eight years in Constantinople, being the last French chaplain at the Embassy. For fifty years after 1830, Italian fathers served the mission of St. Louis. The last Prefect, Father Salvatore, of Graniti, died in 1887, when that title was abolished.

In 1863 the mission acquired the parish of San Stefano, or St. Stephen, a delightful village on the shores of a small bay in the Sea of Marmora, an hour's train journey from Constantinople. It has a very important ancient and modern history. Of Christian origin, it has always been inhabited by Greeks and Catholics, the Ottoman element being represented by only a few families. In 1200 it had a chapel called St. Stephen's; hence the name of the village. It is said that the body of the Proto-martyr of Jerusalem was being brought from Jerusalem to Rome when the vessel containing it was dashed against this part of the little bay where it was landed. But this seems difficult to account for, as in going from Jerusalem to Rome the ship would not take this course, unless it was making first for Byzantium. In any case, what is certain is that the history of the Crusades makes mention of San Stefano. It is related that when in 1200 the Franco-Venetian crusaders arrived near Constantinople they held a council of war in the little Greek church or convent of San Stefano to deliberate on the taking of the city. There now exists a little Greek church entirely rebuilt in 1844, served by a Greek priest; but the monastery no longer exists. In 1878 San Stefano witnessed the conclusion of peace which ended the Russo-Turkish War, when 200,000 Russian soldiers were encamped there. The Capuchin convent was not taken military possession of, but their houses were inhabited by Russians, one being turned into a police barrack and a prison. The convent chronicle records that some of the Polish soldiers, among whom was a doctor, died there and were buried with Catholic rites in the Capuchin cemetery, and after some years disinterred and removed to a little village called Galataria, where a superb monument was erected. The chronicle adds that the Polish soldiers gave a good example as Christians, frequenting the church and the sacraments, particularly at Easter, when their chaplain, with the assistance of Father Sebastian, gave Holy Communion to 3,000. In 1908 in San Stefano was held the first constitutional Turkish parliament. Two years afterwards it ordered the deposition

of the Sultan Abdul-Hamid, whom Gladstone denounced as "the great assassin." During the Balkan War (1912-1913) about 250,000 Turkish soldiers embarked at San Stefano, ill clad, ill fed and wholly insubordinate, and so ignorant that they did not know how to handle a rifle, to return after the sanguinary battle of Kirk-Kilisse and Lule-Burgao, wasted by fatigue, hunger and disease. The country became an immense lazaret-house, and from five to six thousand soldiers died and were buried there. The population was reduced to very few inhabitants; of the six hundred and odd Catholics there only remained half a score; the schools of the friars and Sisters were closed, and the Franciscan Seraphic Seminary was, by order of the French Ambassador, transferred to Constantinople. The guardian of the convent got the village disinfected.

The Most Reverend Father Peter, of Settingiano, the Capuchin Prefect-Apostolic, after taking over the Latin parish of San Stefano, founded by Monsignor Brunoni, Archbishop of Constantinople, built a new church, the present one, begun in 1865 and finished in 1866, at a cost of 47,000 francs. It was solemnly blessed on June 16, 1867, and is dedicated to the Proto-martyr, St. Stephen. During the earthquake of 1894 the roof fell, but its reconstruction made the church more beautiful than ever. In November, 1869, Father Peter was summoned to Rome and nominated procurator general of the missions, after laboring for thirty years in Constantinople, where, in August, 1870, he again occupied the post of Prefect, which he resigned in 1871, dying at Smyrna in 1885, at the advanced age of eighty, mourned by all.

In 1881 the Convent of St. Louis was again relegated to the French friars, that of San Stefano being attached to the Smyrna mission. In 1882, following the erection of the international novitiate of Buggia, near Smyrna, San Stefano became a preparatory college for aspirants to the order. In 1883 it became a house of studies for students of philosophy, when the seminary was transferred to Filippopoli, in Bulgaria. This convent underwent other transformations. In 1893 it again became a seminary-college, withdrawn from Filippopoli, and was later on added to the novitiate. The seminary remained at San Stefano until the suppression of the International Institute in December, 1912.

In 1831 a great fire consumed a large part of Pera, burning among other buildings the churches of St. Anthony and St. Louis. The missionaries took refuge in a portion of the convent spared by the flames, where they constructed a provisional chapel. The church was rebuilt by the French Government on condition that the Capuchins ceded a portion of their grounds. On the 1st of May, 1847, it was blessed by Father Maurus, of Leonessa, then prefect. In

1882, when the French Capuchins resumed possession of their former mission, they repaired the church, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs contributing 12,500 francs for that purpose.

The substitution of Italian for French fathers caused no disturbance in the work of the mission, of which the former were faithful continuators. In 1857 they instituted a tertiary congregation, which included Greek converts, French, English, Germans, Swiss and Italians, Father Peter, of Settingiano, in 1862, erected a confraternity of the Sacred Heart of Mary, although there already existed one of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, being very zealous for the propagation of devotion to the Blessed Virgin, her cultus being very popular in the East.

From the moment the Constantinople mission was occupied by Italian Capuchins the Ambassadors never ceased to urge the return of the French fathers, renewing their appeal as soon as the order was restored in Paris. Finally in 1880 Father Arsène, provincial of Paris, asked and obtained from the superiors of the order and the Holy See, with the concurrence of France, the concession of St. Louis of Pera and the return to the old state of things; his paternity undertaking to provide for the needs of the mission in quality of Prefect Apostolic. Accordingly, Father Marcellus, of Montailié, and Father Lawrence, of Mans, on the 6th of March, 1881, took possession of the mission; the Italian friars, Fathers Salvatore (superior), Pietro, Cherubino and Franceso, showing that they had only one thought, one desire to make a cordial and regular consignment of everything, which they did on the 4th of May, when Father Marcellus became superior.

Their first care was to establish the regular observance and the second to restore the house and make it more suitable for a religious community. One of their most important undertakings was the establishment of a native clergy. Leo XIII. had exhorted all the priesthood of the East to work for the union of the churches. Now, one of the great means being the education of youth, and especially the training of a native clergy, well taught and fitted for the ministry, the superiors of the mission, remembering that at all times the house of St. Louis was a house of education, resolved to revive the old traditions from this point of view. The prefect then obtained from Propaganda a decree for the opening of a school devoted to the education of young clerics without distinction of rite. So the necessary preparations having been made, the Oriental Apostolic College of St. Louis was opened on the 4th of September, 1882. It receives grand seminarists of the Latin, Armenian, Chaldaic, Syriac and Bulgarian rites, numbering thirty-four. None of them pays any pension, but all are at the expense

of the mission. Besides intern there are extern students, who vary from fifteen to twenty and read a classical course. More than fifty of the seminarists have been raised to the priesthood. The teaching is that of the French seminaries where Latin, Greek and French are taught, only they pursue the study of their respective national languages, Turkish, Armenian, etc., and cultivate studies that appertain to the several rites.

To achieve such results the fathers of St. Louis had to employ more than their zeal and singular activity, all the administrative ability they had to sustain the new institution, confronted by insufficient funds. But works of charity may always rely upon the divine assistance, and this was not wanting in moments of great uncertainty. It was subsidized by the Society for the Propagation of the Faith and the Institute of Schools of the East, while the French Government generously helped. The advantages already gained in 1883 secured the good will of the Ambassador, the Marquis de Noailles, who to testify his interest in the work presided at the quarterly examinations, and to signify his satisfaction most cordially received the pupils in his villa near the Bosphorus, donating a large number of books to the boys' library.

In 1885 the college was visited by the minister general, the Most Rev. Father Bernard, of Andermatt, who addressed words of praise and encouragement to the fathers and students.

The founder and first superior of this important college, which is bound to exercise a wide influence on the progress of Catholicism in the East, the Most Rev. Father Marcellus, of Montailié, died on January 4, 1901, and his obsequies were fittingly solemnized on the 16th, the feast of St. Marcellus.

The Brothers of the Christian Schools in the College of St. Joseph at Kadi-Keni; the Daughters of St. Vincent de Paul, particularly Sister Magdalen, foundress of the Municipal Asylum, and Sister Jane, superioress of the French Hospital; the nuns of the Third Order Regular, especially those of Paris, who have been helped by the magnanimity of the Duchess d'Estissac, and the Franciscan Sisters of Calais, in the Via Tom-Tom at Pera, have been of the greatest assistance to the advancement of religion and of the mission by their works, their zeal and their charity and deserve the name of Auxiliaries of Divine Providence.

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EASTERN AND WESTERN ADOGMATISM AND THE
FULLNESS OF CHRISTIAN REVELATION.

IF WE go back to the mainspring of all the heresies and schisms which have afflicted and torn asunder the Church of Christ, we shall see that they all came from a perversion of the human mind led astray either by new-fangled conceptions of Christian mysticism or by the groundless claims of stubborn rationalism. Either of these two evils lies at the very bottom of all the great subversions of Christianity which have worn out even the holiness and brilliant learning of some of its stars of the first magnitude. A visionary mysticism gave rise to the gnostic sects of the earliest Church, and in the Middle Ages to the fanciful dreams of the *Evangelium æternum* of Joachim of Flora and to the ecstasies of the Greek Hesychasts. An ill-directed mysticism also brought to existence French Jansenism and recently Polish Mariavitism. Thus the history of mystical aberrations in the Christian Church clearly shows that it is not enough to love God. There is need also to love Him in accordance with the rules set for us by Christian revelation and by the supreme magisterium of the Church. Certainly the greatest mystics remarked with righteousness that the only measure and mode of loving God is to love Him *sine modo*, but that expression must be understood as concerning the powers of the human heart. However glowing you would conceive its love of God, the power of love is not exhausted. But even in loving God, and especially when love exerts its influence on the mind, we cannot overstep the barriers imposed on our understanding by divine revelation. We cannot substitute our human word for the word of God; we cannot boast of being possessed of such an inward illumination as to be able to break the bondage of our allegiance to the magisterium of the Church. A free mysticism, a mysticism which claims individual inerrancy and proclaims its independence in the realm of faith and spreads its illusions as wholesome truths and alloys them with the teaching of the Church—that mysticism, I say, sows tares among the wheat of the Divine Sower.

On the other hand, rationalism, by forcing the highest truths of revelation to fit within its grasp, squeezes them within the narrow boundaries of human reason and mixes them with human errors and human littleness. If there are limits beyond attainment in the mystical knowledge of God, there are also limits still more insuperable to the attempts of the rationalist invaders within the field of Christian revelation. The inner life of God, His ineffable mysteries, the secrets of His wisdom are out of the reach of our spiritual

eyes. What we know of God in a positive manner is taught to us by revelation. Without Christ, so far as our knowledge of God is concerned, we could not have received of its fullness. "Grace and truth came by Jesus Christ. No man hath seen God at any time; the only begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, He hath declared Him." (John 1, 17, 18.) No one in this world can share in the divine prerogatives of the Incarnate Son of God. Pagan philosophy as well as Christian theology subscribe to the Aristotelian saying that we gaze at God with the eyes of bats. Whatever we do to break down the barriers which shut off from us the eternal heights of the divine wisdom is labor lost. And if at times we flatter ourselves of having attained our goal and open wide our eyes to see the breach we think we have made in those barriers, we are forced to concede that we have wasted our time and effort. After so much toil our sight is more dim, our eyes are more blind, our mind delirious. All the attempts of rationalism to humanize God, to dissect the truths of divine revelation with the scalpel of hyper-criticism, have resulted in lamentable failure. They have not explained the mysterious life of God; they have not built up a rational system on the debris of that Christian revelation which they boasted of having shattered to pieces; they have, it is true, succeeded in contaminating the purity of faith in many souls, but they have been unable to supersede the eternal truths of both the speculative and the moral order, when a handful of rude Disciples culled from the lips of the Saviour and handed down to men as the only source of their perennial and spiritual regeneration.

Just now, as well as in every age of Christian unity, divine revelation is the target of two classes of foes. One group looks upon it with a touch of superciliousness, as an inheritance unworthy of God; the other regards it as a burden unworthy of man. To the former Christian revelation is deficient and defective from above; consequently its alleged immutability and fullness is in fact a blasphemy against God, and it is as though the wisdom of God were sealed for ever by human hands. According to the second group, the infallible revelation of the Lord—as theologians officially call it—is a medley of divine and human elements, a barn gathering the wheat and the chaff, a bundle of fragrant flowers and noxious weeds. Like those of old, visionary mystics of to-day with thumbs reversed, *pollice verso* are waiting for the last breath of worn-out and dying Christian revelation, and their eyes scan the wide horizon in search of a new emanation of the divine wisdom among men. No less gorgeous a sunset of Christian revelation is impatiently awaited by these rationalists who strive to convince themselves that

reason is going to strike a deathblow to evanescent Christian faith: *ceci tuera cela.*

Mystics who lay the axe at the roots of Christian revelation are to be found in the ranks of Eastern adogmatists: rationalists who aim eagerly at the same goal belong to the little host of Western Modernists. To the one, the fullness of Christian revelation is at a variance with the eternal fecundity of the divine life; to the other, the same fullness is a theological misconception, which is being battered by the historical testimonies of the past. Russian adogmatists believe that Christian revelation is a stage in the doctrinal evolution of the Divine Being, a transient flash in the ceaseless irradiation of God upon men. The Modernists, in turn, declare that Christian revelation, like the Hegelian Absolute, is to be found only in *Werden*, an incandescent nebula whose fires are extinguished or illuminated at one's ease by the skill of evolving and progressive reason. In the first case God the Father works against His Son. Still more, He decrees the dethronement of His beloved Son, in whom He is well pleased, and who came into the world as the true light of every man; in the second, men array themselves against God; with the scythe of criticism they cut down the best flowers of His gardens and strive to cover them with the shifting sands of the Egyptian deserts.

The Catholic Church, however, stands firm on the battlements of her rock against both foes. To visionary mysticism she answers that Heaven and earth shall pass, but the words of Christ shall not pass. (Matt. xxiv., 35.) To the proud rationalists she declares that she speaks not in the learned words of human wisdom. Her faith does not stand on the wisdom of men. She speaks the wisdom of God in mystery. (I. Cor. ii., 13, 5, 7.)

Russian adogmatism ought to be known and refuted by Western theologians, who have at heart the vital interests of Christianity. It is the substratum, the hidden foundations of the religious beliefs of the so-called Russian intelligentsia. It is a rationalism *sui generis*, tinted with the colors of a dazzling mysticism. In some respects it offers a striking resemblance to the main positions of Modernism. It goes farther, however, and in the end arrives at a full denial of the usefulness of Christian revelation. The Gods die, and the God Jesus Christ follows them into the oblivion of the grave. While the Modernists assert that they wish to preserve for the living experience of men the sacred deposit of Christian revelation, the Russian adogmatists aver that there are no longer verdant branches on the Christian stock; that the soil around it has become sterile. It is time to cut it down and cast it into the fire.

Russian adogmatism takes its source from the religious nihilism

of Tolstoi, which is stripped of any flavor or shade of mysticism whatsoever. Its teachers and systematizers hold a place of honor in the history of modern Russian literature. They are known and praised as poets, critics, novelists and philosophers. They are the leaders of the Russian *intelligentsia*. The chief representative of the school is Dimitrii Sergieevich Merezhkovskii, born in 1866.

The literary career of Merezhkovskii has passed through varied phases of influences and beliefs. He is a true evolutionist in literature, an inconstant and anxious mind, ever groping his way, tasting honey and poison alike throughout the gardens of literature. He has a special relish for paradoxical truisms. His pen has become venomous when it touches the mild and radiant figure of Christ. As he advances along the road towards the new world which he seeks, his feelings of hatred against the *eternal foe of the flesh* grow ever more bitter.

Yet the lawgiver of Russian adogmatism started his literary life with loftier aspiration and a deeply felt delicacy of sentiments. His first poems were brought to light in 1888. They made him famous. Harping on the common note of all the best Russian writers, he sang of human sufferings, of the tears and sorrows of the humble and the oppressed. To his eyes darkness is spread over all created beings. The sun is weary of darting its rays on a sabled world. The fall of night wraps even the glorified body of the risen Saviour. He hears the first death-bell of Christian faith. "Christ is risen!" they sing loudly in the church. But I am sad. My soul is chilled in frozen silence. The earth is overflown with tears and blood. The alleluia before the altars sounds as hollow as the sobbing of a mourner. What bitterest tears would Jesus have shed if He stood among us and witnessed the deadliest fruits of centuries of a brilliant civilization and the endless hatred of brethren arrayed against brethren and the wiles of men against men. "Alleluia, alleluia," they sing in the church. When there will be neither masters nor slaves, when there will be no stones of maledictions launched against each other, when there will be no din of swords, when there will be no clatter of chains, then, only then, I shall strike up the anthem of liberty: "*Christ has risen! Alleluia!*" and the whole world will answer: "Alleluia, truly the Christ has risen."¹

In another book of verses issued in 1892 the note of religious despair is accentuated; his lyre strings with a hopeless skepticism. He feels discouraged at the sight of the lamentable divisions of Christianity. His confidence fades away. He begins to turn his

¹ "Stikhotvoreniia" (Poems). Pétrograd, 1888, pp. 71-72.

eyes away from the decaying kingdom of Christ. To his spiritual shortsightedness the world slides even from the grasp of the Catholic Church, and he cries over the ruins of the Christian Rome: "Rome the embodiment of the world's unity! At the beginning, when it was a republic, an iron spirit of freedom welded all its tribes. Freedom perished and the astute Cæsars, with the mirage of beneficent aims, bent all the world beneath the yoke of eternal Rome. The Rome of the Cæsars crumbled down and in the name of the Almighty the Church of Christ strove to gather all men within the nave of St. Peter's. Alas! Following in the steps of pagan Rome, Christian Rome has also expired. The faith she preached has evaporated and vanished from the hearts of the faithful. Now I am roving disheartened through dead ruins. Shall we never be able to discover a faith which would blend together peoples and nations? Where art thou, O unknown God? Where are thou, O future Rome?"²

His despair of the world and his yearning for new forms of religious life turned him to a pantheistic conception of Divinity. Nature appears to him not as a shrine of God, but as God Himself. "Oh Lord," sings his lute, "I thank you for enabling me to see the world, Thy eternal temple. I thank you for the dazzling and rapid vision of Thy marvels. I thank you for all I have reached with my heart, for all the stars discover to my eyes. Everywhere, everywhere, I feel Thee, O Lord. In the calmness of the silent night, in the far-distant celestial bodies, in the depths of my soul. I am athirst after Thee, O Lord! I did not know Thee; I could not believe in Thee, and loving Thee, my reason denied Thee. It is with my heart that I feel Thee. Thou hast revealed Thyself to me. Thou art the universe, the creation. Thou art heaven and sea; Thou art the whiz of the hurricane, the ether, the genius of the bard, the beaming star. I pray to Thee, I love Thee, I breathe Thee. When living I yearn for Thee. At my death, I shall melt in Thee, like the stars that glide down and dwindle away with the morning aurora. I wish my life might be an everlasting prayer, a thankful adoration of Thy heart, night and day, through life and in death."³

In 1895 Merezhkovsky became an admirer of the literary moods of Edgar Allan Poe. Shortly afterwards he felt the glamour of the pagan conception of life. The spirit of paganism permeates and throngs all the pages of his blasphemous novel, "Julian the Apostate," a withering invective against Christianity tortured and engaged in the fiercest struggle with its inward and outward foes.

² "Simvoly." Petrograd, 1892, p. 218.

³ Ibid., p. 4.

Later on he dipped his pen into the slime of pestilential materialism. He began to hurl his most poisonous shafts against Christian virginity and to scoff at Christian asceticism. At last he heralded the credo of a new religion: "Come forward, O prophets of a new world; come forward, O high-spirited bards. We are lonesome: We have no followers: we are those who forlornly sacrifice to God." He declared himself ready to burn what he had adored, to violate and trample on foot all the laws which rule the present-day social and religious life; to revive on the altar the long buried idols of Pagan Olympus,⁴ and while hailing their return, he reviles the divine teaching of Jesus Christ and distorts the most brilliant pages of the history of His civilizing influence among men. At times his writings exhale the mephitic odors of the *Fleurs du mal* of Charles Baudelaire; at times his lyre vies with that of Gabriele d'Annunzio in praising the impure graces of Venus. And in all the productions of his literary talents a layer of Nietzschean thought hides at the very bottom of his theories and paradoxes. His imagination is haunted by the evanescent phantom of the *Uebermensch*, of the divinized man, who will crumble to dust the Gods of a heaven that has been beyond the reach of human beings.

Russian adogmatism starts with the principle of the Manichean dualism. The incurable tragedy of human life centres around the struggle between God and Satan, Christ and the Anti-Christ, good and evil, between the spirit and the flesh. Christianity wavers between two opposite poles. It has served to deepen the chasm between them both. It has asserted the holiness of the spirit at the cost of that of the flesh; it has opposed one to the other. Under its sway the incorporeal has been declared pure, good and holy, whereas the corporeal has been branded as impure, diabolical, sinful. Christianity has proclaimed the antithesis between spirit and flesh. To Jesus asceticism is a means to the goal, the wings of the soul in its lofty strains towards higher and higher summits. To Christianity, as it has been poorly shaped by the unskilled hands of men, asceticism is a goal. The resurrection of the flesh lost all vital bearings on living men. It became a stiffened dogmatic truth, a lifeless torso, shriveled up in the remotest corner of a museum. The standard-bearers of historical Christianity forgot that the mystery of Golgotha followed after that of Bethlehem. In his divine birth Jesus Christ took a human form, thus lifting it to the highest degree of nobility. The flesh of the Incarnate Son of God

⁴ N. Engelhardt, "Istorija russkoj literatury XIX. stolletija" ("History of Russian Literature in the Nineteenth Century"). Petrograd, 1915, Vol. II., pp. 607-608.

⁵ "Novii Put." Petrograd, 1904. Vol. I., pp. 280-281.

is as real as His divinity. The Church anathematizes the ancient and modern heresies which tear off from Him His garment of human flesh.⁶ Christ taught the perfect equality between spirit and flesh. The Church, the blossom of His life, consists in a harmonious blending of a sanctified flesh and of a sanctified spirit. Christ established the synthesis between them both. He was the maker of a spiritual flesh,⁶ and this flesh has been shrouded by the vapid teachings of historical Christianity.

The Absolute shows Himself to us according to the rules of the reasoning mind; that is in unveiling Himself to us He follows the laws of the dialectical process. The synthesis of two opposite principles (thesis and antithesis) could be effected if we did not know that the opposition between them is a real one. Any evolution whatever must outlive three objective moments, which in turn correspond to three subjective moments in the logical process. The three objective moments are the above mentioned terms of *thesis*, *antithesis* and *synthesis*. They find three correlative subjective moments in the religious evolution of man. The first embraces all the religious beliefs prior to Christianity. Their common and unconscious foundation is pantheism. All is God, *Pan* and God is in all. In the second moment, the antithesis, Christianity opposes the object to the subject, the personal to the impersonal. The third moment of the religious evolution, which is already dawning, coincides with the revelation of the Spirit, which harmoniously blends both the revelations of the Father and of the Son. It is the synthesis of the gradual development of the religious consciousness in man.

Hence it follows that the history of religious thought discloses to us an evolution in the Blessed Trinity. The Father is at the lowest ebb of the evolving tide of the Divine Being. It represents the Cosmos, the rudimentary stage of the religious consciousness, the deified and idolized nature. The Son has achieved the religious revival of the human race. His days, however, are numbered. The present-day critics have weighed Him in their balances and found Him wanting. Our duty now is to throw down the iron gates which arrest the onward march of the Spirit. We need to clear from His road the ruins of decaying churches; to drain the stagnant waters from the marshes of an effete and superstitious worship.

From the chaos of Godhead, *thesis*, by means of an analytical process, religious thought has reached Christianity, the *antithesis*, as a bridge leading it to the harbor of salvation, the *synthesis*. The

⁶ "Religion A. Tolstogo i Dostoevskago." Petrograd, 1903; Vol. II., pp. 12-13.

Old Testament embodies the religion of God in the world; the New Testament the religion of God in man; the third Testament, whose first page is being written, opens the era of the religion of God in humanity. The Father incarnated Himself in the world. He is the Cosmos. Jesus Christ incarnated Himself in the Logos. The Spirit will incarnate Himself in the Divine Humanity. Therefore, it is our duty to hasten the day of that new Incarnation and Revelation; it is our duty to renounce our allegiance to the Son of God. Christ ought to be obliterated, His name to be canceled from the book of life. The weary world of to-day has already set to work to achieve its apostasy from Him.⁷ As soon as the kingdom of Christ will have been shattered to pieces and His banner lowered, the Spirit will come to our rescue.

With Basil Vasilevich Rozanov, the little host of Russian adogmatists mourn over the failure of Christianity in its attempts to solve the enigmas of human life. Christianity has bribed with its promises the souls athirst for God. Its waves dashed to futile spray when they met the hardy rocks of unbiased criticism. It gave no answer to the torturing problem of the after life. The mystery of evil is still wrapped in an impenetrable veil. The Redemption is far from being achieved. Men are still searching in darkness for the living Redeemer.⁸ Christianity has lost the savor of that salt wherewith the earth shall be salted.⁹ Its fatal mistake consists in taking the Gospel as the expression of the Divine thought instead of applying it to life as the realization of God. It has looked upon the revealed word of the Son with the eyes of the mind rather than with those of the heart.¹⁰ It has transformed the living community of faithful into a sombre monastery. It lacks the tenderness of a family loving mother.¹¹ We need, therefore, a new type of Christianity after the gradual failures of Western Catholicism, Eastern Orthodoxy and Protestantism. The leavening principle of the New Church, the Joannine Church, will be love. John alone, who reposed on the breast of the Saviour, knew in its fullness the mystery of love, of universal love. Hence the Joannine Church will be the Church of the second advent of Christ, the Church of the newest religious evolution of our race.¹²

⁷ E. Lundberg, "Merezhkovskii i ego novoe Khristianstvo" ("Merezhkovsky and His New Christianity"). Petrograd, 1914; pp. 137-138.

⁸ "Novii Put," 1903. Vol. X., p. 201.

⁹ Ibid., p. 217.

¹⁰ Ibid., 1904; Vol. XII., p. 41.

¹¹ "Zapiski Peterburgskago religiozno-filosofskikh sobranii" ("Reports of the Religious and Philosophical Meetings of Petrograd"). Petrograd, 1906; p. 472.

¹² Ibid., p. 478.

Russian adogmatism, as our exposition clearly shows, aims at a final obliteration of Christianity. From a pantheistic conception of the Godhead it rushes to a transient stage of religious consciousness, the idea of a divinized man whom metaphorically they call the Son of God, and in the last resort they slumber in the golden dream of the Superman. The secret spring of the dislike of dogmas on the side of Russian adogmatists is their ethical, or rather unethical, conception of life. They insinuate that Christianity has outgrown only because it preaches the abatement of the flesh and the exaltation of the spirit, because it spiritualizes the sensual man, because it appeases the inner conflict of our spiritual yearnings and fleshly instincts. The ethics of Merezhkovsky have no place for the Christian solution of that ever growing conflict within us. According to him, the world here below is the arena where the duel between spirit and flesh ought to be interrupted, to be brought to an end, not by the final defeat of either, but by the olive branch of a lasting reconciliation. This logical outcome of the Eastern adogmatism is not an unheard of novelty in the history of the Catholic Church. The ascendancy of the flesh over the spirit is often the disastrous result of a perverted mysticism which oversteps the limits of sound Christian piety. It shows the deep truth of the saying of the French philosophers that while striving to be rivals of the angels we sink sometimes to the level of beasts. In a perverted mysticism it is not the spirit which overcomes the rebellion of the flesh, but the flesh which strangles the spirit with its poisonous fangs.

Akin to Russian adogmatism, Western Modernism leads its followers to the pretentious claims of a rationalistic mysticism. There is a spiritual growth in our religious consciousness. Its principle is engrafted on the innermost fibers of our heart; it circulates with the blood of our veins. Step by step it follows the wanderings of human generations; it does not arrest its energetic action even in the periods of our spiritual laziness. The Spirit of God lives and speaks and works unceasingly within us; rather, He has become a substantial element of our inner life. As the principle of our physical life transforms the size of man, his features and powers, so the principle of our religious life produces the multiples and varied phases of our religious evolution. There is neither fixity nor immobility in the outward signs and expressions and symbols of religious truths. Outside of men, religious truths, even those of the Christian revelation, live and die, flourish and wither. Their living force, their eternal elaboration, is achieved within us. Dogmas lack a constant element of inner vitality. Modernism subscribes to the truism of Auguste Sabatier: "To be fruitful, dogma must be

decomposed, that is to say, it must mix itself unceasingly with the evolution of human thought and die in it: it is the condition of a perpetual resurrection."¹³

Dogmas, say the Modernists, live by an inner life, and they die at the moment they are touched by criticism. They are in a state of constant flux and evolution; they are subjected to the continual and secret working of a divine indwelling spirit.¹⁴ God's spirit is not tied to a single epoch or to a particular little group of persons, but is spread abroad over the ages and generations of humanity, ever furthering the perfection of His plan of redemption.¹⁵ Consequently, revelation is elaborated by the inner powers of our spiritual life. "Revelation," writes Tyrrell, "is a supernaturally imparted experience of realities, an experience that utters itself spontaneously in imaginative popular non-scientific form; theology is the natural, tentative, fallible analysis of that experience." The Church's divine commission is to teach and propagate a new life, a new love, a new hope, a new spirit and not the analysis of these experiences.¹⁶ In each individual the Christian spirit manifests itself in some new and particular aspects, never twice the same. It is by the social interchange and composition of these ceaseless and varying manifestations that a corporate mind is formed.¹⁷

The conclusion to be drawn from the theory of the working out of the divine revelation by the indwelling spirit is that Christian revelation is *substantially* progressive. It assimilates to itself, in each century, the newly born elements of new religious experiences and drops away the withered leaves of a dead past. It follows that the theory of the fullness of the Christian revelation, which was attained at the age of the Saviour and His Apostles, does not rest on a solid ground. According to Tyrrell, "the period of fullest enlightenment in the earliest age of Christianity is inconceivable on the hypothesis of a development of faith. All growth is from a formless germ to a plenitude of expansion, from the dimness of dawn to the light of perfect day. Its golden age is before it and not behind it; its criterion is its end, not its beginning."¹⁸ In man we have from the outset, a rudimentary conscience which feels the stirrings of an unknown God. A religious process follows, at the end of which man recognizes that the principle of his religious life is the Divine Spirit. Lastly, he identifies himself with that indwelling Spirit

¹³ "Outlines of a Philosophy of Religion Based on Psychology and History." New York, 1902; p. 242.

¹⁴ "The Programme of Modernism." New York, 1908; p. 17.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

¹⁶ "Mediævalism," London, 1908; p. 129.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

¹⁸ "Christianity at the Cross Roads." London, 1910; p. 26.

which is transcendent over nature.¹⁹ In the first stage of religious experience in man we find a formless and adogmatic religion.²⁰ The influence of the indwelling Spirit gives rise to a dogmatic development, which is required by the necessity of finding theological formulas to foster the original religion of the Gospel.²¹ Catholic dogma has sprung entirely from the need of setting experience in harmony with the mind of the age and the unchanging spirit of religion with the ever-varying expressions of thought.²² The Church cannot escape the laws of a general evolution. "Everything in the history of Christianity has changed—doctrine, hierarchy, worship. But all these changes have been providential means for the preservation of the Gospel spirit, which has remained unchanged through the ages."²³

If dogmas change, if they are only the husks of the divine revelation,²⁴ and dogmatic formulæ obsolete and socially pestilential elements,²⁵ theology, which deals with them, ought to be dethroned from its royalty in the realm of learning. "It has been," writes Tyrrell, "a sword of division and a principle of disintegration."²⁶ We must clear up the roads of our spiritual life from theological wire-nettings. We must foster the development of our spiritual life." "With growth in the apprehension of spiritual values, the accidental outgrowths and the subsidiary by-products with which religion is still unfortunately confused and entangled, will disappear."²⁷ The dogmatic formulæ, according to A. Sabatier, who, though Protestant, has been the theorist of Modernism, are double dead to-day, either because civilization has advanced or because they were without vital connection with the initial Christian experience: they will fall from the tree like withered leaves or lifeless branches.²⁸ Modernists are waiting for the day when superstition will be cast aside and secularity abolished, and dogmatic formulæ will follow them,²⁹ and the full-grown man will better feel within himself a higher principle which gives him the right to amend and the power to increase, in some degree, the inheritance he has received from his fathers.³⁰ This day, the day of the *irréligion de l'avenir*,

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 260.

²⁰ "The Programme of Modernism," p. 79.

²¹ Ibid., p. 78.

²² Ibid., p. 90.

²³ Ibid., p. 92.

²⁴ "Mediævalism," p. 50.

²⁵ "Programme of Modernism," p. 9. (A Leslie.)

²⁶ "Mediævalism," p. 117.

²⁷ W. L. Sullivan, "Letters to His Holiness Pope Pius X., by a Modernist." Chicago, 1910; p. 277.

²⁸ Op. cit., p. 268.

²⁹ Sullivan, p. 278.

³⁰ Sabatier, p. 264.

will mark the dawn of a religious revival of the human race. A French writer, who foresees the impending death of Christianity, rejoices at the event in the following terms: "Le jour on les religions positives auront disparu, il y aura moins de foi; mais plus de libre speculation; moins de contemplation, mais plus de raisonnement d'inductions hardies, d'elans actifs de la pensée; le dogme religieux se sera éteint, mais le meilleur de la vie religieuse se sera propagé, aura augmenté en intensité et en extension. Car celui—là seul est religieux, au sens philosophique du mot, quit cherche, qui pense, qui aime la vérité. Le Christ aura pu dire: je suis venu apporter, non la paix dans la pensée humaine, mais la lutte incessante des idées; non le repos, mais le mouvement et le progrès de l'esprit, non l'universalité des dogmes, mais la liberté des croyances, qui est la première condition de leur expansion finale."⁸¹

We have sketched as faithfully as possible the fundamental positions of both Eastern and Western adogmatism. Loyalty in setting forth the objections of his adversaries ought to be the distinctive trait of the Catholic apologist. If he is fully convinced of the truth of the Church, to which he belongs soul and body, he will never be afraid of the strategy of his foes. He will follow them on the same ground and turn against them their own weapons. He will never be blinded by the light of a criticism which rests upon prepossessions and leads to universal skepticism.

Eastern and Western adogmatism reach the same conclusion. The difference consists in this, that the former is more radical. Both sing a dirge over the corpse of Christian revelation. Eastern adogmatism thinks that Christ's teaching is to be sunk into oblivion by a systematic war waged against it. The Western does not go so far in its planned restoration of the religious spirit of man. It looks upon Christian revelation as a dead tree or a worm-eaten fruit. Christianity succumbs by a natural death. Both maintain that the dogmatic age of the Church is near its close. Either by violence or by a natural process of elimination, the religious spirit of man ought to free itself from its secular incrustations, from its dogmatic dross. Then it will get the elasticity of its movements, it will no longer drink from the exhausted wells of a barren scholasticism, "which confine our intellectual forces to the metaphysics of the Nicæan theologians of the fourth century and of the Tridentine speculation of the sixteenth."

The champions of adogmatism verbally profess to cling to the belief of the divinity of Christ. Modernists declare that they have not overthrown that fundamental dogma of Christianity.⁸² Russian

⁸¹ M. Guyau, "L'Irréligion de l'avenir." Paris, 1890; p. 19.

⁸² "The Programme of Modernism," p. 119.

adogmatists in turn point to the Divine Sonship of Jesus as to the main foundation of their apocalyptic mysticism. If they sincerely would admit the divinity of the Saviour there would be a link of connection between them and the Catholic apologists. It must be said, however, that their assertions are logically at variance with their premises. In fact, they have more than lessened the divine aureole of Jesus Christ; they have made of Him a human philosopher. One of the heralds of the new Christianity, Rudolph Eucken, says: "If Jesus is not God and Christ not the Second Person of the Trinity, then He is a man, not a man like any one of us, but still man. We may revere Him as a leader, a hero, a martyr, but we cannot forthwith bind and pledge ourselves to Him and yield Him unconditional submission."³³ Yet, even in this case, even if we were forced to keep silent before the executioners of the Divinity of our Lord, His word would not cease being the most authoritative which man has ever propounded. Jesus "is the centre of the eternal religion of humanity," says Renan. "His life and works make His divinity resplendent before our eyes." "He is the keynote of the harmony of all truth," declares Schelling; "the true symbol of heavenly wisdom," according to Spinoza. An historian, whose impartiality is above suspicion, writes of Jesus as follows: "It was reserved for Christianity to present to the world an ideal character, which through all the changes of eighteen centuries has filled the hearts of men with an impassioned love, and has shown itself capable of acting on all ages, nations, temperaments, and conditions, and has not only been the highest pattern of virtue, but the highest incentive to its practice, and has exerted so deep an influence that it may be truly said that the simple record of three short years of active life has done more to regenerate mankind than all the disquisitions of philosophers, and than all the exhortations of moralists. This has been the wellspring of whatever is best and purest in the Christian life. Amid all the sins and failings, amid all the priestcraft, the persecutions and fanaticisms which have defaced the Church, it has preserved in the character and example of its Founder an enduring principle of regeneration."³⁴ It follows, then, that either the Son of God or the most perfect of men, Jesus Christ, speaks a language which stirs all hearts and enlightens all minds. We feel that we must believe in His words rather than in the utterances of all the greatest human thinkers. And when we attempt to touch with our criticism His Church, and to discuss the fate, the inner life, the doctrinal inheritance of His religion, we must consult Him, we

³³ "Can We Still Be Christians?" New York, 1914; p. 34.

³⁴ W. E. H. Lecky, "History of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne." New York, 1873; Vol. II., p. 8.

must hear the explanations of His lips, we must interrogate those who have conversed with Him, who, according to St. John, with their hands have handled the word of life. (St. John i., 1.)

We cannot prefer the vagaries of men to the testimonies of Jesus Christ. We cannot say that the light of the sun is less bright than that of a gas lamp; that the brilliancy of a diamond is less vivid than that of a false gem. Therefore, if the words of Christ have more value than the sophistries of human scholarship, we must judge of His revelation according to His words. No one can deny Him that right. He is the Founder of Christianity. The wisdom which He revealed to His fellow-men was drawn from the bosom of the Father. (St. John i., 18.) He gave His imprint to the Church which He cemented with His blood. He spoke not only of the little host of His disciples, of the nascent kingdom of His glory, but of a Church against which the gates of hell shall not prevail. (Matt. xvi., 18.) It would be absurd to affirm that many centuries after His death, when His prophecies have been realized and His name has conquered the adoration of all peoples and His doctrine has confounded the pride of the wise, nay, it would be absurd to affirm that the to-day teachers know His secret thoughts and aims better than His Apostles, and are able to draw of Him a portrait which makes Him unknowable to His adorers through centuries. Certainly, criticism is a corrosive atmosphere in the realm of human opinions, but it is powerless when misused against the spiritual rock of Christian truth, which is Jesus Christ our Lord. (I. Cor. iii., 11; II. Cor. x., 14.) Let us first refute the paradox of A. Sabatier: "The principle of Christianity is not a theoretical doctrine: it is a religious experience, the experience of Christ and His disciples through centuries." In truth the revelation of Christ is a theoretical one, and it embraces all the organs and elements of our life, soul and body, heart and mind. It uplifts our intellectual as well as our moral being. It is the most perfect utterance of God to man. Of course, the treasures of the Divine Wisdom are not exhausted by the word of Christ. But what our Saviour revealed to us of the secrets of His Father suffices to carry on the plan of our supernatural and moral regeneration.

The fullness of Christian revelation is vouchsafed to us by Jesus Christ Himself. From His lips we learn that the words He spoke to men are so perfect as to exclude any further revelation. He opposes the ancient law to the new as an imperfect code of laws to a perfect one, as an imperfect manifestation of the Godhead to a clearer vision of Him. He is the supreme master (Matt. xxiii., 10). Before Him man was under a pedagogue. He has freed us from our bondage to Him. (Galatians iii., 25.) As a master of all generations, Jesus Christ fulfills His mission in the fullness of time

(Galatians iv., 4). He speaks as the Son of God, who manifests Himself in the last time (I. Peter i., 20), who accomplishes Himself the time and lays the foundations of the kingdom of God (Mark i., 15). He is the fulfillment of the laws and of the prophets (Matt. v., 17), His advent marks the end of the law (Rom. x., 4).

As Redeemer of those who were under the law (Galatians iv., 5), He made known to His Apostles all things whatsoever He heard of His Father (St. John xv., 15). He became the chief corner-stone of an immovable kingdom (Eph. ii., 20; Hebr. xii., 28). He made His disciples rich in all utterance and in all knowledge (I. Cor. i., 5). He made them full (II. Cor. iv., 8). Nothing is wanting to them in any grace (I. Cor. i., 7). His spiritual building belongs exclusively to Him. Other foundation no man can lay but that which is laid, which is Christ Jesus (I. Cor. iii., 11). Hence it follows that His doctrinal inheritance needs no further additions by men. The kingdom of Christ is an eternal one, and He must reign until He has put all His enemies under His feet (I. Cor. xv., 25). The duty of men, who by Him became new creatures (II. Cor. xv., 17), consists in keeping the good things committed by Him to His ambassadors (II. Tim. iii., 14), to be confirmed in them (Col. ii., 7). The Gospel of Christ is not according to man (Gal. i., 11). The Apostles did not receive it of man nor did they learn it. They drew it from the revelation of Jesus Christ (Ibid., 12).

We have, therefore, a body of doctrines which we have bequeathed of Jesus. It contains the truths to which we must obey (Gal. iii., 1). They are not tossed to and fro and finally submerged by the ever changing waves of individual experience. Those who attempt to alter the legacy of Christ are deceitful workmen. They preach another Christ, they preach a gospel different from that of Christ, and therefore they are under anathema (Gal. i., 8, 9). Far from leaving the words of His divine wisdom scattered into the countless rivulets of human experiences, Jesus Christ by the mouth of the Apostle recommends to His Disciples to speak all the same thing and be perfect in the same mind and in the same judgment (I Cor. i., 8).

The above quotations leave no doubt as to the mind and will of the Saviour. He strongly asserts the unchangeableness of His teaching, He sets it forth as the word of God, He condemns the seducers of His Disciples, He claims the everlasting duration of His kingdom, which is laid on the foundations of His teaching. Therefore, whether Christian or not, we ought to believe in His promises, for Jesus Christ alone has realized the paradox of a doctrine which has exerted the most beneficent influence on all generations,

ages and races. Great thinkers, philosophers and moralists have existed. We exalt their genius, we respect their memory, we pore over their writings, we rest on their authority. Yet no one of them has ever exerted the ceaseless, powerful, regenerating influence of Jesus Christ. Even disregarding for the moment His miracles and the warrants of His divinity during His earthly life—the diffusion of His Gospel, the spreading of His teaching throughout the world, its ascendancy over the best and holiest souls, according to the divine poet, are the greatest marvel accomplished by Him:

“Se il mondo si rivolse al cristianesimo, Diss’io, senza miracoli, quest’uno E’tal, che gli altri non sono il centesimo.” (Par. xxiv., 106-108.)

We have, therefore, the most solid reasons to believe in the words of Jesus Christ when He says to us that He has brought to men the fullest knowledge of God; that men will never see a destroyer of His kingdom; that the foes of His Gospel are seducers who transform themselves into His apostles (II. Cor. xi., 13). Our belief is not the outcome of a blind adoration, for Jesus Christ and His Apostles have sealed their teaching with the blood of their martyrdom. The Gospel has been the perennial and regenerative force of mankind, the inexhaustible source of our moral and spiritual life. Even in the eye of His adversaries Jesus Christ is the highest pattern of perfection which has ever been exhibited to our imitation and adoration. We cannot explain that marvelous influence of Our Saviour. His victories over our fiercest instincts, without admitting in Him something which is superhuman. When, therefore, He assures us that His teaching shares in that stability which is the characteristic trait of the word and work of God, we do not violate the laws which rule our understanding if we believe in His assurances, and our belief is not the outcome of ignorance or superstition.

Jesus Christ affords to us the evidence and assurance required to confirm the truth of His doctrine, and they are stamped on the pages of the history of the Christian Church. When, therefore, new prophets arise and new “reformers” of Christianity raise their voices against the doctrinal inheritance of the Saviour, we have a right to ask for their credentials. And, first, do they speak that language which, as the language of Christ, holds captive learned and uneducated, civilized and uncivilized, and which touches a chord in the hearts of men both of greatest or slightest intellect, of greatest or lowest moral elevation?

No, certainly not. The founders of the new religion diverge from each other even in their main doctrinal positions. They are

champions of license, not freedom. They claim for their tinsel fallacies the glory of truth, yet for them truth is a phantom slipping from their grasp. Whatever else may be true, it is a fact that shifting opinions cannot vitalize the mightiest inner powers of man. A man can die for the sake of the truth, not for his attachment to an opinion which follows the ups and downs of popular caprice, and he will reform his life and sacrifice his aspirations for the sake of truth, but not because of any attachment to another man no less fallible than himself. The influence of the truth is linked closely to its stability. An unstable "truth" is in the last analysis an error, and error is sterile in both the intellectual and moral life.

Now, precisely because she is the creation of Jesus, the Church claims stability for her teaching. Rudolph Eucken wrote that with Catholicism the last word is stability and the eternal truth is held in bondage to a temporal power.³⁵ The statement, though false in its second part, is true in its premise. The fact that the last word of the Church is stability means that it is conscious of the full possession of truth. As those laws which rule our understanding cannot be changed without paralysis of our reasoning powers, so the principles of our revealed knowledge of God, viz., dogmatic formulæ, cannot be canceled or obliterated without the Church being stripped of her vital energies and deprived of the fountain source of life. The doctrinal stability of the Church does not, however, bring forth the bondage of the eternal truth to a created mind. It is the Church itself, it is Christian thought which is in bondage with regard to the eternal truth. The doctrinal stability of the Church is the immediate consequence, not the efficient cause of the stability of that eternal truth, of which she is the keeper and guardian. It is from it that the Church derives the permanency of her intellectual life, and establishes a link of continuity between the past and the present, between the dead and the living generations. It is because of that stability that the centuries of her history have been the rings of a chain, tightly holding each other. A Church which would fit its credo to the changeable and capricious taste of men and times would inevitably break its vital continuity. We would have as many churches as there are philosophical systems, ceaselessly being devised by the restless spirit of man.

There is another reason for which we repudiate the new gospel and the new Church of our adogmatists. By their contempt of "metaphysical formulæ," of "barren theological axioms," of a "lifeless scholasticism," they indicate that they are planning a new code of morality. Christian ethics rather than Christian metaphysics have

³⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 200.

value in their eyes. They want to supersede the moral influence of Christ. They boast of being able to improve the moral life of man which Christianity has stiffened by its ascetic aspirations. It is an indisputable fact that the ethical teaching of Christ, and still more His examples, have been the most powerful incentive to a higher standard of life. The few philosophers who have suggested their own conduct for the imitation of their followers have failed to exert a lasting influence after their death. On the contrary, the regenerative influence of the Saviour never ceased to blossom and fructify. What St. John the Baptist said of Him that he was not worthy to loose the latchet of His shoe, is the voice of all the moralists who have been acquainted with His teachings and aims. So Lecky wrote: "The brief record of three short years of active life have done more to soften and regenerate mankind than all the disquisitions of philosophers and than all the exhortations of moralists." Jesus Christ did not preach only the word of His mouth; He preached also the most convincing word of His examples. He was not a theorist soaring over the clouds of barren speculation; rather was he the mighty power transforming souls, evoking legions of men and women ready for extreme self-sacrifice and laying full claim to all we are and all we have. Everywhere and always He enlists armies of followers and adorers of His divinity. Now, that marvelous influence cannot be explained without admitting that He is a manifestation of the divine in the sphere of the human.

On the contrary, the apostles of the new religion, the soothsayers of the death of Christianity, roam within the plane of mere fancy. Their lives do not show anything which may attract to them the veneration or, at least, the respect of their fellow-men. Their teaching lacks the power of achieving a moral regenerating. The aim of Christian ethics consists in the spiritualization of the flesh, a spiritualization which is to be attained by the crushing of our passion and by the entire submission of the carnal to the spiritual. The distressing conflict between the spirit and the flesh will never cease in the very depths of our being. "The good which I will, I do not; but the evil which I will not, that I do" (Hebrews vii., 19), wrote the Apostle, whereas, the pagan poet in turn pointed to that conflict by saying of himself and of all men: "*Video bona proboque Deteriora sequor.*"

A reconciliation between these two eternal foes is a chimera. Holiness and moral perfection are the patrimony of the spiritual, not of the carnal man. The more we free ourselves from the burden of our flesh, from our body of death, from the law of sin, the nearer our soul will approach God, enter into fellowship with Him

and realize in Himself the embodiment of the genuine superman. Instead of spiritualizing the flesh, the optimistic preachers of affinity between spirit and flesh serve only to materialize the spirit; their wisdom, the wisdom of the flesh, is death, according to the Apostle, and they who are in the flesh cannot please God. (Rom. viii., 6. 8.)

From what we have said, it follows that we cannot substitute the passing words of human wisdom for the eternal law of Jesus. The Saviour has afforded to us the royal proofs of His mission, whereas, His objectors and foes merely display an empty show of words. We feel that a doctrine which in its stability has been a principle of regenerative influence in spite of all political and social evolutions, in spite of the crumbling of kingdoms and empires and wonderfully constituted institutions, we feel that that doctrine contains a germ of a perennial life; that every attempt to deface it, to alter its features, to bedeck it with the tinsel of human learning would exhaust its vitality, extinguish its light and mar its beauty. Let us deny the divinity of Jesus Christ and His personality becomes the most puzzling and unsolvable enigma in history. Let us also deny the stability of His doctrine and His marvelous and creative influence on human hearts would be inexplicable.

When, therefore, the Catholic Church is urged to tinker with her creed, to rejuvenate her dogmatic formulæ, to fit herself and her doctrinal garment to the fashions of the time being, it is no wonder if she answers that request with a stronger, a more solemn and explicit profession of faith. Of course, the Church responds in unessentials to the so-called "spirit of the time," for in her life the divine is blended with the human. Her love is not lacking in indulgence, in charity, in tender care for the spiritual and moral welfare of her children. But what is divine in her, for instance, the deposit of her faith, cannot be an object of prey for her foes.

Christian revelation as it has been originally expounded by the Catholic Church has never lost its vitality. For centuries it has nourished and it still nourishes those millions of souls which adhere to it, and makes of it the living rule of their aspirations and actions. A doctrine which has filled the pages of history with countless names of heroes, of martyrs, of saints, of genuises; a doctrine which has engendered the only civilization worthy of that name, which is shaping up the world in conformity with its principles and is gaining ascendancy over the peoples which do not recognize it as the message of God to man, this doctrine, I say, cannot conceal in its organic structure any germ of decay and virus of death. It is a truth which really comes down from heaven and responds to the deepest needs of our nature. By clinging to it the Catholic Church

looks out with pride over the past and with confidence to the future. Her vitality is so marvellous that even those who see her from an hostile battlefield do not refrain from giving testimony to her glory, and we could not find a better word with which to close this survey of modern adogmatism than the striking phrase of J. E. Carpenter in a recent volume "Marvelous indeed is the story of the Catholic Church in Latin Christianity. Its thinkers essay the stupendous task of organizing all human knowledge, as its rulers attempt to administer human life. It builds the cathedrals, it creates liturgies of penitence, it composes hymns of praise, it cultivates vast places and plants centres of learning and piety from land to land. It promotes the ideals of charity and possesses a unique power of making saints. It calls arts to its aid and Giotto awakes the imagination and guides the hand of Italy to become the teacher of the North. It bids Dante make the great ascent from hell to heaven and picture in immortal verses the meaning of sin and recovery and holiness. The new learning arises and Erasmus stands on one side and Luther and Calvin on the other; but Rome does not fall by her corruption or her losses. With dauntless vigor she sends out her missionaries to the East and to the West and raises the Cross in continents and islands round the globe. She possesses the cohesion of a mighty fabric of thought and discipline, within whose bounds intellect and impulse may yet find wide range of expression and activity. Her great tradition of doctrine and worship enshrines the experience of innumerable minds which have found within its shelter strength and peace. If she has kindled the hatred of her opponents by her pretensions and her crimes, she has also generated the undying love of the believers, who accepted her guidance and found in her their salvation."²²

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WORK OF THE SPANISH FRIARS ON THE AMERICAN CONTINENT IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

IN OUR article in the October number of *THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW*, entitled "An Unwritten Page in the History of Education," we referred to the educational foundations in Mexico in the sixteenth century, to the setting up of the first printing press on this continent in 1556, and to sum up the numerous books in manuscript and in print that were produced for the use of schools and seminaries, not only in Spanish and Latin, but in the aboriginal languages. We gave a brief and necessarily incomplete sketch of the primary, grammar, high schools, industrial and normal schools, schools of arts and sciences, colleges and universities, all fully equipped with competent faculties, which educated and trained the first teachers on this continent. All this, as we have shown, was accomplished by Spanish friars, men designated in many of our modern so-called histories as "lazy monks," whose main object in life was to "keep the people in ignorance." Yet all this was done in the sixteenth century, before Harvard College (1636) was dreamed of; before Plymouth Rock (1620) came into history; before the first printing press was set up in Anglo-Saxon America (1636); before John Smith laid the foundation of Jamestown (1607).

The Spanish "conquistadores" came, like their Anglo-Saxon contemporaries in the North, with sword and lance, in quest of gold and spices and pearls and precious woods, and "annexations and—yes, indemnities," too. But there was another band of "conquistadores" who came with the Crucifix and the rosary and whose mission was the conquest of souls and the education and civilization of the aborigines. These "conquistadores" did not limit the field of their labors to the settlements and their vicinity; they had no wives or families to protect and provide for; they knew no father save God, no mother save Mary, no wife save the Church, no children save their flocks. They had received the commission to "go and teach," to "feed My sheep, feed My lambs," and they went forth cheerfully to fulfil that commission. They were not slow in realizing the difficulties that beset their path, but this only made them more determined to overcome them.

The missionaries did not undertake the literary work they found it necessary to do merely for the acquisition of fame. The conditions were too serious and too urgent. Their task was to reduce the aboriginal languages to a system. These languages, be it remembered, had no alphabet, had never been reduced to writing, and

were now for the first time to be arranged into grammatical construction. The missionaries did not attempt to compare the aboriginal languages, nor did they treat them scientifically. They tried, indeed, to adjust them to Latin forms, but they resorted at once to the practical means of coming to an understanding with the natives and they laid the solid foundations that were to bring forth magnificent results later on. The linguistic group of Mexican literature is their proudest achievement, and that even in the fragmentary form in which it has come down to us. Countless are the works remaining in manuscript, sometimes to save expense of printing, sometimes because they were translations of extracts from the Sacred Scriptures, which it was not deemed prudent to leave in vulgar hands without proper and adequate explanations, such as could be given in the classroom. Father Olmos is a striking example of the sad fate that befell many of the writers of his day. It is supposed that he had mastered quite a number of the native languages, among which may be mentioned that of the Chichimicas, as he is known to have spent many years among the people of that tribe. It is estimated that without counting other works from his pen he wrote grammars and vocabularies of such of the Mexican languages as the Huasteca and the Tolteca. Out of so many works only one has survived, a Mexican grammar which, after drifting from public and private libraries for some three centuries, was finally revived in a handsome edition which appeared in 1875, published not in Mexico, but in Paris. Dr. Icazbalceta, who is an authority on the subject, tells us that the study and analysis of books in the Mexican languages should hold a prominent place in the history of literature.

It is still a question as to who was the first to write in the Mexican language, but we have every reason to believe that it was not long before the missionaries were able to make a catechism in one of the aboriginal languages, and the first of which we have up to this time any approximate certainty is the one which Monseñor Zumarraga had printed in 1539.¹ In 1546 he published (printed) at his own expense another, by Fray Alonzo de Molina, who went to Mexico at a very early age and received his education there. He devoted himself to the study of the languages he had already acquired through contact with the natives. He was the principal teacher and interpreter among the Franciscans, to which order he belonged, and although he met with many obstacles in his work, had the good fortune of seeing a great part of his works not only printed, but reprinted. Among these were two or three "Doctrinas," two "Confesionarios" (reprinted) and his great

¹ "Bibliografía Mexicana del Siglo," xvi., p. 1.

"Vocabulario Mexicano," which after being published in Mexico in 1555 and 1571 again appeared in an admirable edition in 1880, published in Leipsic.² The venerable Pedro Gante (Peter of Ghent) printed two or three editions of his Mexican "Doctrina." Besides these may be mentioned three "Doctrinas" by Fray Domingo, O. P., and Fray Juan de la Anunciacion, O. S. A. The great Father Sahagun has given us his "Psalmodia Christiana," a collection of psalms and hymns adapted to Indian holidays and designed to draw them away from their former idolatry. Father Gaona published his "Coloquias de la Paz y Tranquilidad del Alma," which his contemporaries praised for the purity of its diction.

We have, besides, a large collection of Mexican "Sermons" by Father Juan de la Anunciacion, O. S. A., and Father Juan Bautista (in the last years of the sixteenth century and continued during the first years of the next), when he began a series of his Mexican publications; i. e., publications in the Mexican language.³

It was supposed that in the sixteenth century there was no book printed in the difficult language of the Otomi's, as none was mentioned, but not many years ago there came to light the "Doctrinario" of Father Melchor de Vargas, in Spanish, Mexican and Otomi. Similar works were published in the Tarasco language by the French missionary, Father Maturino Gilberti. Father Molina has given us a "Cartilla" (primer) in the Mexican language, two "Tesoros Espirituales," one voluminous "Dialogo de Doctrina," a wonderful work, and a double "Vocabulario." Besides these, he wrote a Latin grammar for the college at Tlaltelaco, a copy of which Dr. Icazbalceta tells us he saw in print. In this same Tarascan language Father Molina printed his "Arte," "Diccionario Breve" and other works. From the pens of Fray Juan Bautista de Legunas and Fray de Medina we have an "extensive" "Doctrinalis Fidei."

Nor was the language of the Mistecos neglected, for we find, besides two "Doctrinarios," in two different dialects by the indefatigable Fray Benito Fernandez, the grammar of Father Reyes and the wonderful "Vocabulario" compiled by Father Francisco Alvarez. It was not known that he had done any writing in the Chuchona language (one of the Misteco family). One day there was found, in a bundle of old paper to be used for wrapping paper a "Catechism" by Father Bartolomé Roldan, an author entirely unknown. How many more may come to light in the same way?

In the language of the Zapotecos appeared the "Doctrinario"

² Idem.

³ All the works referred to in this article may be found mentioned in the "Bibliografía Mexicana," pp. 13 to 335.

of Monseñor Feria, Bishop of Oaxaca; the "Arte" (philosophy) and "Vocabulario" of Father Cordoba. In Huasteco we have the "Doctrinas" of Fathers Guervara and Cruz.

The Southern provinces of Mexico were not neglected. To the presses at the capital came the "Doctrina Utlateca," by Monseñor Marroquin, Bishop of Guatemala; grammars of the various dialects of that region, compiled by Fray Francisco Zapeda, and in Maya the "Arte" and "Vocabulario" of Father Luis de Villalpando. Of the works of this author no copies are known to exist at the present time, but there is no doubt as to their having been published.

From the foregoing we learn that before the close of the sixteenth century books had already been *printed* in Mexico in eight or ten languages, and that there were in circulation the five vocabularies, in Mexican, Tarasco, Misteco, Zapoteco and Maya. Later on, for nearly two centuries, the Mexican press continued to issue the products of religious zeal, not only in the languages already mentioned, but in many others, and it is a fact worthy of note that there is no work of this character and so necessary to the needs of the times that did not emanate from the pen of an ecclesiastic. Yet these were the "lazy," "sleepy monks" described by many Anglo-American authors who pretend to write the history of those times. It would seem from the facts given above that they were evidently very wide awake at the dawn of American civilization, while their English brethren in the North were too busily engaged in commercial enterprises to think of education. If any one was late in the field of American education it was certainly not the Catholic Church.

Let it not be supposed that the fruit of the books above mentioned is limited to the mere introduction to a knowledge of linguistics. Some of them are valuable aids to the study of history. For instance, in the preface of Father Reyes' "Arte Misteca" we get a glimpse at the ancient life, the manners and the architecture and monuments of the Misteca tribe. Father Cordoba's "Arte Zapoteca" gives us the only chronological record we have of the Zapotecas, and the "Sermones Mexicanos" of Fray Juan Bautista (1606) abounds in curious notes on the primitive history of Mexican literature. Nor are the "Confesionarios" limited to doctrine alone; they deal with the manners, customs and superstitions of the natives.

The great and important contributions to the Mexican literature of the sixteenth century by the Spanish missionaries deserve more than a passing notice. Writers on the history of literature generally include the few Mexican authors they seem to have any

notion about, under the head of "Spanish Literature" and dismiss them with little more than the mere mention of their names and the title of one or two of their works. Yet the history of Mexican literature of the sixteenth century deserves to be better known than it is now, and this all the more because of the difficulties, already pointed out, under which it was commenced. We may refer to it again in a future article; our present purpose is to deal with early Hispano-American education on the American Continent.

THE UNIVERSITY OF MEXICO.

If we are to credit the statement made by Herrera (Dec. VI., lib. 7, chap. 6), the first steps towards the foundation of the University of Mexico were taken in 1539. He tells us that in that year, at the urgent solicitation of Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, the Apostle of the Indians, who was in Spain at that time, Don Antonio de Mendoza, Viceroy of Mexico, was commanded, "among other things," to lay the foundations for a university in Mexico. Dr. Icazbalceta seems to doubt the correctness of this statement, because he cannot believe it possible that the execution of the order could have been delayed so long, and also because when the charter was granted there was no reference made to any prior movement in the matter. From the context of the charter we may deduce that the circumstances were as follows:

The Viceroy, Mendoza, had already founded or assisted various institutions of learning, such as the college at Tlatelolco, for Indians, and the College of San Juan de Latran for the *mestizo* of both sexes, but not satisfied with this, he, at the urgent instance of the city, joined in a petition to the crown asking for the foundation of "a university with cathedrals for all the sciences," in the City of Mexico, in which "not only the *natives* but also the sons of Spaniards might be instructed in all things pertaining to our holy religion, as well as in all other sciences." Before waiting for the approval of the sovereign, he organized the desired work and appointed professors who were to give instruction in the sciences most esteemed at that time. He encouraged them with the assurance that it was beyond all doubt that a university would soon be founded at their capital with "all the faculties," and he made them a generous donation, on his own account, of some cattle ranches which he owned in the vicinity. It is to be regretted that we have so little information concerning this primitive foundation which does so much honor to the Viceroy.

The Viceroy was not slow in recognizing the fact that the success of such an undertaking was impossible without the sanction and

pecuniary assistance of the sovereign, so he, in conjunction with the citizens, prelates and the religious orders, appealed to the crown for the formal creation of the university, with a "corresponding endowment." The petition met with a favorable reception, and although its object was not realized until after the transfer of Señor Mendoza (1550) to Peru, to him belongs the glory of having taken the initiative in founding the first fully equipped university on the American Continent. His successor, Don Luis de Velasco, had the happiness of carrying out the plans conceived by Señor Mendoza.

Finally the Emperor, Charles V., by a decree executed at Toro, on September 21, 1551, and signed by the prince who subsequently became Philip II.,⁴ authorized the foundation of the University of Mexico, endowing it with one thousand dollars per annum in gold from the mines, over and above the proceeds of the ranches donated by Señor Mendoza, at the same time granting it all the privileges and immunities from taxes enjoyed by the University of Salamanca, with a few limitations subsequently removed by Philip II. (now King of Spain) by a decree dated Madrid, April 17, 1562. The Holy Apostolic See, at the request of the King, in 1565 confirmed the privileges and decreed that it be governed by the statutes of the University of Salamanca and enjoy the same favors. It conceded the patronage of the institution to the sovereigns of Spain as the founders, and later on conferred upon it the title of *Pontifical*. Such was the origin of the University of Mexico, founded about the same time as the University of San Marcos, at Lima, Peru, and by "priests" and "monks," who, as some very learned (?) authorities assert, had never a thought beyond keeping their co-religionists in America in the most profound ignorance and draining their resources to the last penny. The Viceroy, delighted with the important commission entrusted to him, began to look around him for a suitable site for the institution. While authorities differ as to the exact location, we are concerned only with the fact of the foundation.

The formal opening of the university took place on the feast of the Conversion of St. Paul, January 25, 1553, and the occasion was honored by the presence of the civil and religious dignitaries resident at the capital. The faculty was appointed without delay; Don Antonio Rodriguez de Quesada became rector and Don Gomez de Santillana vice rector. The chairs of theology, Sacred Scriptures, canon law, decretals, civil law, philosophy and rhetoric were soon established, to be followed in a short time by those of medicine and surgery, botany, music and zoölogy, some principles of agricul-

⁴ Puga, "Cedulario," fol. 137-138.

ture and, of course, a scientific study of the native languages. When we consider the class of men who filled the different chairs in this university we cannot wonder that so many of its students attained prominent positions in the civil government of their native provinces. Then, too, the precocity of some of the young Indian students is beyond belief. Fray Marcelino Solis y Haro, O. S. A., a native Mexican and author of the "Dedicatoria" of the university, tells us that among the A. B.'s graduated up to the time of his report there was quite a number of students younger even than many of the youths of our day at the time of their leaving the grammar schools. Father Haro is himself an example. He passed with amazing rapidity from one distinguished position to another, in civil as well as in ecclesiastical life. He received the degrees of licentiate and doctor in the faculty of canons before reaching his seventeenth year, and after filling numerous and various chairs attained the highest honor within the gift of the Mexican capital, that of rector of the university. He was also honored with the mitre. This prodigy of precocity seems almost incredible, but it is attested to by incontrovertible authority.

A still more astonishing case, if we can imagine such a thing, is that of Don Pedro de la Paz Vasconcelos, a native of the City of Mexico and *born blind*. With no assistance save that of attending the *catedras*, or lectures, and at "great expense in securing competent persons to read to him, to explain the matter read and enable him to memorize what he heard, he became a perfect master of grammar, rhetoric, philosophy and theology," and succeeded in obtaining degrees in all these subjects from the university. Not satisfied with this, he entered the private office of an advocate and applied himself to the study of theoretic and practical jurisprudence, in which he made such progress that he not only "mastered the matter, but could cite page and author, if necessary." Still, he was not satisfied. In 1622, when but nineteen years of age, he took part in a disputation on philosophy (*visperas de filosofia*) and displayed such ability that he received a large number of votes for a professorship, and if he did not obtain the chair, there were many learned men who thought he should have had it. He died on November 1, 1678, at the age of sixty-five.⁵

No less wonderful was the memory of Don Antonio Calderon, another alumnus of the university, who we are told "no sooner read a book than he sold it," having no further use for it, "because the matter it contained was so deeply impressed upon his mind that he could quote the language and cite page and author with unerring accuracy."⁶

⁵ Medina, "*Cronica de San Diego*," fo. 237.

⁶ "*Constituciones de la Universidad*," prologo.

The *catedras* or chairs in the university continued to increase until at the beginning of the seventeenth century there were twenty-four. Among these were the chairs of the Mexican and Otomí languages. The medical department deserves special mention, as it gives us an idea of the progress made in that science in these early days in the New World.

Before the advent of the Europeans the Mexican people knew very little of the diseases peculiar to civilization. They treated their sick as best they could, yet it is beyond doubt that the study of medicine, in certain directions, had received much attention, and it is a historical fact that the Emperor Montezuma had special gardens in which were cultivated numerous medical herbs and that he required the doctors of his court to study their curative properties and to experiment with them, so as to be able to use them in treating the members of the nobility. While the poorer people seldom invoked the aid of physicians, so as to avoid the payment of extortionate fees, they had a considerable knowledge of the curative properties of many herbs and plants and were able to cure themselves. We learn from Torguemada that "there were throughout the kingdom many medicinal herbs and the Indians were good herbologists, and cured many infirmities with them, and there are few diseases for which they have not a remedy, and they administer it."

We may well imagine that there were quack medicine men in these days as well as in ours, Father Juan Bautista, in his *Confesionario*, prescribes the following question to be asked by the confessor of this Indian penitent: "Have you ever pretended to practice medicine without the proper examination and license?"

The attention given to medicine in the sixteenth century, in Mexico, the hospitals, the care bestowed upon the patients, the wonderful surgical operations (for the times), the regulations laid down for the preservation of health in cities and towns, especially in times of pestilence, would afford interesting reading to the student of history. The regulations laid down by Dr. Barrios for keeping the city in proper condition during pestilence would do honor to any board of health in New York in our day.

Among the numerous medical works published in Mexico during the period under consideration is the "Tratado Breve de Medicina," by Father Agustin Farian, O. S. A., published in 1579, and republished in 1592, 1604 and 1610. The repeated reproduction of this work shows the high appreciation in which it was held.

Between the date of the foundation of the university and 1775, the date of the dawn of the American Revolution, a period of some two hundred years, the University of Mexico graduated 1,162 doc-

7 "Monarquía Indiana," lib. xvi., cap. 14.

tors and 29,882 bachelors. The number of licentiates is not mentioned by our authority (Dr. Icazbalceta), but we know that among them was the name of the distinguished dramatic poet, Don Jose Ruiz de Alarcon.⁸ The catalogue of the sons of this famous institution would give us the names of many men who rose to the highest places in civil and ecclesiastical life not only in their native land, but in the mother country. Among them may be reckoned over eighty Archbishops and Bishops. It must not be supposed from the vast number of pupils graduated that the requirements were not up to the standard—even the standard of to-day. A student was not permitted to enter any of the post-graduate departments in law or medicine until he had made at least three years of studies in the undergraduate departments. It was the custom of the university to hold periodical public disputations on subjects relating to philosophy and theology, and among the men who distinguished themselves on these occasions has come down to us the name of Fray Francisco Naranjo, O. P., a native of Mexico and a graduate of the university. In his youth he had done military service and then assumed the habit of St. Dominic. So great was his learning and so ably did he defend his propositions that he was named for an episcopal see, but died before consecration.

Another illustrious character of these ^{univ} was Father Antonio Portillo, a native of Guadalajara, whose ^{days} theses commanded universal admiration. Six of these he ^{literary} defended with such signal ability during five successive days that at the expiration of the contest the university immediately conferred upon him the four degrees of M. A., S. T. D., Canon and Laws. The King appointed him Canon, first of Mexico City and later on of Valencia, where he died. Father Manerio, S. J., refers to him in these words: "*Quacumque ingrederetur per vias urbis, digito notabatur, et hic Portillus est, hic ille sapiens, alter alteri repetebant.*"

We must not forget to mention Monseñor Nicolas del Puente, a full-blooded Indian, who was made Bishop of Oaxaca in May, 1675. He was nominated by the King and the nomination was approved by the Holy See, and this in spite of the opposition made on account of his origin. He was a graduate of the University of Mexico, a man of great learning and proved to be an excellent Bishop. Among the great educators that the Mexico of the sixteenth century produced may be mentioned Bernardino de Sahagun, who may be justly regarded as the father of American anthropology. Another distinguished writer is Juan de Torquemada, a noted Mexican and author of the "*Monarquia Mexicana*," a mine, we may say, of facts connected with the history of Mexico in the days of the Mon-

⁸ "Vida de Alarcon," by Don Luis Fernandez Guerea.

tezumas. As a source of information concerning Mexican antiquities it is invaluable.

In the course of time the library came to have more than ten thousand volumes, among which were many relating to Mexican history, the work of the sons of the university, many of them very rare to-day and as valuable as they are rare. This library was open to the public from early morning till late at night, with attendants ready to supply the requirements of its patrons. With the period of Mexican revolutions came the antagonism instigated by secret societies against all Christian education, and the university shared the fate of all colleges and schools—a fate that seems to have come down to the generations of to-day in all countries in which anti-Christian governments prevail. Our own country has not escaped the baneful effects of the expulsion of religion from our schools. The religious schools of our land never imparted the seditious language nor the disloyal and unpatriotic conduct of men who stand high in our national councils. These men are safer in Washington than they would have been in the Mexican capital in ante-revolutionary days.

Before its final annihilation the University of Mexico passed through many vicissitudes in modern times. Its first extinction was decreed by President *Marias*, in 1833. Santa Anna restored it in 1834, making some *changes* in its statutes. The "Plan" of August 18, 1843, made some very radical changes. Among others it forbade the students of the colleges from attending the courses at the university. On July 31, 1854, Santa Anna *reorganized* the university, changing the existing *catedras*, so as to favor only the *passers* allowed by the different faculties, which "faculties" now conferred the doctor's degree on many who had not followed the required course. Other so-called reforms, and there were many, were attempted, but, happily, few of them were realized. The discredit to which the university had fallen, partly because of the instability of the regulations by which it was governed (or rather misgoverned) and partly because they came in conflict with public opinion, made it impossible for the university to exist only in name. The building was eventually used as a place for holding elections and public meetings and even as a barracks. President Comonfort suppressed it by a decree, dated September 11, 1857. President Juarez ordered it restored to the condition in which it was prior to the Plan of Tacubaya, which meant that the memorable institution was to be abolished and that the site and all its appurtenances were to be turned over to Don Jose F. Ramirez. Later on, either by disposition of the *Regencia* or because of the nullification of the aforesaid order, the university was revived, after a fashion, about the middle of the year

1863, but it was definitely suppressed by the Emperor Maximilian, in November, 1865. The library soon after was removed and boxed up. Some authorities claim that it *disappeared* rather mysteriously. The university building was used for some time by the Department of Agriculture, and in more recent years it was converted into a conservatory of music and declamation.⁹

It is a striking fact that in Mexico, as in other countries in which religion is restricted or persecuted, moral education is restricted and perverted; self-preservation takes the place of patriotism, and the high ideals for which patriotism immolated itself are shamelessly ignored. The Mexico of to-day is feeling the effects of the absence of those moral principles that religion implants in the human heart and which the old Spanish friars labored to impress upon the minds of American youth at the very dawn of American civilization.

We must not forget that while Harvard is held up to us as the first university established in what is now the United States, its doors were not opened until 1639, eighty-five years after the foundation of the Universities of Mexico and Lima. It conferred its first degrees in 1662. In 1727 the chair of mathematics and natural philosophy was established, while that of chemistry and its laboratory was not founded until 1783; then followed natural history in 1805 and sciences in 1816. The Hispano-American universities were old by this time. In addition to what has been said about Mexico it may not be out of place to call attention to the fact that the first piece of music published in America was a Psalter, printed in two colors, black and red. It is in every way equal to the fine work of the sort that was done in Europe at that time. The first wood engraving made in the Western Hemisphere was produced in Mexico. It appeared on the title page of Gerson's "Tripartita." It represents a Bishop conferring the holy order of the priesthood.

The first attempt to publish a newspaper in the New World was the *Mercurio Volante* (the Flying Mercury), which first appeared in 1693. The Boston *News-Letter* did not appear until 1704. Juan Antonio Alzado, a scientist, published *El Diario Literario de Mexico* in 1765. In 1722 the *Gazeta de Mexico y Noticias de Nueva España* appeared. In the "second series" of this publication appeared a review of books published in Mexico and Spain. Among the Mexican poets may be mentioned Sister Juana Inez de la Cruz. She was born in 1651 and played an important part in the development of Mexican literature. Her poetry was of a thoroughly religious character.

One of the most interesting of the Mexican historians was Do-

⁹ "Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística," 2 época, vol. I., p. 359.

mingo Chimalpain. He was a full-blooded Indian, born in the latter part of the sixteenth century, and was graduated from the University of Mexico. He wrote a number of books relating to the history of the country, some of them in Spanish and some in the *Mahuatl* language.

Father Carlos de Sigüenza y Gongora, S. J. (1645-1700), wrote a number of works in prose and verse. Among these was a controversy on the nature of comets with his brother Jesuit, the German Father Kühn (or Kino), the explorer of California.

It is more than probable that the first hospital on the American continent was founded in Mexico, for we learn that Dr. Pedro Lopez, as told in the "*Estatutos de la Universidad*," as gifted as he was charitable, founded, in 1572, the hospital of San Lazaro, and ten years later another at San Juan de Dios, under the title of the Epiphany, for the treatment of mulattos and mestizos. He also opened a home for foundlings and established a confraternity of distinguished persons, under the invocation of *Nuestra Senora de los Desamparados* (Our Lady of the Forsaken) to gather up these little forsaken ones and provide for them.

THE UNIVERSITY OF LIMA.

The University of San Marcos, Lima, Peru, was founded in conformity with the requirements of religion and society in the lands added to the crown of Spain and in accordance with the ardent aspirations of the Spanish sovereigns.¹⁰ It was with the intention of furthering the designs of Fray Tomas de San Martin, first provincial of the Sons of St. Dominic in Peru, and later on Bishop of Chuquisaca, that the Emperor Charles and his mother, Doña Juana, took a lively interest in the early education of Peru. Among the instructions given to the Dominican Father and the *Licenciavdo*, Don Pedro de la Gasca, on his arrival from Spain, in 1550, was the establishment of a "house of general studies," with the same privileges, immunities and powers enjoyed by the University of Salamanca. It was further ordered that this "school" was to be opened in the Dominican Convent del Rosario, as the most proper place for a work of such importance.

The royal "*Cedula*" of approbation sent from Valladolid, on May 12, 1551, reached Lima only after the lapse of two years, but as there were no other means available at that time besides the 350

¹⁰ For much of the information concerning the foundation of the University of Lima, I am indebted to the *Anales Universitarios de Peru*, Redactados y Publicados por el Doctor, Don Jose G. Paz-Soldan, Rector de la Universidad de Lima.

pesos in gold provided by the Dominican rectors, it was impossible to start all the faculties projected for the institution, at the same time. Finally, on November 30, 1571, Philip II. ordered the Claustro to select among its teaching doctors a working faculty. In accordance with this mandate, Don Gaspar Meneses, A. M., M. D., was elected rector. He lived only one year and was succeeded, on April 15, 1573, by Don Antonio Sanchez Renedo, M. D., Protonotary General, and his staff of Dominican Fathers, who were empowered to confer the degrees of master and doctor upon all who proved themselves entitled to them.

No suitable building for a university was as yet available, but this did not affect the generosity of professors who composed the Claustro held on December 31, 1571, and who determined to undertake the establishment of the university under the invocation of San Marcos, at their own expense. They purchased a property belonging to Don Juan de Morelos for \$1,300, and which had been used as the convent of San Agustin. Subsequent donations enabled the founders to establish the chairs of Latin and of general Indian linguistics, so necessary in those days for the propagation of the faith. Besides there were founded three chairs in philosophy, three in theology (prima, vespera and Scripture), three more in laws (prima, vespera and institutes), two in canons, two in medicine. Among the original faculty were Maestro Fray Miguel Adrian, O. P., for theology; Dr. Fernando Vasquez Fajardo taught canon law. The chair of jurisprudence was filled by Dr. Geronimo Lopez Guarnido, and that of medicine by Dr. Antonio Sanchez Renedon. The chair of Indian linguistics was filled by Dr. Juan Balboa, the first creole doctor graduated from the university. For the support of the various chairs an appropriation of 20,312 pesos was made. This amount was contributed by the city of Lima and other important cities.

The chair of anatomy was founded by Don Diego Ladron de Guevara, Viceroy and Bishop of Quito, on condition that the professor give, weekly, "practical demonstrations in the Hospital of San Andres with a cadaver."

Animated by the ardent desire of fostering among their people a love of learning, the religious orders of the country were not slow in founding chairs of such sciences as were in keeping with their calling, well knowing that the noble and precious reward is to be found in the only real stimulus to virtue.

The Franciscan Fathers established a chair of prima and vespera,¹¹ and this without pecuniary remuneration. The Augustinians ob-

¹¹ In the Spanish universities the terms "prima" and "vespera" indicate the canonical hours at which these classes are held.

tained permission to found three chairs—of prima, vespers, of the dogmas of their great founder, and another of “maestro de sentencias.” The Jesuits established chairs for the study of their theologians, and the royal and military order of La Merced was able to endow a chair for the teaching of St. Thomas.

It was not an easy thing in those days to obtain the doctor's degree. An applicant must have received the degree of bachelor, which no one received who could not present testimonials of matriculation in five courses in the faculty to which he aspired, and giving assurances to the secretary that he had spent the greater part of the year in study and given the required time to the sciences. Without this it was impossible to obtain any degree. Students were not excluded from the faculties of the university because of inability to pay their way.

It was not enough for the student to have obtained the bachelor's degree to enable him to gain the higher grades of licentiate and doctor. He must give evidence that he has “heard, passed or read five other courses, or three in moral, if the ‘Claustro’ dispense him.” His class marks and conduct report were rigorously scrutinized, and this was followed by a most rigid examination.

It may not be out of place to indicate some of the courses, as follows:

Theology—Theological topics, preceded by an instruction in the truths of religion; dogmatic theology, moral theology, ecclesiastical history and canon law; writings of the Fathers, sacred eloquence.

Jurisprudence—Law, natural and penal, civil law, canon law, comparative legislation; practical and forensic eloquence, political economy and statistics.

Medicine—Anatomy, physiology and hygiene, pathology and therapeutics, materia medica and pharmacy, nosography, surgical operations, obstetrics, internal and external clinics, moral law in medicine, natural history and chemistry.

Notwithstanding the fact that the University of Lima was one of the first founded in the New World (it was founded about the same time as the University of Mexico) and is a credit to the desire for education in those early days, and the fact that its halls, as we are told by Montalvo in his work entitled “Sol del Nuevo Mundo,” were frequented by some 2,000 students and the additional fact that Lima was the centre of education for the youth of Chile, upper Peru, Quito, Panama and other South American cities, which testifies to its advancement and progress. There were such writers as Paw, who not only belittled its work, but presumed to despise it. Dr. Paw was one of those Anglo-American writers who saw nothing

worth while outside of New England. Because of the difficulty in obtaining competent professors in those days for Harvard and kindred institutions in the North, he feigned to imagine that the same conditions prevailed in Spanish America. He ignored the fact that the greater part of the Spanish missionaries were members of religious orders and graduates of the principal universities of Europe. They were born teachers and they realized that their work was education and not speculation. It is well known that the University of San Marcos aided and organized from among her students the society known as "Anales de Paris," which at the close of the last century published the twelve volumes of the "Mercurio Peruano," so highly prized in Peru. It is well known that the University established chairs of botany, of metallurgy and a botanical garden for the advancement of these professions in Peru. Nor must we forget the foundation of the law school, which has proved such a boon to the legal profession and to the public in general.

As against the bigoted assertions of Dr. Paw, we may be permitted again to quote Professor Bourne, a non-Catholic, who says:

"The most famous of the earlier Peruvian writers were Acosta, the historian, author of the 'Natural and Civil History of the Indies; the mestizo Garcilaso de la Vega, who was educated in Spain and wrote of the Inca Empire and De Soto's expedition; Sandoval, the author of the first great work on Africa and the Negro written in America; Antonio Leon Pinedo, the first American biographer and one of the greatest as well as one of the most indefatigable codifiers of the legislation of the Indies. Pinedo was born in Peru and educated at the Jesuit College in Lima."

But the Universities of Mexico and Lima were not the only ones founded by the Spanish "Friars" in those early days. The University of Cuzco was founded in 1558, the University of San Fulgencio was founded by the Augustinians in 1620 and the Jesuits had their Xaverian Union in 1592. The University of Santo Domingo (Hayti) was established by a Papal Bull in 1538, with a faculty in theology, jurisprudence, philosophy and medicine. Nor were the islands of the Gulf an exception in the zeal for education, for we learn that a Bull of Pope Adrian VI., dated April 28, 1522, gave birth to the Escolastica at Santiago de Cuba. It was designed for giving instruction in Latin. In 1609 the College of San Ambrosio was founded in Havana by the Jesuit Fathers as a theological seminary, and they followed it up by the foundation of another college in the Cuban capital. It was opened in 1724 as the College of San Ignacio.

In 1688 the Ayuntamiento of Havana petitioned the home

Government to establish a university in their city, so that the youth of the island who were desirous of pursuing higher courses would not be subjected to the expense of going to Europe to accomplish their purpose. After some delay the petition was granted by a Brief of Pope Innocent XIII., dated September 12, 1721, and the Jesuit Fathers of San Juan de Letran were authorized to establish the long desired institution. It took some years, however, to complete all arrangements, so that the University of Havana was not officially established until 1728. The rector, vice rector and counsellors were to be Dominicans and the university was granted the same rank as the University of Alcala de Henares, which had been under the patronage of Cardinal Cisneros, and soon developed into a seat of learning of great celebrity. In 1701 it had three chairs, one of philosophy, one of which was known as the "Aristotelic Test," another called the "Master of Sentences;" three of civil law; two of canon law; four of medicine and two of mathematics. Later on new classes were added in which all branches were taught, and as well and thoroughly taught as in any contemporary institution in Europe. As the teaching was *gratuitous*,¹² and the doors of the classes were open to all who desired to enter, the university became extremely popular and soon became one of the most important factors in the civilization of the island. When the university was taken out of the hands of the friars and placed under civil control and consequently became a secular institution, the matriculation fees were raised from 15 cents to \$25 in philosophy and \$102 in law, medicine, pharmacy and theology. We can well imagine the effect of this change upon the youth of Havana. The writer of this article remembers this institution well, as he spent some time as a student within its walls.

We may add that the suppression of the religious orders did not prevent the good "friars" from continuing their noble work. It is well known that Fray Antonio Herrera, O. P., during his residence at Guanabacoa, after the secularization of the University, gave several hours of the day to a class of twenty-five boys who came to him daily for instruction in Latin and other subjects. Not only would the good man never accept money or presents from his pupils, but he frequently shared his scanty breakfast with the most needy.

As the tourist enters the harbor of Havana one of the most prominent buildings that attracts his attention is the old church and the

¹² The matriculation fee required of the students of the university was merely nominal, "real y medio" (fifteen cents). The graduation fee, in the degree of doctor, consisted of a pair of gloves and a silk handkerchief to each member of the faculty.

convent of San Francisco, for many years (since 1841) used as a custom house. Many a time, in my boyhood, have I played in the shadow of its walls. Tradition tells us that there were always in that house from seventy to eighty "friars" who devoted their time not only to the performance of their religious duties, but in teaching Latin, philosophy, theology and other branches, and this teaching was always *gratuitous* and regularly and systematically imparted. The Franciscan Fathers had a regular maestro of grammar, a lector on philosophy, three professors or tutors (*catedráticos*) of the same sciences, or rather of some special branches thereof, and teachers of other branches, mathematics included. This teaching department of the convent was attended by a large number of pupils; it imparted instruction, as we have said, *gratuitously*—a fact we cannot dwell upon too forcibly. It was under the control and supervision of a prefect of studies called a *Regente General de Estudios*.

So popular was this institution that at the earnest solicitation of the citizens of Havana authority was given to the convent to confer the degree of "bachiller" both in philosophy and theology, and the studies made there were granted the same official character and rating as those made in any regularly authorized establishment of the Spanish monarchy.

During a recent visit to Havana I looked with sorrow at the venerable building and regretted that when the island passed from Spanish to American hands the good Franciscans did not avail themselves of the opportunity to recover it, as was done with other church property which reverted to the control of its legitimate owners.

From what has been said in the foregoing pages it will be seen that the Catholic Church, so far from being behindhand in the field of education on American soil, was actually at work in founding schools, colleges and universities fully half a century before their Anglo-Saxon brethren found time to give a thought to it. They were too intent on exterminating the aborigine and establishing themselves upon his lands. The Spanish-American missionaries, faithful to the commands of their Divine Master, went forth to "teach all nations." True, the Spanish explorers were guilty of unheard-of cruelties, and in some places exterminated the native population, but this was done, as we have shown in a former article, in spite of the heroic efforts of the missionaries, who eventually put a stop to these cruelties. In Anglo-Saxon America the Indians have almost entirely disappeared, for while the Indian population of the United States is scarcely 260,000, Mexico has an Indian population of 4,000,000 and Peru 1,723,914. The work done in

civilizing the native population by the Catholic missionary will always constitute one of the brightest pages in American history. The "International Encyclopedia" tells us that "the Jesuit missions among the Guarani (S. A.) are recognized as the most successful ever established in America. At one time they counted over 300,000 Christianized Indians." The work of the missionaries still goes on and they are still the teachers and civilizers of savage peoples.

We have seen the Spanish friar studying unknown tongues, reducing them to writing and to grammatical rules; we have seen him founding colleges and universities, and, in time, filling the chairs of these universities with able professors drawn from among their own graduates, and we see, to-day, the fruits of their labors in the magnificent specimen of architecture with which Spanish America is dotted and which still command the admiration of the connoisseur. We have seen the missionary building orphan asylums, protectories, hospitals and homes for the destitute and unfortunate, and this long before the United States became a nation, and he is continuing the good work in our day.

MARC F. VALLETTE.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

QUEEN AND SAINT.

"SAXON MARGARET," QUEEN OF SCOTLAND.

AT A momentous period in the history of Britain a woman was born in Hungary who was destined to play an important part in bringing the northern portion of the isle out of the darkness and barbarism in which it was plunged into the light and civilization of Continental Europe. A direct descendant of the great Alfred, some of his qualities of head and heart seem to have been transmitted to her. If ever a woman made history, surely Margaret the Atheling, great-niece of Edward the Confessor, wife of Malcolm Canmore, first ruler of the united Scots, may claim that honor. It is a significant fact that writers say "the reign of Margaret" quite as often as "the reign of Malcolm." Her father, Edward, son of Edmund Ironsides, was heir to the throne of England in rightful succession to Edward the Confessor, but through the influence of Cnut he was banished to Hungary. Some say Edward was, with the consent of the State, sent to Sweden and by King Olave, Cnut's half-brother, he was, later on, sent to Hungary. Accounts vary as to this, but all agree that he spent his early life in that kingdom, and while there married the Princess Agatha, niece of the Queen of Hungary and kinswoman of Henry II., the powerful Emperor of Germany. Of this marriage were born Edgar "the Atheling," Christian, and probably in 1047 their more famous sister, Margaret.

Hungary was then in her first glory as an independent kingdom and flourishing under the wise and enlightened rule of her first King, the sainted Stephen. It would seem that Margaret's father was recognized as a prince of the blood royal and that his family either resided at court or had all the privileges of close association with the reigning sovereign. Under the tutelage of Stephen and his wife Gisella, who had been a Bavarian princess, Margaret had a training perhaps unequaled in any other court in Europe. Stephen was no mere pious dreamer, but a statesman of rare breadth of view, whose practical Christian life and constructive ability raised Hungary to the first rank among the nations of Europe. In such surroundings was Margaret's early life spent.

In 1057 Edward the Confessor sent for Margaret's father, Edward, so that he might be in England in the event of his, the King's death, and thus be able to take his place on the throne should the troubled condition of Britain permit. But Edward, though only forty-nine years of age, died before his uncle, whom he did not even see after his arrival in England. He was buried with great pomp in St. Paul's Cathedral, then as now the metropolitan church

of London. His son Edgar was selected after the death of Harold to carry on the succession of the royal house of Alfred, but the victories of the Conqueror prevented Edgar's accession to the throne. This was doubtless a fortunate thing for the country, as this young prince was by nature totally unfit for a position of such responsibility. Later on he appears to have cast in his fortunes with the Scots, and after various vicissitudes was forced by the Conqueror to leave the country with his mother and sisters.

To the exiled party Hungary would seem their natural place of refuge, so with a company of faithful attendants they set forth on their sad journey. But they were driven by storms out of their course to the Scotch coast. Here in a little bay in the Firth of Forth they anchored. As Mercer tells us:

"It is a sheltered safe retreat,
For tempest driven vessels meet;
And ever since that day so famed
St. Margaret's Hope it has been named."

Margaret's queenly bearing, with what the chronicles call "a pleasantness of jocund speech," seems to have much impressed the rude and simple men who first met the shipwrecked party. They appear to have been dazzled not only by the beauty of the princess, but by the splendor of the entire royal family. Their rich robes must have retained, even after the trials of their voyage, enough of their beauty to look wondrously fine to men accustomed only to garments of coarse wool and skins. Besides, the Lady Agatha had with her many splendid golden vessels, jewels and rich stuffs that she was taking back to Hungary as gifts, such things as had never before been seen in that far northern land.

Evidently the King soon followed the messengers he had sent to inquire about the strangers whom Fate had cast upon his shores, and he immediately offered them the hospitality of his palace of Dunfermline. Tradition has it that the royal party walked the four miles that lay between St. Margaret's Bay and the castle, and that the Princess sat to rest for a while on a stone which since then has borne her name. The farm where the stone lay has always been called, even to this day, St. Margaret's Stone Farm. The stone itself was removed as late as 1856, when the road was widened. Just where the exiles landed from their little ship, at the point where the great Forth Bridge to-day spans the narrowest part of the bay, the name, Queen's Ferry, recalls the auspicious day that Scotland's greatest benefactress first set foot on her soil.

At his castle of Dunfermline, where the King of the ballad sits, "drinking the blood-red wine," Malcolm welcomed his guests with

the greatest courtesy, and apparently quickly fell under the spell of Margaret's personality. The Saxon Chronicle tells us that "King Malcolm soon began to yearn after his (Edgar's) sister to wife." Malcolm was a widower at this time, his first wife having been Ingibiorg, widow of Tostig. This was probably a political marriage, by which the King hoped to bind his Danish and other northern subjects more closely to their allegiance. Two sons were born of this union, one bearing the name of his grandfather, the murdered Duncan. Nothing is heard of them in history, however, not even of why they made no claim to the throne. Malcolm, surnamed Canmore or "Great Head," because of the unusual size of his head, seems to have been a man of remarkable strength of character, gifted with courage and intelligence, and eminently fitted to govern his wild subjects, whose different racial characteristics and customs required a strong hand to guide and control them. In addition he had had the advantage of intercourse with the great chiefs south of the Tweed, among them Siward of Northumberland, who helped him to regain his throne; and he had spent some time at the court of the Confessor, who had espoused his cause and waged in his behalf the only foreign war of his reign. That is, if Malcolm was really the son and not the grandson of the murdered Duncan, as those who read their Shakespeare will be inclined to believe, though authorities differ. Malcolm was in the prime of life, about forty years old, when he met the Princess Margaret, and had reigned about twelve years.

It is not known how long the Princess Agatha had been in England with her children before they left it by William's orders. Nor can any records be found of Margaret's life in Hungary. But it is known that she lived at the court of Stephen and it is supposed that she had also been at that of the Confessor. This would certainly prove to be a period of great formative influence for the future Queen of Scotland, supplementing that already received in Hungary. Both Kings, the sainted Stephen and the Edward who earned the title of "the Confessor," were noted for their purity of life and their love of learning. Edward brought into England, as a result of his long residence in Normandy, the first traces of that advancing civilization which, up to that time, had not touched England, and of which Scotland, still farther away from such influences, was even more ignorant. Margaret, gifted by nature with a fine mind, must have absorbed much from the edifying and scholarly surroundings in which her life so far had been spent, and which had been fitting her for the great task that, all unknown to herself, Providence had destined for her.

Great as were the qualities of the woman whom the King wished to take as his wife, his own were as great, though different. The union promised to be ideal for the happiness of the two most concerned and for the welfare of the country so sorely in need of regeneration. Arrangements were soon made for this marriage, which was destined to be of such benefit to Scotland; it took place shortly after Easter, in either 1069 or 1070—the records of this period as to dates are unreliable. Frothard, the Celtic Bishop of St. Andrews, performed the ceremony in a small chapel adjoining the Tower of Dunfermline. Portions of this royal dwelling still remain, after a lapse of eight centuries. Some of the wax seals found on the earliest Scotch charters show it to have been an imposing building, two stories high with a sort of attic for servants, so it must have been more than a mere stronghold, as most of the residences for kings and nobles were, of necessity, in that unsettled period. There Margaret began to lead that life of private and public usefulness which has made her renowned among Scottish queens. One of her first acts was to build a church in honor of the Holy Trinity in memory of her marriage. Everything connected with the public exercises of religion received her reverent attention, but this in no wise detracted from the care with which she personally supervised the details of life in the palace.

From the very beginning she set herself the task of bringing her husband's court into some resemblance to those in which she had passed her youth. In this she had the full concurrence of the King. Malcolm, while no scholar—he could not even read—must have been able to appreciate his wife's attainments. No doubt he admired her intellect as much as he loved her gentle ways. He was a wise, patriotic ruler, though with the roughness of his race and time, and must have felt that here indeed was a woman well able to share in the work of civilizing an unruly people. Margaret introduced many changes that added dignity to the daily life of the court. At her suggestion a royal guard was appointed to attend the King on occasions of ceremony. The use of gold and silver plate at table was another innovation due to her. It is said, too, that she brought into her adopted country the custom of giving thanks after meals, from which the grace cup received in Scotland the name of "St. Margaret's blessing." She dressed handsomely; she looked on this almost as a duty she owed to her rank; besides it encouraged and improved the art of weaving in Scotland and brought into the kingdom more and finer cloth from abroad, thus fostering Scotland's small foreign commerce.

Every form of industry was encouraged and if possible carried on

royal apartments were woven or made of tapestry or some other in the palace under the Queen's supervision. Hangings for the rich material. Many of these, as well as the garments of the Queen and her ladies, were profusely embroidered in silk or gold threads. Most of the precious material came from the more advanced communities on the Continent, though many of the dyes doubtless were made by the workers themselves, thus furnishing another occupation for busy brains and fingers and developing every variety of talent that existed. The gathering of herbs, not only for dyes but for simple medicinal remedies, was another task of this busy household. Drinking cups and other articles were made for the royal table of gold, though "some of these," says her biographer, Turgot, with great simplicity, "were lacquered so as to look like gold." Even the delicate and artistic work of ornamenting missals and books of prayer was attempted, though on a modest scale, as became a country where such work was new. Theodoric, at one time Margaret's confessor, seems to have been in charge of this work, which he had doubtless learned in his convent. He tells us of some of the work that he did with his own hands in the decoration of the holy books. All this added to the refinement of daily life and developed a sense of beauty in a people whose tastes in this direction had not been cultivated, largely because of the warlike state of society that had so long existed north of the Tweed.

The King in the intervals between petty wars with his English neighbors took much interest in the beautiful work carried on by Margaret. Though he was unable to read her books, he loved them for her sake. He often had special copies made for her of portions of Scripture, such as the Psalter or the Gospels, which it was the custom to compile in small volumes for the use of the laity. After they had been beautifully bound and decorated with gold and gems, it pleased him to give them to her. Frequently he would kiss her books of devotion, through love and reverence for his saintly wife and the things on which she set such store.

One special book of Queen Margaret's has had an eventful history. It was a book of the Gospels, that is, the portions usually read at Mass. It was of vellum, adorned in the usual way with gold and precious stones and having, in addition, what was not so common then, full page illustrations of the Evangelists. The figures recall the Byzantine style, like so much early work throughout Europe, but much of the detail is said by experts to be essentially English; in particular the clothing, which they declare is undoubtedly that of the period of Cnut. Tradition says that this book was lost, having in some way been dropped into a stream, and that as befitted the holy book of so holy a queen it was not injured by the

wetting it received, though it lay in the water for a long time. A book corresponding to the description of Queen Margaret's came to light in 1887, which shows unmistakable signs of having had a thorough soaking. It was bought at public sale in London and is now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Those competent to judge declare it to be an extremely valuable specimen of the work of that period. Further evidence in favor of the theory of its being Queen Margaret's book is that it contains a poem in the handwriting of the late eleventh century describing how it was once "the property of a king and a holy queen" and how it met with the fate described above. This poem is thought to have been written by Turgot, Margaret's confessor and biographer, who mentions the same incident in his life of the Queen.

The Queen's care for the education of her six sons and her two daughters did not suffer because of her labors in a larger field. From the beginning the boys were placed under tutors carefully chosen, who were especially directed to look after their moral as well as their mental training. A Spartan regulation was that their charges were to be punished when naughty. The daughters, Mary and Edith, who was afterwards known both as Maud and Matilda, were sent to Romsey Abbey, in Southern England, where their aunt, Christina, was a nun. There they were instructed in all that was taught to women of rank in that age. Literature (the scanty amount that existed), the study of the Scriptures, needlework, the making and use of simple medicines, and "all good customs" comprised the education that was to fit them for their high station.

The care of the poor was a sacred duty of all women, but especially of those whose position and wealth gave them greater opportunities. Margaret distinguished herself by her untiring ardor in this work, and we may be sure that her children did their share. Her husband, too, followed her example. Together they personally ministered to the poor, especially to the sick and suffering. At one time the Queen supported in full twenty-four persons, besides giving temporary aid to others who applied daily for help at the palace. Sometimes as many as three hundred would be found waiting in the palace yard until the doors of the great hall would be opened. They knew they would be received with sympathy; Malcolm and Margaret vied with each other in kindness, waiting on these humble guests with their own hands. But above all Margaret's tender pity went out to the little orphans—and there were so many of them in this time of frequent border raids. In Lent, particularly, the Queen redoubled her good works; her first act after hearing one or more Masses was to minister to nine little orphans. It was only after performing this duty of charity that she partook of her first frugal

meal. Never was she known to neglect any one in distress; if her own private purse was exhausted, as was often the case, she would turn to those about her and beg for money or even articles of clothing if necessary to relieve a case of immediate suffering. A story is told of her that has a very modern sound. It is said she would take money for her charities from her husband's purse, and that he, loving and admiring her as he did, laughed when he was told of it, thought he sometimes pretended that she was going to be punished for such open robbery. The royal pair seem to have been of one mind in all these acts of personal service that brought about so great an improvement in the daily life of his subjects.

Not only did Margaret thus aid the poor whom she could reach personally, but through her influence on her husband laws were passed by which the rights of the poor were safeguarded; so that it became more difficult for the ruling class to abuse or rob them as had been done so frequently. In this reign another great step in national reform was taken when it was decreed that soldiers should not take from the people forcibly what they needed, but that they should pay a fair equivalent for all that they got.

As a representative of the best Anglo-Saxon blood, Margaret naturally took a great interest in those Saxons who had lost all through the Norman conquest. In a number of instances she paid the ransom of those who had been made captives, many of whom were living in actual slavery in Scotland. Not satisfied with helping those whom chance brought to her notice, she used to send her agents to look up all who might be in such a plight to any part of her realm. At this time prisoners were treated most harshly; Margaret put a stop to it whenever she could learn of it and had the prisoners set at liberty, if this were possible. Besides those thus forcibly brought to Scotland, many Saxon nobles fled there after Harold's defeat and death and were welcomed by Malcolm and given positions of trust. Often preference was given to such foreigners in filling positions about the court. In the struggle that followed the coming of the Conqueror, Normans as well as Anglo-Saxons found their way to the faraway northern kingdom. Malcolm was shrewd enough to realize the influence for good of the chivalry of Normandy upon his rough subjects. Some Norman nobles were given estates, by which means they were induced to settle in the country and thus become affiliated with it. In the event of war they would of course be bound to defend their adopted land. Their knowledge of a higher kind of warfare was a benefit to men who had been fighting more as barbarians and were more or less strangers to the chivalric treatment of the conquered, particularly women and children. All this attention to foreigners would hardly

tend to make the Queen more popular with the Scottish nobles, but her gentleness, dignity and reputation for justice seem to have stifled for the time being any ill feeling that might have been aroused.

One of Queen Margaret's charities was to make it easier for pilgrims to get to St. Andrews, which, as Mrs. Oliphant says, was "the ecclesiastical capital" and consequently "the centre of national life" of the kingdom. On each side of the Forth the Queen had houses put up where those wanting to make the pilgrimage could stay free of cost while they were awaiting an opportunity of crossing. In stormy weather days would sometimes elapse before this would be safe. Food was supplied to the pilgrims and the boats in which they crossed were provided free of expense. In addition an opportunity was afforded them of buying such extra comforts as they wished. This "Queen's Ferry" retains its name to-day.

Margaret's zeal for religion was an actuating principle of her life and showed itself in many ways, especially in the building of churches and monasteries to the honor of God, the encouragement of right living, and the service of humanity. One tiny spot connected with her private devotions has a pretty story connected with it. It is really only an opening in the side of a rocky hill near one of the Towers of Dunfermline, which is known as St. Margaret's Cave Oratory. The King, missing his wife one day, found her engaged here in prayer; he immediately took steps to have the little place fitted up appropriately as a chapel. It is a far cry from this obscure but beloved shrine to the imposing Church of the Holy Trinity, already mentioned, which she built at the time of her marriage. The chapel of the Castle of Edinburgh is another of Margaret's buildings; it is very small, in the severest Norman style, and is the oldest building remaining in Edinburgh to-day.

Some six years after their marriage the King, "with the confirmation and testimony of Queen Margaret, my wife, etc." founded the Abbey of Dunfermline. It seems like rather a remarkable instance of a democratic spirit that after enumerating the Bishops, earls and barons the charter should go on to say "the clergy and the *people* also acquiescing." The famous monastery of Iona naturally attracted Margaret's interest. She rebuilt the portions that had fallen into ruins and established other communities in the hope that they might be worthy successors to those men of sanctity and learning that had followed St. Columba when he brought religion and learning to Scotland. One of the old chronicles tells us of a compact entered into by the royal pair with the Convent of St. Cuthbert in Durham. Following a general custom of the time by which the laity associated themselves with the good works of the monks and were in turn aided by their prayers, Malcolm and Mar-

garet took it upon themselves "to nourish every day one poor man" and, further, "two poor men shall be kept for them in the Lord's Supper," goes on the agreement. The benefits of participation in all the good works of the monks were to be shared by the King and Queen and their children, both during and after their lives, and their anniversary was to be celebrated on King Athelstan's day, November 12. Judging from the choice of a Saxon ruler's feast day, it would appear that it was the Queen who made the selection.

The most remarkable public work in the interest of religion undertaken by the Scottish Queen was the part she took in a council held by Malcolm to confer with the clergy and nobility on certain reprehensible customs the people had fallen into. These customs were not all of them so important in themselves, but the general effect of some of them was to estrange the Scottish Church somewhat from the rest of Catholic Christianity in discipline, though not in doctrine. Naturally so staunch a lover of the truth as Margaret had much at heart the unity of her Catholic subjects with the head of Christendom, so she strove with great zeal to remedy these abuses. It appears to have been the custom in Scotland to consider Lent as beginning not on Ash Wednesday, but on the Monday following. Margaret persuaded her people to follow the general custom of Catholic Europe by counting Lent from Ash Wednesday. A more serious and really evil practice seems to have been the neglect of receiving the Holy Eucharist at Easter; for this the excuse of the Scots was, "We feel that we are sinners and are afraid to partake of that sacrament lest we eat and drink judgment to ourselves." In refutation of this the Queen quoted the words of Our Saviour Himself, "Unless you eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink His blood, you shall not have life in you." The Scots finally saw the force of her arguments and were convinced of the error of their conduct. They agreed, too, to follow the ways of their fellow-Catholics in the observance of Sunday. They seem to have been keeping up a sort of double observance regarding Saturday as a day of rest and Sunday as a day set apart for public worship in honor of the Resurrection. The Queen's appeal on this point has been preserved. "Let us," she says, "keep the Lord's Day in reverence, on account of Our Lord's Resurrection from the dead on that day; let us do no servile work on that day, in which, as we know, we were redeemed from the slavery of the devil. Pope Gregory says we must cease from earthly labor on the Lord's Day and continue instant in prayer." During the three days of the council Margaret pleaded with such earnestness for the reformation of these and other minor abuses that all the points at issue were satisfactorily settled. What she said was

translated to those present by the King, who presided over the council in person.

It may seem singular that a woman, even though so learned and holy a queen, should have conducted a work of such importance as holding a council, but by her life-long training Margaret was eminently fitted for the task, unusual though it was. She was a woman of high intellect, of retentive memory, whose whole life had been passed in the study of the Scriptures. Her Book of Hours, her Psalter, her copy of the Gospels were her daily companions, and she meditated constantly on what she read. The two confessors she chose at different periods of her life, Turgot and Theodoric, were men of deep piety and learning, able to direct a person of her character and position. In addition, at her request Archbishop Lanfranc sent her "Friar Godwin and two monks to instruct her in the proper method of conducting the service of God." Lanfranc had some correspondence with the Queen at one time; a Latin letter he wrote her is still extant. A favorite occupation of Margaret's after listening to affairs of state was discussing matters of religion with the various ecclesiastics attached to the court and others accredited to the King on special missions. So humble and loyal and well-instructed a daughter of the Church was hardly in danger of going astray either in doctrine or in practice.

The object of Margaret's greatest veneration was a portion of the True Cross, known as the "Holy Rood of Scotland." Its history appears to be well authenticated. This particular portion was kept in Rome from the time of St. Helena until it was given by Pope Marinus to King Alfred, who was known to have been on the Continent, presumably in Belgium, in the year 883. It is probable that it was at this time that he received the "Lignum Domini," as the relic was then called. This precious gift was kept in Winchester, Alfred's capital, until Margaret, Alfred's lineal descendant, took it with her when she went to Scotland as its queen. The gold cross in which the fragment was kept was much carved and set with large diamonds and enclosed in an ebony case, hence its historic name, the "Black Rood of Scotland." After Margaret's death it passed through many vicissitudes. It was first placed in Holyrood House, as the abbey built by Margaret's son David was called, and was so venerated by the Scots that formal oaths of allegiance were taken on it as on the Gospels. Its presence in different places, both in Scotland and England, was shown by various documents in the centuries following Margaret's death, until in 1346 it was carried to Durham Abbey, where it remained until the abbey was suppressed under Henry VIII. Its loss was deeply felt in Scotland.

Margaret's private life was an inspiration in her own home and a model for those of her subjects. In the arrangement of her daily duties she seems to have shown the same clear judgment as in matters of public interest. Her days must have been well ordered to be so well filled. Affairs of state, works of charity, superintendence of her household with its varied interests yet left her many hours which she devoted to prayer. She usually said matins with some of her ladies and heard several Masses. We know that she studied the Scriptures assiduously; she used to ask her confessor to get copies for her own use and to give to others. In Lent she not only fasted, but rose at midnight to pray; she recited the whole Psalter daily, sometimes as often as three times in a day. When she gave food and clothing to the poor she kissed their feet in remembrance of the Lord in whose name she served them. Turgot says: "When she spoke with me about the salvation of the soul and the sweetness of the life which is eternal, every word she uttered was so filled with grace that the Holy Spirit who truly dwelt within her breast evidently spoke by her lips." A great sweetness of manner seems to have accompanied the austerity of her life and was no doubt partly the secret of the influence she wielded. If she proposed a reform it was with a graciousness that took away the appearance of faultfinding.

While still in middle life Margaret's health began to fail; she was obliged to forego accompanying her husband on his expeditions undertaken at this time, being unable to stand the fatigue of riding on horseback, which was the only means even royalty had of going about. In 1093 the King had a quarrel with William Rufus and invaded England, where he besieged Alnwick Castle. Tradition has it that the garrison had surrendered and that as the keys of the castle were being handed to Malcolm on a spear, a knight thought to be Roger de Mowbray treacherously slew him. Edward, the heir apparent, was killed in the same battle. The Queen was staying in Edinburgh during the King's absence. She seems to have been in rather a melancholy frame of mind and it was a cause of much anxiety to her. During her illness, which began at this time, she was conversing one day with her director and said to him: "Farewell, my life draws to a close; I shall not continue much longer in this world, but you will live after me for a considerable time. There are two things which I beg of you; one is that, as long as you live, you will remember me in your prayers; the other is that you will take some care about my sons and daughters."

Though weak from illness, she called in the leading nobles and recommended her children to their care. Then her beloved poor

were sent for and relieved for the last time. She then rose and heard Mass in her oratory, receiving Holy Communion devoutly at the hands of her chaplain. He remained near during the greater part of the day, reading the Psalms to her; later she had the Black Hood brought, which she held in her hands and kissed repeatedly. As she lay in her weakness her thoughts divided between her beloved husband, away on the field of battle, and her preparation for the world to come, her son Edgar appeared suddenly in her room. Fearing to alarm her, yet realizing that the sad news must be told, he hesitated, but the Queen begged him by the Holy Cross to tell her the truth. The loss of her husband and son filled her with grief, though she was in a measure prepared, having felt ever since the King had left that he would not survive this expedition. It would seem that she had only been waiting for the confirmation of her fears to give up her hold upon earth; she lingered but a short time after Edgar's return, passing away with a prayer upon her lips.

After Margaret's death a strange thing happened. Her loveliness, her charities, her wise labors for the good of her country, all seem to have been forgotten. By one of those singular revulsions that sometimes occur, the nobility turned against her, glad perhaps to be relieved from even her gentle yoke and ready to assert themselves in their rough freedom. The King was dead, who could have restrained the ill feeling, and "Saxon Margaret," after a life of untiring self-devotion to her lawless people, could not even be buried from Edinburgh Castle openly, much less with the customary royal pomp. Indeed, so great was the fear felt by the Queen's children and her immediate loyal attendants that the sacred remains were hurriedly removed from the castle. Carried down from the high rock on which the royal residence stood and hidden by a kindly mist, so opportune as to be thought miraculous by those who had known and loved the saintly Queen, Margaret went at her death as a fugitive to Dunfermline, where as a bride she had been received with so loyal a love and honor, and where it seemed fitting she should be buried. Across the Queen's Ferry the small procession passed; what a mockery it seems that its kindly offices could be given only in secret to her who had helped so many to cross it on their earthly pilgrimages! Reverently the body of the Queen was laid before the "rood altar" in the church at Dunfermline, and the King was afterwards buried beside her—another innovation, as the Scotch kings had previously been buried in Iona.

The reaction against the Queen and her Saxon influence began immediately. Donald Bane, spoken of by historians as "a wild Scot," who seems to have avoided his brother's court during Mal-

colm's life, represented the old Celtic spirit which chafed under the régime of the Saxon, its hereditary foe. With all the discontented at his back, he started an insurrection against his brother's children, whom he banished. Edinburgh was besieged, and it was only after some months that a Saxon army placed Malcolm's son Edgar on the throne, but the kingdom was disturbed by a civil war that lasted for five years.

Edgar left no children, and Alexander, another son of Malcolm, came to the throne. Alexander was surnamed "the Fierce," a description of his manners rather than of his reign. He also was succeeded by a brother, David, who appears to have united the good qualities of both parents. He began his reign by banishing all foreigners, an act of wise policy in view of the irritated state of the nobility. A Scotch writer, with very pronounced views against royalty, sums up what all historians have said in substance of David, that he was a "perfect example of a good and patriot king." Not only did he perform faithfully all the duties that fell to the lot of an absolute monarch, but he labored conscientiously for the good of all his subjects. Frequently he gave up his pleasures, such as the chase, of which he was very fond, to hear the cause of a poor man. He founded many monasteries, the most famous being Holyrood—"the House of the Holy Rood"—already referred to, Melrose and Dryburgh, whose memory has been so worthily preserved for us by Sir Walter Scott.

The first reaction against Saxon Margaret was followed in the next century by a spirit of veneration which led to a "petition of the nobles, clergy and people of Scotland" for Queen Margaret's canonization. This was in 1250, and the ceremony was performed by Pope Innocent IV. After her canonization the Queen's remains were removed to the Lady Aisle of the new choir of the Church of the Holy Trinity, the same that had been built by the saint. A pretty legend is told of the sudden heaviness of the body that occurred as the shrine with the relics was being borne past the tomb of the King. The story is that the coffin grew so heavy it became impossible to carry it, until at the suggestion of one of those present Malcolm's body was taken up too—the model and humble wife not being willing to receive so much honor unless it could be shared by her husband. Both bodies were then buried in the same mausoleum, which was an object of veneration down to the time of the Reformers in 1560, when it was destroyed. Margaret's own shrine was of oak carved; in this was a silver case set with gold and precious stones. Her feast, which had at first been kept on the day of death in November, was afterwards changed to the 10th of June in compliance with the petition of King James

VII., who wished to avoid its conflicting with another celebration. The Collect for the Mass of the day naturally celebrates the crowning work of the saint's life it is as follows: "O God! who didst render the blessed Queen Margaret truly admirable by reason of her eminent charity toward the poor, grant that by reason of her intercession and example Thy charity may ever increase in our hearts."

There is a tendency among moderns to believe that such great benefactions to religious houses as were given by both Margaret and her son David is not a practical work and that it tends to encourage idleness and pauperism. It should always be borne in mind, however, that the interests served by the monasteries were extremely comprehensive. In the first place, the monks were primarily agriculturalists. They were thus producers among a warlike people constantly called away from peaceful pursuits to repel a border foe or even to invade the enemy's country. Then they taught the art of agriculture to the rude peasantry of the neighborhood as well as to their own dependents and servants. And the consensus of opinion among historians, Catholic and non-Catholic, on this subject is, as one of them has expressed it, "that their vassals and bondsmen were proverbially said to live well under the crozier." Another benefit was that as a rule, even in this rude age, convents and monasteries and their lands usually escaped devastation by marauders, and so became a nucleus whence the acts of peace could once more extend their beneficent influence when war had ceased. Of course, it is well known that monasteries were practically the only inns where travelers could be sure of shelter and food; the very name "hostel" keeps us in mind of this under its modern form, "hotel." As to practical philanthropy, the very cornerstone of the monastic life was hospitality, the care of the poor and the nursing of the sick.

Architecture was among the first of the arts practiced by the monks, aided by the wealth of royalty and the nobility. Travelers of to-day have these same monks to thank for the beauty that attracts so many to view the ruins of Melrose and similar gems of the builder's art that date from the so-called "dark ages," the early twelfth century. Every species of artist and artisan work then known was carried on in the monasteries; even a primitive system of water works existed in some places, while the artistic work of making stained glass, writing and illuminating manuscripts and working in gold and precious stones was carried on generally. Not only were the robes used by the clergy in solemn celebrations embroidered in the monasteries, but often the ornaments, worn by men and women alike as part of the national costume. Over the

kirtle it was the custom to wear a mantle fastened with a large brooch; an armlet of gold, such as Macbeth wears in the play, was generally added. These things as well as bells and shrines of various metals were often the work of monks, who in many cases carved decorations of intricate laced designs and animal forms, frequently of grotesque shapes. Such examples of this work as are found to-day are a great help in portraying the life and dress of the period, the more valuable as Scotland had so few written records of these early times, being in that respect much behind both Ireland and England, from which latter country most of our knowledge of the reign of Malcolm is derived. A man or woman who founded a great monastery in the Middle Ages was, therefore, like a person to-day who might build a hospital, or an asylum, or an art school—or all three. It is easy to see how in the cultivation of the sense of beauty the modern "arts and crafts school" is the evolution of the workshop of monastery or convent or palace school.

Our most intimate acquaintance with the life of Margaret is obtained from her biography by Turgot, a Saxon monk of good family, who was her confessor for many years and who in 1109 was made Bishop of St. Andrews by Margaret's son, David. The Life was written at the request of Margaret's daughter, the "good Queen Maud," wife of Henry I. of England. In a letter to Queen Maud, Turgot says: "You have, by the request you made, commanded me, for a request of yours is to me a command, to offer you in writing the story of the life of your mother, whose memory is held in veneration. How acceptable that life was to God you have often heard by the concordant praise of many. You remind me how in this matter my evidence is especially trustworthy (thanks to her great and familiar intercourse with me)."

Not only was Turgot better fitted to write her life as having been for so long an adviser as to her good works and a sharer in them, but he was probably the only person fitted, from a literary standpoint, for the task. The King, as we know, could not even read, yet he had had the advantage of spending some years at the court of the Confessor, which was the seat of all the Anglo-Saxon culture there was, leavened by the Norman influence, which was much greater. Who, then, of Malcolm's court but an ecclesiastic could have undertaken the task? He says of her that she had an "understanding keen to comprehend any matter whatever it might be," a "great tenacity of memory—enabling her to store it up," "along with a graceful flow of language to express it." As to the "secrets" of her spiritual life, Turgot says that he felt unworthy of being admitted to so intimate a friendship with one so holy. While some

historians find fault with her ascetic practices, all concur in praising her for her good and active life. Samuel Cowan, in his "Life," published in 1911, says her reign contributed materially to the welfare and general prosperity of the nation and that she will always retain her position as one of the greatest, if not the greatest of the Scottish queens. Skene, in "Celtic Scotland," adds his meed of praise; "for purity of motives, for her earnest desire to benefit the people among whom her lot was cast, for a deep sense of religion and great personal piety, for the unselfish performance of whatever duty lay before her, and entire self-abnegation she is unsurpassed." Surely, her works praise her in the gates, and not the least of those to be attributed to her was the good lives of her children and her children's children. Only one of her six sons seems to have forsaken the training and example of his mother, and that only temporarily. Christian devoted herself to a life of good works in the cloister, and the reigns of David in Scotland and Matilda in England were signalized by public and private acts of devotion to their subjects, and Matilda's was conspicuous for learning and the encouragement of the highest in religion and literature.

ANNE STUART BAILEY.

New York, N. Y.

"THE SHEPHERDS CALENDER."

THE chief characteristic qualification of a great man is that he should not be small. He should not stoop to unworthy vilification and slander, he should not be partisan, he should state the case of his opponents as fully as he states his own. It is rather disappointing, therefore, to find among the men whose names are ranked the greatest in English poetry that many have stood, like Bunyan's Man with the Muck Rake, with their eyes on the sticks and straw and filth and have seldom looked aloft. They are narrow in that they never seem able to appreciate where they do not agree—an exceptional ability which is a common element in the broad spirits of Shakespeare and Tennyson. Of Wordsworth, and Milton and Spenser our verdict cannot be so favorable. Before the Protestant Revolt every English poet was, potentially at least, a Catholic poet. Since then most have been Protestants, of whom none protested more vigorously than did Edmund Spenser, the sweet singer of the "Faerie Queen."

It may be said in extenuation of his obvious ill-feeling that he lived in an age when the division between Anglican and Roman was most bitterly marked. The year of the publication of "The Shepherds Calender," 1579, was particularly propitious for a partisan comment on High Church and Puritan, on Anglican and Roman differences. Thus we find in that collection of eclogues the man who could pen an epic of flattery so well that it became an encyclopedia of moral philosophy, who wrote light sonnets to charm a lady and by their deftness charmed the world; we find such a man engaged in vicious satire and invidious slander.

Most of the twelve eclogues which go to make up the book known as "The Shepherds Calender" are purely pastoral pieces true to the literary affectations of the time. Some are devoted to the sad romantic tale of a repining lover, some to the strange conceit of rhyming debates which came out of the South along with other Renaissance artificialities and ideals, such as the echo-device, the masquerading shepherds and their lasses, the conventional *virtu* and the quaint "Platonick Love." But there are four of his eclogues which have been discussed from time to time as bearing on religious or on political questions. Religion was then considered fair game, and we must not forget that whatever Elizabeth's convictions may have been, if indeed she had any, they were always made secondary to her political position as head of the Church and State. These four eclogues, then, which go under the titles of the months of February, May, July and September, have been scrutinized by in-

numerable scholars and students with a view to piercing behind the allegory to find contemporary allusion in a name "being well-ordered," in an incident transferred from men of state to beasts of the field or fowls of the barnyard, or in anagram and cypher.

The February Eclogue, in spite of the plain statement in the "argument" that it is "rather morall and generall, then bent to any secrete or particular purpose," has been construed by some as an attack upon the ancient faith of England and by others as a parable of the fall of the Duke of Norfolk:

"An auncient tree
Sacred with many a mysteree,
And often crost with the priestes crewe,
And often halowed with holy-water dew:
But silke fancies weren foolerie,
And broughten this oake to this miserye."

The May Eclogue is specifically purported to be representative of the two types of ministers or pastors, the Protestant and the Catholic, and spares no feelings in assaulting the faith and practice of the Pope and his prelates.

The July Eclogue, which contrasts the actions and the desires of good and bad pastors, has little to do with the question of Catholicism, for it is admitted on all hands that Morell, the bad shepherd, is Bishop Aylmer, who was the chief mark for the Puritans' attacks, both in the Martin Marprelate controversy and during the years prior and subsequent. His chief vice seems to have been a High Church imitation of Catholics, "yclad in purple and pall," and his next the fact that he misused and misappropriated church funds and also neglected and oppressed his flock.

The September Eclogue deals with John Young, Bishop of Rochester, to whom Spenser was in 1578 private secretary. Young had been very favorably disposed toward the Catholic recusants twenty and ten years earlier, but Grosart calls him a "Puritan-Bishop." There has been sharp controversy on this point between eminent scholars; but whatever the decision arrived at on the specific identity, opinion seems agreed that, whether the "far country" from which the evil reports of oppression come be Rome or London, whether the oppressors be Catholic or Anglican, Spenser was putting himself on record against all that was "high" in religion.

Taking the four Eclogues by and large, there is but one conclusion to which we can come. Two of Spenser's "Fowre Hymns" (which he later published with an elaborate apology) are distinctly decorative, rich, ritualistic, Renaissance, Dantesque, almost Catholic in tone. "The Faerie Queene" is Puritanical in religious and in

political allegory. Scholars in the field seem now fairly well agreed that there was a change in the mind of Spenser, that he shifted with the shifting years from mid-century catholicity to Puritan narrowness, though in no sense from Catholicism to Puritanism. Professor Padelford has well indicated this transition as it is depicted in the irreconcilable inconsistencies between the first pair and the second pair of poems which were published together as the "Fowre Hymns," but which were written at widely different periods. Times altered and Puritan austerity came into the thoughts and feelings of the people. Spenser was, in common with most other literary men, susceptible to opinions which drifted into the minds and hearts of his community. He was further prejudiced against the Catholic viewpoint by his residence in Ireland. And that is why we must say that this one of the men who are ranked high among the poets of England was hostile to the Catholic faith and the Catholic people.

It is a fact which we must remember when we come to a reading, as we all must, of the great masterpieces of English literature. It is a fact which is further complicated and rendered more dangerous when we recall that Edmund Spenser has ever been called "the poet's poet" because he has had such a wide and lasting influence on other British men of letters, an influence which is felt in his versifying, in his philosophy and in his whole conception of how and why the world moves or should move.

The best thing that can be said in his favor on this rather narrow and minute question is a very minute comment in itself; namely, that the most intolerant and most pointed statements and allusions are not to be found so much in the body of the poem as in the running "glosse" supplied by the elusive and oft-discussed "E. K." But, at any rate, whether the satire of Spenser actually be against the Catholic Church or against the High Church party—as an ingenious and frantic scholar, Mr. Higginson, has claimed in the face of withering criticism—we should not forget that Spenser considered these abuses characteristic of the Church which is in communion with the Holy See at Rome. That in this particular he might have been attacking High Church Anglicanism is immaterial beside the fact that he considered it Catholic in tone and therefore obnoxious. Edmund Spenser was, without doubt, hostile to Catholicism, and intolerant in his hostility.

FRANCIS PAUL.

In Memoriam

Most Rev. Edmond J. Prendergast, D. D.

1843—1918

THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW mourns the death of Most Rev. Archbishop Prendergast, under whose direction it has been published for the last seven years.

His interest in the magazine dates back to its beginning in 1876, when he was among its first subscribers. That interest was increased when as Auxiliary Bishop of Philadelphia he became president of the Catholic Standard and Times Publishing Company.

It attained its full growth when on the death of Archbishop Ryan it passed into his hands and its publication was carried on under his direction.

He appreciated its value as an exponent of sound faith and morality, and he realized the responsibility of its mission.

He was in sympathy always with those whose task it was to produce it, and knowing from experience the difficulties that confront the Catholic publisher at all times, and especially the publisher of a quarterly, he was patient, indulgent and kind.

His prudence, judgment and ability were always at the command of THE QUARTERLY, and were freely given on all occasions.

This writing shall be an acknowledgment, an appreciation and a thanksgiving.

Book Reviews.

A MEMORIAL OF ANDREW J. SHIPMAN: His Life and Writings. Edited by Condé B. Pallen, Ph. D. 8vo., pp. 362. New York, Encyclopedia Press.

We learn from the foreword that "This volume is a testimonial of the high esteem and admiration in which the late Andrew J. Shipman was held by his friends. It is also in a measure the perpetuation of some of his many achievements in numerous fields of activity, as well as an inadequate though affectionate tribute to his virtues as a citizen and a churchman, whose thought, whose word and whose deed were always in perfect accord with the high ideal of life which he cherished so ardently and exemplified so nobly throughout his career."

There is a biographical sketch of twenty pages, and the rest of the volume is made up of essays by Mr. Shipman which he contributed to the Catholic Encyclopedia and to various magazines, principally Catholic.

Andrew J. Shipman was born in Virginia of English ancestry in 1857. His parents were not Catholics at the time of his birth, nor for some years afterwards. He became a Catholic while he was a student at Georgetown. He remained there seven years in all. While at Georgetown and for some time after his graduation he was editor of a local paper in Virginia near his home which was known as the *Vienna Times*.

He came to New York in 1884, and after a course of law in the University of New York was admitted to the bar in 1886. One who knew him well as a lawyer and is capable of judging has said of him:

"Andrew Jackson Shipman was a forceful advocate, a wise counsellor and an eminent ecclesiastical lawyer for more than a generation at the New York Bar."

He became distinguished as an ecclesiastical lawyer in the Catholic, the Orthodox Russian and the Episcopal Churches. Notwithstanding the fullness of his legal career and its many duties, Mr. Shipman gave his time and labor to many enterprises beyond professional limits. He was called upon in many ways and never failed to respond. Outside of his professional life he devoted himself principally to the interest of the Slavs in the United States. His efforts, however, were not limited to the Slavic people in this country. His assistance and counsel were just as readily given to the Syrian Catholics. When Bishop Ortynsky, the first Bishop

of the Uniat Greek Rite in this country, came to the United States in 1897 Mr. Shipman became his adviser.

His contributions to literature showed the most painstaking care and conscientious research. One of the most striking illustrations is seen in the several articles which he wrote on the famous Ferrier case, which he studied at first hand, having been in Spain at the time, and which he treated most decisively and convincingly.

He was a member of some twenty-two different organizations, charitable, social, fraternal or religious, and was active in nearly all of them. He was an excellent linguist, speaking no less than thirteen languages. He was a devoted husband, a public-spirited citizen who responded promptly to every call of merit, an exemplary Catholic and splendid exemplar of the lay apostolate. His life and work are well worth recording and his example is inspiring.

THE SISTERS OF CHARITY OF NAZARETH, Kentucky. By *Anna Blanche McGill*. 8vo., pp. 436. Illustrated. New York: The Encyclopedia Press.

Nowhere is the Parable of the Mustard Seed more strikingly illustrated than in the history of religious orders. Generally if not invariably founded by an unknown, humble, pious soul, who seems to be forced out into the light by some hidden power and made a leader of others, instead of being a humble follower; beginning in some obscure corner with none of the elements of success, humanly speaking, almost laughable in their simplicity and indeed too often subject to the ridicule of the unthinking and worldly-wise, they grow from almost nothing to large, important, efficient communities, destined by God to be most valuable agents to preserve and transmit the true faith, while conquering and scattering the powers of darkness. The Sisters of Charity of Nazareth are no exception to this rule. Beginning a hundred years ago in two rooms of a log cabin with two members, the community now numbers its subjects by the hundred, ministering to the sick, caring for the aged and instructing the young in hospitals, homes and schools in various States throughout the country.

It is a long step from the little log cabin of 1812 to the splendid motherhouse and school of 1917. The story of the growth of this mustard seed is told in this history, and it is both interesting and edifying. It is also a notable addition to American Church history. It brings before us not only the courageous, holy women who have given their lives to the service of God in religion, but also the saintly, zealous churchmen, pioneers of the faith in this country, who fostered and directed the community. Truly can we say in reading such stories these were giants in those days. How they

accomplished so much with so little excites our wonder and admiration. May it also spur us on to imitation.

THE CATHOLIC'S WORK IN THE WORLD. A practical solution of religious and social problems of to-day. By *Rev. Joseph Husslein, S. J.*, associate editor of "America," lecturer on social history, Fordham University School of Sociology and Social Service, author of "The Church and Social Problems," "Church and Politics," etc. 12mo, cloth, \$1, postpaid.

Here is a book which every Catholic layman and every Catholic woman can use with profit. It is entirely modern in its applications, and based upon modern conditions in civil life, in the courts, in the school, in the press, in sociological and economic developments. It is not a book of mere theories, but of definite advice and practical suggestion in all that can most promote the civil welfare and the extension of God's kingdom upon earth, touching upon the great religious and social problems of the day, and studying them in the light of divine faith, proposing an intelligent and Catholic coöperation.

It stimulates to action, is written with the desire of disclosing to the laity in particular their wonderful opportunities of advancing the divine interests of God in the world. If distributed wisely it will continue the work of missions, retreats and Catholic revivals of every kind, making practical the principles inculcated there. In general it may be said that it unfolds before the Catholic laity the loftiest motives of their holy faith, and urges upon them the proper use of those means which God Himself has given in His Church to enable them to accomplish faithfully and successfully the great work of our day. It does all this in a series of short, pithy essays, which can be read quickly, easily understood and readily put into practice.

THE COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA. By *Thomas Kilby Smith*, of the Philadelphia Bar. Preface by *Walter George Smith*. 12mo., pp. 318. New York: The University Press.

"The object of the series of handbooks of which this is the pioneer is to give in compact form the salient facts relating to the history, development and present social, economic and political status of the different States of the Union.

"It has been sought to treat as completely as possible in each chapter such matters as are essential to a full understanding of the physical characteristics, the aborigines, the colonists and later emigrants, the framework of government as first established and as it exists to-day. A study is made of the daily life of the people and methods of administration, of governmental, religious, social

and domestic affairs, of State finance, of the sources of wealth, of the churches and other religious bodies, of conditions affecting the home, and the educational system, the professions, literature, art, science and finally of penology."

This outline of the scope of the work may seem pretentious at first, and one might be tempted to wonder how so much could be told in such narrow space, but with the understanding that the volume before us is rather a handbook than a history, or rather an outline drawing than a finished picture, we must acknowledge that all its claims are made good. The bibliography at the end of each chapter furnishes the reader with a guide for further investigation.

The statistical material has been very painstakingly gathered, is correct and up-to-date; it furnishes by no means the least important part of the work. The author is to be congratulated on his success in producing a compendium which is concise and clear, without being dry or tiresome.

THE FOUR GOSPELS: With a Practical Critical Commentary. By *Rev. Charles J. Callan, O. P.* 8vo., pp. 555. New York: Joseph F. Wagner.

Any new commentary on the Sacred Scriptures is a notable event, and one may reasonably ask at the outset, why a new commentary. Their author answers the question by informing us that he knows all the excellent commentaries that already exist and appreciates them. He acknowledges that they answer the purpose of full and exhaustive treatises and reference works, but none of them answers the need of the student for a handbook, and therefore the present volume.

Father Callan knows this need because his years of experience in the classroom have brought it home to him. He knows also what such a book should contain, and therefore he approaches his task with a definite end in view. In treating a profuse subject briefly there will always be a difference of opinion as to what shall be included or excluded, what shall be treated briefly or at length, what shall be adopted or rejected. The author was fully aware of this, and therefore he states his mode of procedure thus:

"A suitable commentary on the Gospels, or on any part of the New Testament, must provide many things. It must not only explain and interpret the sacred text in conformity with the teachings of the Church and the doctrines of the Fathers and theologians, but it must also, to be profitable, take into account the conditions and needs of the times and of those who are to study and use it. Hence it must avoid excess in length and excess in brevity. It

must take care to treat everything suited to its end and purpose, but it must at the same time strive to avoid things useless and irrelevant." Those for whom he writes need, he says, a clear explanation of the meaning of the sacred text; a clear removal of chronological and topographical difficulties of moment; a reconciliation of historical and other apparent discrepancies, and an indication of those dogmatic and moral passages on which theology depends. And all this in the briefest and simplest manner. Such a commentary on the Gospels the author has endeavored to provide. Clearness of vision as to the need, full equipment acquired by years of study and experience, united to long, patient labor, have produced the result which we see before us.

The book should have a large sale, because it answers a need that is pressing and definite. The reverend author is to be congratulated on the completion of so important a task.

MANNA OF THE SOUL. By *Rev. F. X. Lasance*. 544 pages. 16mo. New York: Benziger Bros.

This edition of "Manna of the Soul" contains the same prayers and devotions as the Vest-Pocket Edition, but set in an extra-large, heavy-face type, with a view to pleasing men and women of the household of the faith who feel the need of a book of prayer with a very large type, either because their eye sight is impaired or because the dim light in some churches makes it very difficult to read the print usually found in prayer-books.

VARIOUS DISCOURSES. By *Rev. T. J. Campbell, S. J.* 8vo., pp. 354. New York: Joseph F. Wagner.

"These discourses are mainly on historical, sociological, ecclesiastical and educational topics. They are the remnants of thirty-five years or more of pulpit and platform work, which have already appeared in pamphlets or in the local press of different parts of the country. There are no sermons among them, properly so called, though several of them have been delivered in churches or at religious gatherings."

There are twenty-five of these discourses, all delivered on special occasions, beginning with the funeral of Father Hecker in 1888 and ending with the dedication of the Church of the Nativity, Brooklyn, in 1917. They include Consecrations of Bishops, Laying of Corner-stones, Dedication of Churches, Jubilee Celebrations of Individuals and Parishes and Monuments, and Educational and Historical Subjects.

The collection covers a long period, because Father Campbell has already celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of his entrance into the Society of Jesus; the occasions were important because of the author's prominence as rector and provincial for many years; their historical value is commensurate with his skill and reputation as an historian, and their literary excellence is of that high quality which comes only with natural ability, study and practice. They have a permanent value which entitles them to a permanent form, and they will appeal to all persons of intelligence and good judgment—priest and layman—with a force that will last.

THE TIDEWAY. By *John Ayscough*, author of "San Celestino," "Faustula," etc. 12mo., pp. 400. New York: Benziger Brothers.

The portrait of the author on the cover in chaplain's uniform reminds us that the din of battle has not silenced his pen. And yet this book does not prove that, because it is a collection of fifteen short stories which do not deal with the war. The author's "Trench Windows" is the most charming book that the war has produced, and it is not surprising that eight editions have been called for in England. In it Monsignor Drew like the true artist makes the reader see through his eyes the various scenes that passed before him while a chaplain in France during the first year of the war.

But this author puts his seal on all that he does. His style is very distinctive, and one can never mistake his work for that of another. We can hardly imagine John Ayscough writing an anonymous book. Of course we do not mean to say that all his work is of the same high order of excellence; no man's work is. It would not be fair, therefore, to compare his short stories with finished productions like "San Celestino" and "Faustula." We might as well compare an artist's sketch with an important painting. After all, a short story is generally not much more than a sketch. Admirers of the gifted author will welcome this collection and derive much pleasure from it. New readers who make his acquaintance through these short stories will be sure to follow him into other paths.

THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW

"Contributors to the *QUARTERLY* will be allowed all proper freedom in the expression of their thoughts outside the domain of defined doctrines, the *REVIEW* not holding itself responsible for the individual opinions of its contributors."

(Extract from Salutory, July, 1890.)

VOL. XLIII.—APRIL, 1918—NO. 170.

CHRIST'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE POLITICO-RELIGIOUS EXPECTATIONS OF THE JEWS.

IT IS a historical fact that certain nations, after having been subdued by another more powerful people, soon lose their ambition of national independence and in the course of time disappear as a national whole. That is to say, the subjected nation adapts itself to the national and social life of the conquerors, and thus undergoes a change which transforms its national characteristics, and it appears after a certain space of time in a shape different from its former national life and now conformed to that of the conquerors. This condition may be seen from time to time, but it is not the rule. It happens far oftener that in a nation that has been defeated and subjected by force of arms by another stronger and more powerful people takes place a vigorous reaction, and all hopes, desires and longings of the subdued people are now directed to throw off the yoke of servitude, to tear away the chains of dependency and to regain the former liberty and sovereignty. Such was the case with the Jewish people after the fall of Jerusalem and the conquest of Palestine by the Romans. The Jewish people, who had enjoyed sovereignty and independency for so many a century, now subjected and subdued by the Roman emperors, felt severely the burdens of their vassalage to Rome. They hated King Herod as a bloody tyrant and as a satellite of the Roman emperor, but they hated still more the Romans who maintained him

on the throne. As the numerous outbreaks of revolt prove, the hopes of the Jewish people were directed to overthrow the tyranny of the Romans and to free the country from the humiliating bondages of servitude and vassalage.

These national and political desires to regain the former liberty and sovereignty were still more intense, more ardent, more sincere, more lively and more vigorous in virtue of the most intimate connection between the religious and political life of the Jewish people. In all ages religion had exercised a more or less powerful influence upon the political views of nations. This intimate relation between political views and religious belief was under the ancient nations strongest in the Jewish people. Their political inclinations were mostly stimulated by their religious conceptions and that in such a degree that the political and religious history of the Jewish people is and was unseparable. From the very beginning the religious and the political life of the Jews formed more or less one whole, and that lasted throughout the centuries. Thus it may be easily understood that the Jewish people, conscious of being a race chosen by God, united their religious hopes with ambitions of a political nature.

In the days of political and national independency many Jews dreamt of an expansion of the Jewish realm over the whole world. They thought of a kingdom of God which would cover the face of the earth and which would be ruled by the chosen people of Israel. This politico-religious conception of a kingdom of God did not disappear with the loss of political independency, but was rather strengthened by the fact that the Jews in the time of national distress took refuge in their religious expectations, and thus based upon the promised coming of the Messias their political hopes. Moreover, these conceptions were at that time common among the Jewish people as they were conscious that the time of the fulfillment of the prophecies of the Old Testament had approached and that the days of the destination of the chosen people drew near. How strong, in fact, these politico-religious expectations of the Jews at that time were we may realize when we consider the attitude of Christ's teaching towards them. But before we discuss this subject we have to examine the politico-religious expectations of the Jews at the time before Jesus Christ came into this world.

The Jews, being conscious of the approach of the promised Messiah, connected with His coming the beginning of the great kingdom of God as it was conceived by them. Erroneously they based their political expectations upon some passages of the Holy Scrip-

tures, and especially upon the book of the great prophet Daniel, which greatly influenced the Jewish conceptions of the Messianic idea. Daniel the Prophet on two occasions mentions the coming of a kingdom. First, after having revealed a dream to King Nabuchodonosor, the great prophet gives the following interpretation: "But in the days of those kingdoms the God of heaven will set up a kingdom that shall never be destroyed, and His kingdom shall not be delivered up to another people, and it shall break in pieces, and shall consume all these kingdoms, and itself shall stand for ever." (Daniel ii., 44.) The Jews drew from this passage of Daniel the Prophet the conclusion that the future Messianic kingdom "shall break in pieces" all other kingdoms; that is to say, that the future realm of the Messiah shall conquer by force of arms the opposing kingdoms. This interpretation was seemingly justified—according to the Jewish opinion—by the seventh chapter of the same prophet when he speaks again of the future Messianic kingdom after having given an explanation of his vision of the four beasts, signifying four kingdoms. Reviewing his former statement, the prophet says: "And that the kingdom, and power and the greatness of the kingdom, under the whole heaven, may be given to the people of the saints of the Most High: whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all kings shall serve Him and shall obey Him." (Daniel vii., 27.) Thus the Jews committed the error of thinking that the sentence—"the people of the saints of the Most High"—referred to themselves as the "race chosen by God," and by doing so they—the "saints of the Most High"—expected a glorious future for the Jewish nation as a universal and everlasting kingdom.

However, a closer investigation of the two passages in question will show that in both cases "the kingdom of God," which was erroneously held by the Jews as the future kingdom of the race of Israel, was described by the great prophet as a kingdom of a very different kind; namely, as a kingdom which stands in direct opposition to the other earthly kingdoms. For, in the first prophecy, the kingdom which shall stand forever and which shall break in pieces shall consume all other kingdoms was signified by "a stone cut out of a mountain without hands," thus indicating that the new kingdom was of a new and very different nature—not a part of the former earthly organization, but of material derived from a higher plane and performing the destruction of the four earthly kingdoms by some power which is beyond human power, beyond human hands. Analogically to that, in the seventh chapter of Daniel's vision the four beasts signifying four kingdoms were suc-

ceeded by a creature of a very different nature, namely, by a man "one like the son of man . . . coming with the clouds of heaven" (Daniel vii., 13), representing "the people of the saints of the Most High." As in the above-mentioned prophecy the future kingdom was foretold as one which was to come down from heaven and was to fill the whole earth, but which was in virtue of its coming from above of another category than earthly kingdoms, being in this world, but not of this world.

Unable to understand the real nature of the future kingdom of the Messiah, it was of the greatest difficulty for the Jewish mind to think of a spiritual kingdom. For the Jews imagined the kingdom would be of the same form as they saw in those days. In the ancient age the spiritual power was not allied, but subordinate to the civil throughout the Gentile world. Religion as we see it, for instance, in the Roman Empire was State religion. The office of the representative of the spiritual sphere there was that of the Pontifex Maximus, and it was exercised by the Emperor. The Gentile priesthood was subjected to the civil power. Among the Jews, on the other hand, the religious sphere was of a higher order and supreme to that of civil power, but both religion and civil affairs were so intimately connected that religion and State formed one whole. Thus not comprehending the true nature of a spiritual kingdom, the Jewish conception of the future Messianic kingdom was of a material form. That was the easier done, as the idea then prevailing about the Messiah was in its highest form that of a supernatural being, "without dreaming of a Messiah who was God."¹ To put it in one word: As the Hebrew mind was unable to think of a divine nature and a human nature united in the one Person of the Messiah, so the people of the Old Testament could not imagine a supernatural society in the world and yet supreme to the powers of this world.

To give to the reader an idea of how current among the Jews of the time before Christ the opinion of the coming of a great kingdom of Israel and its supposed constitution was, we will outline a few passages of non-canonical books. These books were not inspired, and thus being children of the philosophy and religious conceptions of their own time, they enable us to understand the expectations then common. The picture of the future kingdom of Israel as given in the oldest Sibyllines, which appeared about 140 B. C., may best be summed up as follows:

"The heathen nations will perish by war, sword and fire, because they lifted their spears against the temple, (Sibyll. iii., 663-697.) Then will the children of God live in peace and quietness, because

the hand of the Holy One protects them. (698-709.) And the heathen nations seeing this will be encouraged to bless and praise God, to send gifts to His temple and to accept His law, because it is the most just in all the world. (710-726.) Peace will then prevail among all the kings of the earth. (743-760.) And God will set up an *eternal kingdom over all men*. Men will bring offerings to the temple of God from all parts of the earth. The prophets of God will lay down the sword, for they are judges of men and just kings. And God will dwell upon Zion and universal peace will prevail upon earth."² (766-794.)

In the apocryphal book of the *Psalterium Salamonis*, which was composed after Jerusalem had fallen under the heathen rule of the Romans, we meet likewise with a more detailed description of the shape of the future kingdom of God. "He"—the author—"hopes that God will raise up a prince of the House of David to rule over Israel, to crush her enemies, and to cleanse Jerusalem from the heathen (xvii., 23-27). He will gather a holy people, and will judge the tribes of the nation, and not suffer unrighteousness in their midst; He will divide them in the land according to their tribes, and no stranger shall dwell among them (xvii., 28-31). The heathen nations will serve Him and will come to Jerusalem, to bring the wearied children of Israel gifts and to see the glory of the Lord. He is a righteous king and one taught of God (xvii., 32-35). And there is no unrighteousness in His days, for all are saints. And the King is the Lord's anointed. He will not place His trust in horse or rider. For the Lord Himself is His King. And he He will strike the earth with the Word of His mouth for ever (xvii., 36-39). He will bless the people of the Lord with wisdom; and He is pure from sin; and He will rule over a great people, and not be weak. For God makes Him strong by His holy Spirit. He will lead them all in holiness, and there is no pride among them (xvii., 40-46). This is the beauty of the King of Israel. Happy are they who are born in His days"³ (xvii., 47-51).

The description of the future kingdom of God becomes more colored in the apagraphical book of the "*Assumptio Mosis*," which was written in the first years of the Christian era. "Then"—says the author of the same in his tenth chapter—"will His kingdom appear among all creatures, and the devil will have an end, and sorrow will disappear with Him. Then will the Heavenly One

¹ Justin, *Dialog. with Trypho*, 49, Otto, II., 164, quoted by Tixeront, "*History of Dogmas*," Vol. I., p. 40.

² Schürer, "*History of the Jewish People*," II. Div. Vol. II., p. 140 f.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 142 f.

arise from the seat of His kingdom and will come from His holy habitation with wrath and anger for His children's sake, and the earth will tremble to its ends, and the high mountains be lowered and the hills fall. . . . Then will the Most High God, the alone Eternal, come forth to chastise the heathens and destroy all idols. Then wilt thou be happy, O Israel, and wilt tread upon the neck and wings of the eagle. And God will exalt thee and make thee soar to the firmament, and thou wilt thence look down upon thine enemies on earth, and shalt see them and rejoice, and give thanks and acknowledge thy Creator."⁴

These national hopes were not only common among the people, but had also penetrated into the scientific discussions of the scholars of that time, for the greatest of the learned of that age, the moralist Philo, tells us of his politico-religious expectations in the following way: "Though they (the Israelites) should be in the ends of the earth as slaves among their enemies, who have taken them captive, yet will they all be set at liberty at a given sign on one day, because their sudden turning to virtue astonishes their masters. For they will release them because they are ashamed of bearing rule over their betters. When then this unexpected freedom is bestowed on those who were before scattered in Hellas and in barbarous countries, on islands and on the continent, they will hasten with one impulse from all quarters to the place pointed out to them, led by a Divine superhuman appearance, which, invisible to all others, is visible only to the delivered. . . . When then they have arrived the ruined cities will be rebuilt, and the desert reinhabited, and the barren land become fertile."⁵ That time will be so peaceful and happy that even the wild beasts, as the lions, panthers, elephants, tigers, etc., will become tame and "will respect man as their natural lord."⁶ Another passage of the same scholar, dealing with the same subject, reads as follows:

"Then says the prophecy (LXX., Num. xxiv., 7) a man who goes to battle and makes war shall go forth and subdue great and populous nations, God Himself sending help to His saints. This consists in unshaken boldness of mind and invincible strength of body, qualities each of which singly is terrible to enemies, but which when combined nothing is able to resist. But some of the enemies are, as the prophecy says, not even worthy to perish by the hand of man. Against them He (God) will send swarms of wasps, who fight to a shameful overthrow for the saints. But these . . . will not only have certain victory in battle without bloodshed,

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 144 f.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 146 f.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

but, also invincible power of government for the welfare of their subjects, who will submit from either love, fear or reverence. For they (the saints) possess three qualities, which are the greatest, and which found an indestructible dominion: Holiness, great power and benevolence . . . the first of which produces reverence, the second fear, the third love, but if they are harmoniously combined in the soul they produce subjects who are obedient to their rulers."⁷ (Section 16.)

As we saw, it was believed by many that the coming of the future kingdom of God was to be preceded by a period of tribulation and perplexity. Many Jews supposed that the arrival of the great kingdom of God was to be expected after the end of the world. In this case the expression "the end of the world" does not mean the annihilation of this world, but the destruction of the present order in the world. Then the world will continue to exist, but in a more glorious form, namely, in the form of the "kingdom of God." Whatever may happen, a period of tribulation had to precede the coming of the future happiness, and many Jews considered their present state of dependency and subjection under the domination of the heathens as the approach of that great event. Next, Elias the Prophet was expected as the immediate forerunner "who was to prepare the way of the Lord." Then suddenly He Himself, the appointed King of Israel, the anointed of God, the Messiah, will appear. (In the Book of Enoch the appearing of the Messiah is placed after the judgment.) Immediately after His coming the heathen powers will meet together to make their last attack against the Messiah or against the people of God, but these hostile powers will be destroyed. Revengeful as the Jewish character was, the complete destruction of their enemies was one of the great moments in the national expectations, and in the satisfaction of their vindictiveness many Jews saw parts of the glory of their future happiness. After this destruction of the hostile powers the Messianic kingdom will be established in the Holy Land, with Jerusalem as its capital. But at first Jerusalem has to be renovated. This will be done, according to the simplest imagination of the Jewish mind, by cleaning out of the Holy City all heathens. After the destruction of Jerusalem the idea of a rebuilding of the same to an eternal duration became most current. (Shemoneh Esreh, 14th Berachah.) This expectation, however, did not disagree with the view that there exists already in heaven a far more glorious Jerusalem than the one on earth, and that that heavenly Jerusalem will, when the Messiah comes, descend to earth and will surpass

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 147 f.

in beauty and magnificence the former earthly one. Of course, all the Israelites, dispersed throughout the world, will assemble and gather to share in the kingdom of glory in Palestine with the Messiah Himself at its head. This kingdom of God has its centre in the Holy Land, but in spite of this it will not be confined by the borders of Palestine. It will comprise the whole world and include also the Gentile nations, for they will acknowledge the God of Israel. Thus war, discord, fights and quarrels will disappear and everywhere will be found joy and happiness, as the Messiah will govern His kingdom in justice and righteousness. Often eschatological expectations are mixed up with the politico-religious, so that the living will not die in that kingdom and the deceased also will participate in the great glory of Israel. With regard to the eschatology, there existed various views among the Jewish people. Some place the resurrection of the dead and the last judgment before the establishment of the Messianic kingdom and give to the glory of the latter an everlasting duration. Others believed that the kingdom of God on earth would be limited with regard to its duration and that after its conclusion the resurrection of the dead and the last judgment would take place, followed by the eternal glory in heaven or eternal condemnation in hell.⁸

These conceptions concerning the Messianic kingdom were so general that they found entrance into the daily prayers of the Jews, and thus every Israelite—women, slaves and children not excepted—was reminded three times every day of the supposed constitution of the future kingdom of God, when he prayed the Shemoneh Esreh. It may be noteworthy that “although this prayer must have virtually attained its present form about A. D. 70-100, nevertheless, its groundwork may safely be regarded as considerably more ancient.” Presupposing the correctness of that remark, allow me to quote some verses of its, illustrating the train of ideas of the Jewish people at the time of Jesus Christ. In the tenth, eleventh, fourteenth and seventeenth Berachahs the Shemoneh Esreh says: “Sound with the great trumpet to announce our freedom; and set up a standard to collect our captives, and gather us together from the four corners of the earth. Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who gatherest the outcasts of Thy people Israel.” “O restore our judges as formerly, and our counsellors as at the beginning; and remove from us sorrow and sighing; and reign over us, Thou, O Lord, alone, in grace and mercy; and justify us. Blessed art Thou, O Lord the King, for Thou lovest righteousness

⁸ Further details on this subject are given by Schürer, “History of the Jewish People,” II. Div. II. Vol., Sec. 29, III. Systematic Statement, pp. 154-183.

and justice." "And to Jerusalem, Thy city, return with compassion, and dwell therein as Thou hast promised; and rebuild her speedily in our days, a structure everlasting; and the throne of David speedily establish therein. Blessed art Thou, O Lord, the builder of Jerusalem." "Be pleased, O Lord our God, with Thy people Israel, and with their prayers, and restore the sacrificial service to the Holy of Holies of Thy house; and the offerings of Israel and their prayers in love do Thou accept with favor; and may the worship of Israel Thy people be ever pleasing. O that our eyes may behold Thy return to Zion with mercy, Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who restorest Thy glory unto Zion."⁹

These few quotations taken from Jewish writers may be sufficient to show and demonstrate the popular ideas and conceptions concerning the expected kingdom of Israel as they were common and current before and at the time of Christ's coming. It may be emphasized that these politico-religious expectations were spread throughout the Jewish communities. The fulfillment was vividly and ardently expected by the common mass of the people as well as by the learned and wise men, who discussed the question and took it into the realm of their scientific dissertations. The canonical books of the Old Testament had given certain revelations concerning the future kingdom of God, but the people transformed these revelations into expectations of a national character and translated them into a language, which rather satisfied their political hopes and national aspirations than preserved the revelation of God in its original form and meaning. The prophecies and the various revelations of the Old Testament were well known by every one who was a child of Jewish parents. The contents of the Old Law were before the mind of every Jew and he was well acquainted with every letter of the sacred text. Yet human weakness and national passion has exercised—nay, fevered—the imagination and fancy of the people, and instead of keeping intact and preserving the mysteries of God's revelations, dazzled and blinded and at the same time inquisitive, curious and aiming to discover a deeper meaning, the people gave to those divine revelations a wrong interpretation, namely, that of "a future kingdom of Israel."

In the midst of this "milieu" of ideas, conceptions, thoughts, expectations and aspirations, Jesus Christ, the promised Messiah, appeared. He had come as (1) priest, (2) teacher and (3) king. Corresponding to these His offices He was to offer (as priest) the great sacrifice at Calvary in order to satisfy the justice of God. To apply the fruits of this infinite sacrifice to mankind, Jesus' task

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 86-87.

was that to bring men to an understanding of their own redemption, accomplished at Calvary, by His teaching (acting as teacher) and to establish an institution which by continuing His Sacrifice in an unbloody manner would preserve His doctrine and would lead man to his eternal destination (thus being leader of man, or pastor-king). Christ's task, therefore, consisted, next to the self-sacrifice of Calvary, to go around as teacher dispensing His divine doctrine, and to establish His kingdom in a visible form as an institution for preserving and continuing His earthly task; that is to say, to found the Church. As was the natural course at first Christ dispensed His doctrine, and then, while man was little by little arriving at an understanding of it, prepared gradually the establishment of His kingdom in a visible form.

The slow but permanent process of the way of Christ in establishing His visible kingdom seems to be incomprehensible to Protestant theologians. They see the activity of Christ, but the gradual establishment of Christ's kingdom in a visible shape seems "un-historical" to them. Seemingly, they would have favored a reverse order. According to Protestant teachers, the founding of a Church should have preceded the dispensation of the doctrine, or at least the act of the foundation of the Church should have been more significant or obvious and should have been more emphasized in the teaching system of Our Lord. This idea may be likened to the founding of a university or high school after whose establishment the lessons and instructions are given. Or they ask why the founding of the Church has not been an act, documented, witnessed, signed, sealed, registered, sworn, etc., conforming to the way we nowadays proceed when founding a society or company. Even if we do not answer this advice by pointing to the fact that nowadays many institutions are legally established without any official act before a public tribunal or notary, we may remind the reader of the "milieu" of ideas of the Jews of those days in which Jesus Christ was confronted by the difficult task of establishing His kingdom, His Church. Very likely, the people around Jesus, filled with the conceptions of their time and feverish in the expectation of the kingdom of Israel, would have been overpowered by their impatience, and Jesus would have played the rôle of a revolutionist or, if successful, a Mohammed. "Lord, wilt thou at this time restore again the kingdom to Israel?" (Acts i., 6.) The mission of Christ would have been seriously endangered. Moreover, of what value would it have been if the Evangelists would have reported every detail concerning the founding of the visible society which constituted the kingdom of God on earth in a visible form—

the Church? For the idea of an invisible Church, as it is nowadays taught by Protestants, was to their readers inconceivable. The holy writers had reported what Jesus had taught them about the sacraments, the moral and doctrinal truths, about the nature of everything that concerned the religious sphere, and by doing so they had sufficiently outlined the essentials of the Church as a visible society.

"The simple statement of the fact was enough to show that for the Christians themselves these details were not needed to be expressed in a writing which might fall into other than Christian hands. But to lay them open to the heathen empire, in the midst of which the Church was rising, would have constituted a gratuitous danger, and would have contradicted what we know to have been the discipline of discretion long practiced during the era of persecution."¹⁰ For us, children of the twentieth century, the following consideration suffices: "As the governments of England, or France, or Russia, or China, occupy a portion of the earth, and by that fact are recognized quite independently of any records which attest their rise and growth, so the far greater and more widely spread government of the Church exists, and is in full daily action, independently of any records which attest its origin."¹¹

As the work represents its master, so and in a higher degree the divine kingdom of God on earth reflects the essential characteristics of its author and origin, Jesus Christ. From the essentials of the kingdom we are able to conclude to the essentials of its king and from the characteristics of the king it is not far to the conclusions concerning the kingdom itself. Based upon this principle, we find the characteristic features of God's kingdom on earth in the essentials of the person of Christ Himself. Canonical as well as apocryphal books of the Old Testament pointed to the promised origin of the future kingdom as "the Son of David." The Founder of the new kingdom has to be "of the seed of David." And, indeed, the very first word of the New Testament, written by St. Matthew, says: "The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the Son of David." (Matt. i., 1.) After this introduction the Evangelist of the first Gospel gives us the genealogy of Christ. During His lifetime our Blessed Lord is often addressed with the same title and that by single individuals as well as by the multitude. Jesus Himself accepts this honor of being the Son of David, and He performs His miracles accordingly. "Have mercy on us, O Son of David," cried out the poor, blind, sick and

¹⁰ T. W. Allies, "The Formation of Christendom," Vol. IV., p. 166.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

helpless men. Likewise, the multitudes asked: "Is not this the Son of David?" (Matt. xii., 23.) Even our Lord Himself pointed to His Davidic descent when He asked the Pharisees: "What think you of Christ, whose Son is He?" And they answered: "David's." (Matt. xxii., 42.) On the occasion of His solemn entrance into Jerusalem Jesus was publicly proclaimed as "the Son of David" by the multitudes. "Hosanna to the Son of David." (Matt. xxi., 9.) Thus we see Jesus being recognized by His own people as of Davidic descent, or as "the Son of David," and He Himself fully accepts this dignity and this title without any restriction.

The "Hosanna" to the Son of David does not only involve the Jewish acknowledgment that Jews belonged to the royal house of David. The Hosanna of the Jews goes farther than that. It includes the higher conception of Jesus being the promised Son of David in whom the Messianic prophecies will have their fulfillment. The "Son of David" is the promised Messias—the Christ. This His Messianic dignity was explicitly claimed by Jesus. He applies to Himself the words of the prophecies. He demands the belief in Him as the Messias, and upon that very confession St. Peter is invested with the primacy. In His own name He performs numerous miracles. He Himself is convinced of His Messianic dignity, and he claims to be the promised Messiah even in view of death before the highest Jewish court, which was the Sanhedrin.

As we have seen that He claimed to be the Son of David and the promised Messias, Jesus stood as far as that exactly upon the "nivean" of the Jewish mind. He tells them that He is the one who was expected by them. And as the people see the numerous miracles He performs by virtue of His Messianic dignity, they want to proclaim Him their King. Even after Jesus was delivered into the hands of His judges, the Sanhedrin is unable to sentence Him to death on account of His claim to be the Messias—as the Jews understood the word. Jesus, knowing the ideas which the Jews connected with that word, gave them to understand that He attached comparatively little importance to the answer to this question which might receive a common interpretation, "Thou hast said it"—that I am the Messias—namely, as your (Jewish) mind may conceive the word. But this His answer was followed by Christ's own interpretation which stated His claim to divinity: "Nevertheless I say to you, hereafter you shall see the Son of Man sitting on the right hand of the power of God, and coming in the clouds of heaven." (Matt. xxvi., 64.) It was not before this claim to divinity that Jesus was sentenced to death. Thus

the Sanhedrin had come in its official act to the very same decision at which the people had already arrived some time before, namely, the occasion after the miraculous event of the feeding of five thousand men with five loaves. The people, recognizing in Jesus the promised Messiah, wanted to make Him their King. Jesus, however, whose aim was not to satisfy the worldly expectations of the Jews and to become an earthly king, showed to the Jews the next morning at Capharnaum that He had performed that miracle in order to prepare them for the far greater miracle of the Holy Eucharist, which He now promised and which sacrament includes essentially the belief in the divinity of Christ. The people left Him; St. Peter's confession of Christ's divinity followed.

To sum up: The people are not opposed to Christ's claim to be the promised Messiah and the Sanhedrin is unable to announce the death sentence on account of that very same claim; as both of them, people and high court, at first interpreted the Messianic claim of Christ according to their lower popular conception. But as soon as Christ pointed to His divinity and to His Divine Sonship the people left Him and the Sanhedrin sentenced Him to death. Jesus had gone further than the popular conceptions concerning the Messianic King reached.

This hypostatic union of divinity and humanity in the one person of Jesus Christ pre-reflects the essential characteristics of the kingdom of Christ. As the sacred personality of the Messianic King has its origin in the two orders, the natural one by its true humanity and the supernatural one by its true divinity, so, although in a more moderate way, His work, the kingdom of Christ touches upon the two orders. It is a real, true kingdom, which is in this world analagous to its type, the sacred human body of Christ having been taken from the human race and subjected to the laws of humanity as long as Jesus was living on earth. At the same time, it is a kingdom which is not of this world, reaching the supernatural order by its origin derived from the hands of a Divine Founder. Moreover, it is of the supernatural order concerning its sphere as a kingdom of grace, as the kingdom which claims the right to rule the souls of men. It is a kingdom in this world, but not of the order of this world like other earthly kingdoms; it is a kingdom of a supernatural order in a natural form.

Having now arrived at the essentials of the kingdom of God, we will get a closer view of its characteristic features and penetrate deeper into its real form if we discuss the personal tasks the Founder of the kingdom had to perform. He was announced and foretold by the prophets of the Old Testament as a (1) prophet

or teacher, as a (2) priest and as a (3) pastor or king. Christ Himself claimed that it was His mission to fulfil this triple office. (1) He was teacher when dispensing His divine doctrine and conferring the same teaching power upon His Apostles. "Going therefore, teach ye all nations." (Matt. xxviii. 19.) (2) Priest He was when he offered the bloody sacrifice at Calvary and ordered His Apostles and their successors to continue it in an unbloody manner in the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. "Do this for a commemoration of Me." (Luke xxii., 19.) Finally (3), as King, He was addressed at His entrance into the world, "Where is He that is born King of the Jews?" (Matt ii., 2.) And as King He was dismissed at Calvary: "This is Jesus, the King of the Jews." (Matt. xxvii., 37.) Not only did Christ receive from others the honor of being King, but He Himself proclaimed during His life His royal dignity and His office of founder of a kingdom: the one to be, whose mission it is to seek and save what had perished (Luke xix., 10) and He conferred this His office upon St. Peter when saying: "Feed My lambs, feed My sheep." (Matt. xvi., 19.)

We see the triple office of Christ continued and conferred upon the Apostles and their successors. Thus each part of this triple office proceeds—let us say—in a parallel manner from its origin, Jesus Christ, and is, likewise, continued in a similar form throughout the centuries. As now Christ's (1) priest-office at Calvary is continued in an unbloody way in the visible sacrifice of the Holy Mass, and as Christ's (2) teaching-office is of everlasting duration in a visible form (Pope, Bishops, councils, etc.) throughout our time and the universe, so, consequently, in an equivalent manner has the royal (3) office to be permanent in a visible form, without limitation in time and extension. Or how would Christ be a real King had He left no real visible kingdom on earth, that is to say: Had He left no visible Church? By this logical way of reasoning we arrive at the conclusion: The kingdom of God on earth in its visible form is the Church.

By revealing the mysteries concerning His sacred personality, Christ had given—at least in some way—the definition of His kingdom. And, indeed, we see that the gradual unveiling of the mysteries of the divinity and humanity in the one person of Christ together with the discharging of His triple office is accompanied in a gradual way by the revealing of the essentials of the true character of His kingdom. For as man was to understand the divinity of Christ and the nature of His triple office, man was also, although gradually led to understand the real nature of the new kingdom. little by little men came to the true knowledge of the new kingdom.

First, however, any discussion concerning the constitution of the kingdom was set aside by Our Divine Saviour as a matter of less significance. Before entering on the explanation of the entirely new character of His kingdom, "Christ had to transform the popular idea little by little . . . after having secured His personal influence by miracles and by the authority of His preaching."¹³ "Had Jesus made His revelations too suddenly it would have surprised and bewildered men, for it had to encounter race prejudices and ardently cherished hopes,"¹⁴ as we have seen them in the beginning of our study. His task was at first not directly "to check at once the strong tendency towards a kingdom to be established for the greater glory of the Jews, but to make Himself master of the movement by turning it towards Himself" and His kingdom.¹⁴ Thus we see that "Jesus adopts the phrase of 'the kingdom,' which is in every one's mouth."¹⁵ In this way "the popular idea was, in a sense, the starting point of His apostolate."¹⁶

In order to satisfy the Jewish mind, which was expecting the coming of "the great kingdom of Israel," Christ speaks of a "kingdom," but does not call it the "kingdom of Israel"; He describes His kingdom as that "of God" or "of heaven." A terminological discussion on that subject will enable us to conceive more clearly what Christ meant when speaking of the "kingdom of God" or the "kingdom of heaven."

First, let us ask with Pater Vincent Rose, O. P.: "What is the force of the word 'Basileia?'" "All the critics assert," he says, "that both in the Old Testament and in Jewish literature the word 'malhuth,' when applied to God, always signifies the royal government of God and never the kingdom of God. An Oriental empire, to-day as in antiquity, Dalman observes, is not a state comprising a people or a land in our Latin or Anglo-Saxon acceptation, but a dominion, a sovereignty, exercised over a particular territory. The original meaning of 'He Basileia tou Theou' is not, therefore, the 'kingdom of God,' but the 'sovereignty of God.' Jesus in preaching this 'Basileia' announces that God is about to reign as sovereign and absolute master, to assume the government of the world. Those over whom He will exercise this royal sway will form His empire, His state, His kingdom."¹⁷

As to the second part of the term, we may observe that the ex-

¹³ Rose: "Studies on the Gospels," p. 104.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid., 103.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Rose: "Studies on the Gospels," p. 96.

pression "kingdom of God" is used by St. Mark and St. Luke, while St. Matthew renders the same by the synonym, "the kingdom of heaven." "Which is the primitive formula, the one actually used by Jesus?" we may again ask in the words of the above-mentioned professor. "According to Weiss and Holtzmann"—he tells us—"the Saviour used the expression 'kingdom of God,' and it was only, they maintain, after the destruction of Jerusalem, when the Christians had to abandon all hopes of a reign of God on earth that the variant kingdom of heaven was introduced, in order to emphasize the transcendency, the celestial remoteness of that kingdom."¹⁸ This theory has little to recommend it; we are rather inclined to agree with the author of the "Studies on the Gospels" when he says: "We think, with Dalman, that the formula 'kingdom of heaven' is primitive. The expression is Jewish; the idea which it evokes is the outcome of Jewish speculations; it was such as the Jewish hearers of Jesus were able to understand. It was St. Mark and St. Luke, rather, who would have substituted for the Hebraism 'kingdom of heaven' the equivalent 'kingdom of God,' as more intelligible to the Greek readers for whom they wrote. It is consequently more exact to suppose that the Saviour, speaking to His countrymen, would have habitually employed the formula 'kingdom of heaven.'"¹⁹ Moreover, it stands to reason to agree with the latter opinion, when "we find in the Mischna the word 'heaven' frequently used to designate God, whose name was unspeakable, and even the expression 'kingdom of heaven' for 'kingdom of God.' We do not mean to say that the Saviour had any of the scruples of the devout rabbi; but He would have respected the susceptibilities of His hearers and avoided the use of the name Yahweh. In any case, we may continue with the learned Tribourgian professor, "He commonly used the current expression, and in His mind the two formulæ mean one and the same thing."²⁰

If Christ really used the expression "kingdom of heaven," it is even more significant to consider to whom this His kingdom was opposed. Was the "kingdom of heaven" opposed to the kingdoms of the world or was it in opposition with that kingdom whose prince we call Satan? Discussing this question if the kingdom of Christ stood in direct opposition to the kingdoms of the world, we may ask in a form more appropriate to the time of which we write: Was the kingdom of Christ opposed to the great Roman Empire? Surely, the hopes and aspirations of the Jewish people at that time were rooted in the desire to destroy the empire of their oppressors and

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 94-95.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 95-96.

to erect a new powerful kingdom of Israel. Was Christ going to satisfy the wishes of the Jewish mind? It was a decision of greatest importance. For should Jesus oppose the politico-religious aspirations of His contemporaries, His enemies could have pointed Him out as a friend or an agent of the Romans, and that would have doubtless endangered His mission. Should He have satisfied the long-standing illusions of the Jews, it would have been the cause of revolts and political outbreaks. On this point, Jesus corrects Jewish conceptions and excludes the idea of a worldly kingdom: "Render, therefore, to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God, the things that are God's." (Matt. xxii., 21.) Openly and frankly He denies a mission as worldly or human judge and he asks: "Man, who hath appointed Me Judge, or divider, over you?" (Luke xii., 14.) "The Son of man did not come to be ministered unto, but to minister." (Matt. xx., 28.) He fled away when the crowd wanted to make Him king. His kingdom is independent of worldly powers, it is of another order. He opposed it to the one of Satan: "Every kingdom divided against itself shall be made desolate. . . . And if Satan cast out Satan, he is divided against himself: how then shall his kingdom stand? And if by Beelzebub cast out devils, by whom do your children cast them out? Therefore they shall be your judges. But if I by the Spirit of God cast out devils, then is the kingdom of God come upon you." (Matt. xii., 25-28.) The opposition of Christ and His kingdom to Satan and his kingdom is so obviously and emphatically taught by the Holy Scriptures that the Protestant theologian Holtzmann says: "The sovereignty of God progresses in proportion as Satan retires; for each backward step of the enemy there is a corresponding step forward of the kingdom of God."²¹ Analogically the Berlin professor of church history, Adolf von Harnack, sees in the kingdom of Satan the opposition of the kingdom of God, for he writes in the beginning of his fourth lecture in his book: "What is Christianity": "The coming of the kingdom of God signifies that the kingdom of the devil is destroyed and the demons vanquished²² by Jesus' marvelous power over the souls of those who trusted Him."²³ Even "the Pharisees must have been aware that the first act of God's sovereignty would be to drive out the powers of evil, to deprive the devils of the authority they had obtained over men and the world. They must have concluded that God had already begun to reign and to manifest His sovereign

²¹ Op. cit., I, p. 218.

²² Harnack: "Christianity," p. 62.

²³ Ibid., p. 64.

power, since that power (of expelling Satan) was actually exercised in Jesus and by Jesus."²⁴

Although He did not oppose His kingdom to that of Cæsar's (but to that of Satan), Christ nevertheless regards the privilege of the Jews which they themselves were generally so proud, being the chosen people of God and the first ones to be called upon to enter the kingdom of Christ. He confines His personal mission to the lost sheep of the house of Israel (Matt. xv., 24) and preaches only to the people of Galilee and Jerusalem. He even goes as far as to forbid the Apostles to "go into the way of the Gentiles" and tells them expressly that their present mission is to go to the lost sheep of the house of Israel. (Matt. x., 5.) Christ's mission to the people of Israel is so emphatically taught by the Evangelists that a scholar of the well-known name of Adolf van Harnack erroneously comes to the conclusion that "Jesus addressed His Gospel . . . to His fellow-countrymen. He preached only to Jews. Not a syllable shows that He detached His message from its national soil."²⁵ . . . Now the same professor goes even as far as to say with reference to Matt. x., 23: "If the saying is genuine, the Gentile mission cannot have lain within the horizon of Jesus."²⁶ This opinion of Professor Harnack is as erroneous as possible, for it is diametrically opposed to the true spirit of Holy Writ. The Old Testament is full of prophecies expounding the future universality of God's sovereignty on earth. The last of the prophets says: "For from the rising of the sun even to the going down, My name is great among the Gentiles, and in every place there is sacrifice, and there is offered to My name a clean oblation: for My name is great among the Gentiles, saith the Lord of hosts." (Malachias i., 11.) As to the ideas held by the authors of profane writings, it is true that they sometimes speak of the destruction of the Gentile nations, which event would take place after the coming of the Messianic King, as we saw in some quotations already given. This will be easy to understand if we consider the national hate in the Jewish heart against the Roman oppressors. Nevertheless, after the revengeful mind of the Jews was satisfied by the punishment of the heathens, which should precede the glory of the kingdom of Israel, we read that the Messiah will do away with all war and injustice and that a period of happiness and gladness in the Messianic kingdom will follow. Here we should do well to recall to our mind the picture which the Jew Philo gave of the imaginary future kingdom of Israel. It may be noteworthy to say "that the calling of the

²⁴ Rose: "Studies," etc., p. 106 f.

²⁵ Harnack: "The Mission and Expansion of Christianity," Vol. I., p. 36.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 38.

Gentiles to the kingdom of God is more developed and has greater prominence in Alexandrian writings than in those of the Jews in Palestine.²⁷ If, during the lifetime of Jesus, the Jews alone were evangelized, it was only a privilege granted to that people, which favor consisted only in this that the Gospel message was brought first to the sheep of Israel. It has been said by modern theologians of the Protestant Church that it was in later days "Paul who delivered the Christian religion from Judaism" and "who carried the Gospel to the nations of the world and transferred it from Judaism to the ground occupied by Greece and Rome."²⁸ Of Jesus Christ—the same school of Protestant scholars tells us—"that He Himself shared the national aspirations of the Jews," as "He was given up particularly to the reading of the Apocrypha of the Old Testament," . . . and thus, that "He never freed Himself from these heterogeneous influences, nor in any way surpassed His predecessors."²⁹ Such remarks can be made by men only who never read a single page of the Holy Scriptures or who completely deny the inspiration and truthfulness of the sacred text. For the passages speaking of the universality of the Christian Church are too many to be particularly enumerated. Does not Jesus expressly and distinctly say of His kingdom: "And I say to you that many shall come from the east and the west, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven?" (Matt. viii., 11. It is St. Matthew who speaks of the "kingdom of heaven!") And again: "Therefore I say to you that the kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and shall be given to a nation yielding the fruits thereof." (Matt. xxi., 43.) We do not need to quote passages of the sacred text likewise pointing to the universal character of Christ's message without mentioning the word "kingdom," as for instance Christ's direct orders: "Going therefore, teach ye all nations." (Matt. xxviii., 19.) That universality of the kingdom of Christ is so emphatically taught by the Evangelists that—hard to believe as it is—the very same man, Professor Adolf v. Harnack, who denies that the Gentile mission would have been "within the horizon of Jesus," confesses of St. John's Gospel as follows: "And, as a whole, the Gospel is saturated with the statements of a directly universalistic character."³⁰

Although it would harmonize better with our preceding dissertation, according to which Jesus Himself was making use of the expression "kingdom of heaven," we wish to attach ourselves to

²⁷ Rose: "Studies," etc., p. 101.

²⁸ Harnack: "What Is Christianity?" p. 190.

²⁹ Vide Rose: "Studies," p. 90.

³⁰ "Missions," Vol. I, p. 42.

the term generally in use in our English language, and we will speak in the following chapter of the "kingdom of God." As we have already seen in the course of our discussion, there was given a different meaning to the word "kingdom of God." Christ revealing His divine doctrine not suddenly but slowly, gave to His kingdom a meaning which, gradually condensing itself and slowly growing as it did, developed from an ample one into a term which signified a complete visible society without arousing the susceptibility and political ambitions of the Jews. He started from the popular idea and was making use of an expression which was in every one's mouth, but he gradually transformed it or gave it a narrower meaning without weakening the logic and the sequence of His divine dispensation and yet checking the tendency towards a national or political interpretation.

(1) The kingdom of God is in its most ample meaning the fulfillment of the divine will in heaven and on earth. Where God's will is accomplished and done, there the kingdom of God is in existence. This kingdom, which is identical with the accomplished will of God, will finally be delivered up to God the Father by the second Divine Person of the Blessed Trinity at the end of the world, as we read in the fifteenth chapter of the letter to the Corinthians (v. 24). The kingdom, as it reflects itself in the fulfillment of the divine will in heaven and on earth and throughout all eternity is the aim of man destined by God. Unfortunately, however, as man was at his fall, he passed out of this kingdom of God by his first sin. To enable man to again enter this kingdom was the will of God, and to that purpose Christ's coming and message was devoted, that is to say to again put man into closer relation with his God and to make him again a member of His kingdom. Thus it is clear that the central idea of the first three Evangelists whose task it was to point to that is nothing else but the kingdom of God.

(2) This kingdom as it exists in heaven and had existed on earth before Adam's sin and was yet in existence among the holy souls of pious men should take shape in a visible form by the coming of the long-looked-for Messiah. During several thousand years the prophets had foretold the coming of the Messiah and that His sacred personality would exercise a powerful influence upon mankind, that man would be regenerated and that there would be established a new era. Immediately before the arrival of the Messiah His great forerunner, St. John the Baptist, cried aloud and announced the coming in this way: "Do penance: for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." (Matt. iii., 2.) And not a long time after this announcement "Jesus came into Galilee, preaching the Gospel of the kingdom of

God and saying: "The time is accomplished and the kingdom of God is at hand: repent and believe the Gospel." (Mark i., 14, 15.) The Pharisees, being alarmed by the dispensation of Christ's message, did not stand aside, but wished to have a definite answer if the long-expected kingdom had already arrived or not. They asked that of Our Divine Master, whereupon they received a clear and distinct reply: "The kingdom of God cometh not with observation. Neither shall they say: Behold here. or behold there. For lo, the kingdom of God is within you." (St. Luke xvii., 20, 21.) Surely, it was amongst the Jews these words were spoken, for the Jews heard daily the words of the kingdom of heaven which Christ preached to them His numerous parables. They saw the effects of its coming in the countless wonders and miracles that were performed by the Divine Master: "Go and relate to John what you have heard and seen. The blind see, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead rise again, the poor have the Gospel preached to them. And blessed is he that shall not be scandalized in Me." (Matt. xi., 4, 5, 6.)

However great those miracles performed by Christ may have been, they did not constitute the kingdom of God itself, for they were merely the visible effects of its coming. The miracles manifested in a visible form the establishment of the kingdom of God on earth, which was in its earliest days, on account of its very humble beginning, scarcely to be recognized by the eyes of this world. Christ Himself distinguished between the kingdom itself and the visible effects of the kingdom when He said: "But if I by the Spirit of God cast out devils, then is the kingdom of God come upon you." (Matt. xii., 28.) And when sending out His Apostles He gave them a double order, namely: "To preach the kingdom of God and to heal the sick." (Luke ix., 2.) The doctrines which He proposed were "His Gospel," and those who would accept them would constitute "His kingdom," thus "preaching the Gospel of the kingdom of God." (Mark i., 14.) It was to be understood that this kingdom should not be limited in time and not be confined to the course of three years of Christ's mission on earth, for He foretold its extension throughout the universe and the centuries to the end of the world when saying: "And this Gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in the whole world, for a testimony to all nations, and then shall the consummation come." (Matt. xxiv., 14.)

(3) In opposition to the Pharisees, whose idea was a doctrine of ritual justification, Jesus, in preaching His Gospel, emphasized the doctrine of the inward innocence of the soul. "Repent and believe the Gospel." Or: "Seek ye, therefore, first the kingdom of God

and His justice, and all these things shall be added unto you." (Matt. vi., 33.) Consequently the kingdom of God in us consists of a certain tone of mind which is directed towards God as its final aim and destination, provided that one possesses sanctifying grace. The kingdom of God, as manifested in the holy soul of the individual, is extended over earth wherever His divine will is done and accomplished. "Thy kingdom come; Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven." (The Lord's Prayer.) This tone of mind is analyzed in a masterly manner in the Lord's Sermon upon the Mount. Speaking of the eight beatitudes He says: "Blessed are the poor in spirit. . . . Blessed are the meek. . . . The reward for living a life of virtue and holiness are the eight beatitudes which are the possession of the kingdom of heaven . . . for theirs is the kingdom of heaven," as the first and the eighth tell us.

(4) We have now expounded the meaning of the term in question according to its full and deepest interpretation. Is there no other meaning attached to the kingdom of God? If we would lend a willing ear to the teachers of Protestant theology we would be obliged to finish our discussion. For Protestant scholars say that this kingdom belongs to a "spiritual order."⁸¹ "The kingdom of God," says the Protestant writer, Professor Carl von Weizsaecker, "involved righteousness, which consisted not in honoring God by definite actions, but in yielding one's-self, one's whole being, to Him."⁸² The same thought is expressed by the same author when he says with reference to the kingdom of God as a whole: "Hence the only constitution contemplated is a personal one, whose fundamental features are devotion and receptiveness."⁸³ To the Hebrew mind, however, to whom Christ taught His Gospel, such a category of a kingdom belonging to "a spiritual order" would have been entirely incomprehensible. The Jewish mind would have been capable of conceiving of a philosophy finding its highest aim and perfection in the meditation of the divinity and the direction or inclination of the human mental faculty exclusively towards its God; but it would have been unable, just as our common sense is unable, to conceive of a religion, spiritual in its order and manifesting itself only inwardly in the individual, but rejecting everything that finds its visible expression in a definite act. Such a religion, as imagined by Protestant scholars, was not less incomprehensible to the Jewish mind, as it is inconceivable to the common sense of man. Whatever Protestant teachers may say and write about the "purely ideal and

⁸¹ Weizsaecker: "Apostolic Age," Vol. I., p. 126.

⁸² Ibid., vol. II., p. 343.

⁸³ Ibid., vol. II., p. 344.

entirely spiritual character of the Christian (that is Protestant) religion!" they have to accept the truth that "no religious movement can remain in a bodiless condition."⁸⁴ Was Christ really so "careless of all externals"⁸⁵ that "the question how and in what forms the seed would grow was not one which occupied His mind?"⁸⁶ Really, was it delivered to the course of events and times to work out at a later age that great institution which we call "church"? "Was it first of all at Rome that the Christians felt themselves to be a Church and the beginning of the kingdom of God?"⁸⁷ How is it possible that the very same pen which did not shrink to write the above-quoted blasphemies, "Christ was careless . . . and . . . did not occupy His mind," put to paper the following words: "The words of Christ: 'Where two or three are gathered together in My name, there am I in the midst of them' is a summons to form such societies? Hence the bringing together in this world of those who call upon the name of Christ is not something secondary or unessential in relation to the conception of the Church, but the conception of the Church itself demands it, and is not realized until such an aggregation is formed. The Church, therefore, regarded as a spiritual and religious entity, is no mere idea of faith or something whose very existence depends upon faith, i. e., the faith of the individual. Moreover, it is by no means sufficiently described when it is called the invisible body of Christ, for it is obviously an essential part of its nature that it should form societies on earth."⁸⁸ If Christ invited the Christians to form a concrete association, it is hard to comprehend why He Himself did not institute such a visible society, as He claimed to be a "king" and "ruler."

An attempt is made by recent critics to solve this difficulty by saying that "the idea of the kingdom as supplied by the Gospel is distinct from the idea of the Church."⁸⁹ If that were right, it would be impossible to give a meaning to St. John iii., 5, when saying: "Jesus answered: Amen, amen, I say to thee, unless a man be born again of water and the Holy Ghost, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." Here, obviously, Christ refers to the baptism as a pre-condition to enter His visible kingdom, that is to say, to join the Church. Likewise we may refer to St. Luke vii., 28: "For

⁸⁴ Harnack: "What Is Christianity?" p. 195.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 195.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 195.

⁸⁷ Wernle: "Beginnings of Christianity," Vol. II., p. 86.

⁸⁸ Harnack: "The Constitution and Law of the Church in the First Two Centuries," p. 212. Criticism of Sohm's theory.

⁸⁹ For further details on this subject refer to Batiffol: "Primitive Catholicism," p. 76 f.

I say to you: Amongst those that are born of women, there is not a greater prophet than John the Baptist. But he that is the lesser in the kingdom of God is greater than he." Professor V. Rose rightly remarks: "The declaration of Jesus Christ concerning John the Baptist is meaningless unless it refers to a kingdom of God already founded. 'The least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he.' That is to say, the least of those who are citizens of the kingdom, because they are My disciples, are greater than the herald of the kingdom. John is not to be excluded from the kingdom of God in its final phase; therefore, these words cannot but refer to the initial phase of that kingdom established by Jesus Christ Himself."⁴⁰ In the same manner Matthew xxi., 43, proves our assertion of the identity of the Church with the kingdom of God. Here the writer may be allowed to quote for the sake of curiosity how a professor of the University of Basel, Switzerland, Paul Wernle, has interpreted the above-mentioned passage of St. Matthew: "The kingdom of God shall be taken away from you and shall be given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof, (xxi., 43). What is the kingdom of God which the Jews have possessed? It is not, as in other passages, the future Messianic kingdom, but the theocracy, the divine rule. The evangelist might just as well have said: 'Ye shall no longer be the Church.'"⁴¹

Belief and love of God and of the neighbor are the greatest and the first two commandments on which the whole law depends. (Matt. xxii., 36-40.) Those who fulfill them belong to the kingdom of God, as it is the accomplished will of God on earth. Yet there is the following question to answer: "These members of the kingdom of God, shall they live isolated one from another and joined to God alone, or shall they form a society?"⁴² As, then, there is a society to aid man in attaining the goods of his natural life, so much more is there a society to aid man in attaining that supernatural good to which the natural goods are subordinate."⁴³ It was already during our dear Master's mission on earth that those who were taught by Him the divine doctrine of the kingdom of God and gradually knew its contents, formed round Jesus a group, although a very small one in the beginning. But this group seemed to be the beginning of the Church, as its members were "visible" followers of Christ and His doctrine. For although speaking before an audience of Jews of Judea, Galilee and Jerusalem and of people of Tyre, Sidon and Decapolis, Jesus deliver-

⁴⁰ "Studies," pp. 110-111.

⁴¹ "Beginnings of Christianity," Vol. II, p. 85.

⁴² Tixeront: "History of Dogmas," vol. I., p. 67.

⁴³ Allies: "The Formation of Christendom," vol. IV., p. 110.

ing His Sermon on the Mount ostensibly addressed only the handful of His disciples and told them that they were the salt of the earth, that they were the light of the world, etc.⁴⁴ Surely, "if His Gospel had been a bodiless spirit,"⁴⁵ the eternal wisdom of Our Lord Jesus would not have confined His address to a certain group of men. Is it surprising that after having ostensibly distinguished His direct followers from the crowd and having separately addressed them, Jesus, gradually advancing, prepares the mind of His followers as well as of the people until everything is ready to accept the institution of the new visible and yet divine society, His Church? In this way the Jewish mind was not shocked nor seriously confused. Moreover, during His lifetime Jesus instituted seven sacraments which are to be given to His flock by means of visible signs. Thus Christ not only announced His teaching as a pure philosophy or as a "kingdom of inner righteousness,"⁴⁶ or as one of "purely higher morality,"⁴⁷ or as "a mere spiritual movement,"⁴⁸ or as a "mere brotherhood of love and of mutual aid"⁴⁹—as Protestant teachers may conceive—but founded a real and true religion, which presumes veracity of doctrine and correctness of moral-teaching, together with a true and holy worshiping of the Divinity. Worshiping, however, cannot be accomplished unless there is a body discharging its function, and that body is the priesthood, which takes up the mediatorship between God and men. So we see that, having promised the great Eucharistic Sacrifice after there had taken place that miraculous event of the loaves and the fishes, Jesus consequently—as He wished the Eucharistic Sacrifice to be continued until the consummation of the world—next in turn established that primacy of St. Peter, which made him the rock of the Church of Jesus Christ.

How well everything was prepared by Divine Providence in that great drama of Jesus' life we see on the first Pentecost day of the Church. All the essential parts of the constitution of the Church are at hand: The head, St. Peter; the officers, the Apostles; the members, the faithful who remained with the Apostles in Jerusalem, together with St. Mary; the three thousand persons who received baptism; the condition of membership, the baptism; the aim of the society, sanctification of the soul, Jesus Christ, etc. In the Acts and the writings of the earliest Christian era we see

⁴⁴ Vide "Rose Studies," p. 121.

⁴⁵ Refer to Batiffol, "Primitive Catholicism," p. 77.

⁴⁶ Schaff-Herzog: "Religious Encyclopædia," vol. II, p. 1246.

⁴⁷ Weizsacker: "Apostolic Age," vol. II, p. 344 f.

⁴⁸ Vide Batiffol: "Primitive Catholicism," p. 28.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 28-37.

that the *doctrine* of the Christians was the object of persecutions and contradictions, but never was, even among the heretics, the doctrine praised and the visible society, which held this very doctrine, condemned. On the contrary, the early heretics were painfully anxious to avoid an open break with the Church. The course of sixteen centuries and the perversity of more than one thousand and one-half of years was needed to produce that monster of a sophism which claims to have the right doctrine, but refuses to be a real and true visible society, a visible Church—[Protestantism].

There is hardly any need to attempt to prove that the Church is the kingdom of God. If the Christian religion is the kingdom of God, as proved above, the Church also is identical with the visible form of the kingdom of God on earth, as the Christian religion cannot exist in its truthfulness and completeness outside the Church. "But when they had believed Philip preaching of the kingdom of God, in the name of Jesus Christ, they were baptized, both men and women" (Acts viii., 12), which means that they joined that kingdom—the Church.

Modern critics will not agree with our dissertation. They will refute our conception of the kingdom of God, pretending that Jesus founded a society of disciples as He was impressed by the "tragic illusion" of the expectation of the "imminent and catastrophic advent of the kingdom."⁸⁰ In this way, Loisy says, "Jesus provided for the diffusion of the Gospel for the time then present."⁸¹ But "instead of the expected kingdom, the Church came" and "the idea of the Church was substituted by the force of events for the idea of the kingdom."⁸² With this pretended eschatological expectation of Jesus, according to Loisy, many of the Protestant teachers agree, although they arrive at the opposite conclusion concerning Christ's attitude towards the Church. "Jesus, we are told," says Batiffol (Catholic), who outlines some Protestant errors, "preached the near coming of the kingdom of God; His conception of it was purely apocalyptic; how then could He have come to conceive of a religious society constituted so as to abide?"⁸³ Contradictory as these two theories of Protestantism are, they will not be able to set aside our thesis concerning the relation between "kingdom" and "church."

(5) Nevertheless this discussion has brought us one step further. Had Jesus no eschatologic expectations and did He not, when speaking of the kingdom, understand the eschatological kingdom?

⁸⁰ For further details on this subject see Batiffol: "Primitive Catholicism," p. 79.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 75.

This opinion seems to be favored by the passage of St. Matthew xvi., 28: "Amen I say to you, there are some of them that stand here, that shall not taste death, till they see the Son of Man coming in His kingdom." The course of the events soon proved that Jesus applied these words to His approaching glorification after His resurrection and to the beginning of the spread of His Church on earth. If we made efforts to find in that passage a proof of the eschatological expectations of Jesus, we would expose ourselves to public ridicule, as Wernle does when he writes: "Their (the Christians) citizenship was in heaven. Here upon earth they lived as strangers and sojourners, as pilgrims to their heavenly home. But what a mighty power there lay in this future hope. It achieved two memorable results; it overcame the deceptive expectation as to the coming of Jesus and the kingdom of God."⁸⁴ . . .

On another page of his book the same writer asks with reference to Matthew xvi., 28: "Had the promises, however, which Jesus had made in the first instance, and St. Paul had confirmed, been fulfilled?" And he comes to the conclusion: "Not one of these promises was fulfilled."⁸⁵

This difficulty may be easily solved by showing that our dear Lord spoke of the kingdom both as initial and as future. The initial one was His Church, which was in its earliest development. The future or eschatological one was the future kingdom in heaven. As we have shown in the beginning of our dissertation, many Jews connected with the advent of the kingdom the coming of the last judgment, and consequently interpreted when Jesus was speaking of the future kingdom in heaven, the words of Christ as referring to the last general judgment immediately to be expected. Jesus, however, speaking of an indefinite future, left it to the experience of His followers to find out its right interpretation concerning the date of its arrival.

Jesus refers more than plainly to the future kingdom in heaven when He says: "Fear not, little flock, for it hath pleased your Father to give you a kingdom." (Luke xii., 32.) Men from all over the world will be called to it: "And they shall come from the east and the west and the north and the south; and shall sit down in the kingdom of God." (Luke xiii., 29.) The condition for admittance is humility: "Amen I say to you, whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child shall not enter into it." (Mark x., 15.) It will be a reward for the good we have

⁸³ Ibid. 75.

⁸⁴ Wernle: "Beginnings of Christianity," vol. II., p. 312.

⁸⁵ Ibid., pp. 298-299.

done: "Confirming the souls of the disciples, and exhorting them to continue in the faith and that through many tribulations we must enter into the kingdom of God." (Acts xiv., 21.) The greatest happiness possible will be there enjoyed: "And I dispose to you, as My Father hath disposed to Me, a kingdom. That you may eat and drink at My table, in My kingdom: and may sit upon thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel." (Luke xxii., 29, 30.)

One question is yet open: Is not the distinction which Jesus makes between His kingdom on earth (the Church) and His kingdom in future (in heaven) difficult to solve? Does He not use one and the same term for two entirely different matters? Why did Jesus not select another term for the one thing to be easier distinguished from the other? There was no need to look for distinctions of terms, as both the objects differ only in time. The kingdom of God as we see it now in its visible form in the Church will be in future—after the last day—the kingdom of God in heaven, being nothing else than the glorious Church of God in her final triumph. "Then shall the King say to them that shall be on His right hand: Come, ye blessed of My Father, possess you the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world." (Matt. xxv., 34.)

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THE CAPUCHIN MISSION IN BULGARIA AND REUNION WITH ROME.

BULGARIA,¹ a kingdom as far back in history as 679, was Christianized by St. Cyril and St. Methodius, or at least the work of evangelization was begun by them, for it took a long time to bring the people—a stubborn race of Hunnic and Finnic origin, who migrated or were driven from the Volga to the lower Danube about the middle of the seventh century—under the yoke of the Gospel. Their ruler, King Theleric, who embraced the faith, and as a consequence was abandoned by his people, had to fly to Constantinople. The first of the nation to receive baptism was Prince Bogoris or Boris, who took the name of Michael. His conversion was brought about by his sister, a prisoner in Constantinople, through the agency of St. Methodius, and the sacrament was administered in 864 by a Bishop chosen by the Empress Theodora. This convert prince sent his son to Rome and another envoy to Louis, King of Germany, for a Bishop and some priests. In response to his request, Louis sent Hermanricus with a few priests and deacons, but he was forestalled by Pope Nicholas I., in whose name Bishop Paul of Populonia and Bishop Formosus of Porto were bearers of a letter from the Pope containing an epitome of Catholic doctrine suited to the comprehension of that people and calculated to soften or subdue their ferocious habits. At first they were opposed to its reception, but afterwards yielded to the King's wishes, as St. Cyril and St. Methodius had predicted, and the Pontiff sent further missionaries, including two Bishops.

At this time, 869, was held the eighth Œcumenical Council at

¹ The country now known as Bulgaria was originally peopled by Thracians, and under the Roman Empire formed the province of Mœsia. It was overrun by Goths, Huns and Slav Slovenians. The Bulgars, a Turanian race, a wild, fierce and barbarous horde, governed by their Khans' or Boyars, made their appearance on the banks of the Pruth in the latter part of the seventh century. They primitively occupied a territory between the Ural Mountains and the Volga, where the kingdom of Bolgary existed down to the thirteenth century. In 679, under their Khan Asparukh, they crossed the Danube, and, after subjugating the Slav portion of Mœsia, advanced to the gates of Constantinople and Salonica and forced the Byzantine Emperor to cede to them the province of Mœsia. Like the Franks when they crossed the Rhine into Gaul, they gave their name to the more civilized Slavs with whom they amalgamated, forming an independent kingdom. Its whole subsequent history has been a series of conflicts with the Byzantine Empire, the short-lived Latin Empire of Constantinople, and the Ottoman Empire. They reached their zenith under Simeon, or Symeon, their greatest ruler, who proudly called himself "Emperor and Autocrat of all the Bulgars and Greeks," a title recognized by Pope Formosus. The first Empire lasted for three centuries. It is the ambition of modern Bulgaria to restore it.

Constantinople, to which Michael Bogoris sent representatives, and which condemned Photius. After the death of St. Ignatius and the reinstatement of Photius—the most momentous mistake ever made by Rome—the Bulgarians were drawn into the schism to which the Manicheans attached themselves. This heresy, passing into the West, embraced the Kathari, the Patarini, the Henricians, the Petrobrusiani, the Albigenses and Waldenses, all of whom were united under the name of Bulgarians.² The religious and social development of the nation, strong and happy under its rulers, who had raised themselves to the rank of czars or emperors and received investiture from Rome, was arrested by this schism. The Bulgarians, whose simplicity had been imposed upon by Greek astuteness, having exchanged the paternal government of Rome for the proud and simoniacal Byzantine dominion, lost, along with the integrity of the faith, religious and political independence. Their Patriarchate, instituted by the successor of St. Peter, was confiscated by the Photian Patriarch, who established in the whole Bulgarian Church a servile system skillfully conceived and perseveringly continued for more than nine centuries. Little by little the episcopate and other ecclesiastical dignities were withdrawn from the Bulgarian clergy; national and historical documents were destroyed in order that they might lose all remembrance of their past, and the Byzantine rite substituted for the Cyrillic. The people had pastors put over them whose language they did not understand and who consequently could not teach them, supposing they had the ability and the zeal.

The King of Bulgaria, Joan Asên (1196-1207), to protect himself against the last assaults of the Greek Empire, sent legates to Pope Innocent III. with a view of forming an alliance with the Holy See, begging the Pope to accord him the crown and honors which his predecessors, the ancient sovereigns, had possessed. His Holiness, having satisfied himself as to his sincerity, in 1204 sent a Cardinal, who solemnly invested him with sceptre and crown and a banner of St. Peter. The Bulgarian sovereign, who had inherited devotion to the Holy See from his Roman ancestry, sent a sealed document in which he expressed his resolution of following in the footsteps of his sires, placed his kingdom in communion with the Roman Church and promised that he and his successors would always be devoted sons of the Apostolic See.

It was the very year when the victorious Crusaders entered Constantinople. The fourth Crusade, instead of marching to the deliverance of the Holy Land, turned aside from its original design

² See Abbé Migne's "*Dictionnaire des Hérésies*."

to accomplish the conquest of the decrepit Empire of the East, only to be conquered in its turn. The King of Bulgaria, always unfaithful to his word, waged war upon the Latins, who had demanded restitution of territory alleged to have been usurped by Bulgaria, sacking and destroying cities and towns, including the ancient city of Philippopolis, built by the father of the great Alexander, long a flourishing city, and after Constantinople and Salonica—the Thessalonica so dear to St. Paul—held the third place in the empire. He defeated Baldwin near Adrianople, took him in chains to Ternova, where after a year's imprisonment he had his hands, arms and limbs cut off, and the trunk was thrown into a ditch, in which after three days the unfortunate Emperor, still breathing, was found and outraged by some vagabonds. The Bulgarian King afterwards met his death in 1207 in Thessaly, when, it appears, the Catholic movement in Bulgaria ended for the time being.

After the fall of the Latin empire and the kingdom of Bulgaria, which took place later, the Greeks again got possession of the Bulgarian Church, whose head had the title of Catholicos. The Holy See, on its part, did not cease to concern itself about it, and Urban V., Nicholas V. and other Pontiffs bestowed special care upon it. Propaganda established missions there, one at Sofia, the ancient Sardica, already an illustrious Christian city, in which a council was held in 344 or 347, and Philippopolis. The former was an episcopal see up to the fourth century; one of its Bishops was at the Council of Nicea, and another, Justinian I., built and rebuilt at Constantinople the famous Church of Sancta Sophia. This city at one time had 100,000 inhabitants. When the Turks transformed the churches into mosques and public granaries, the Catholic inhabitants wandered here and there; by the first half of the eighteenth century they were reduced to a few; in the beginning of the last century hardly any mention is made of them. There are now in Sofia three thousand Catholics.

Some of the other Catholics in Bulgaria, which had become a Turkish province, found their way to Philippopolis, the ancient Maritza, built, it is said, by Philip of Macedon, and which as the capital of Thrace was a metropolitan see in the fifth century, and had had as its first Bishop that Hermas mentioned by St. Paul.*

* Hermas, mentioned in St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, was, according to several ancient writers and learned interpreters, the same as the celebrated Hermas, whose works are extant, and which by some have been ranked among canonical scriptures. The books of Hermas entitled "The Pastor" were written in Rome or its neighborhood towards the year 92 A. D., before Domitian's persecution. Adon, Usuard and the Roman Mar-

It was there Michael joined Conrad III., who went forth with the Second Crusade in 1141 with seventy thousand mail-clad warriors. It was completely destroyed by the earthquake of 1818.

The missionaries sent there in the early part of the eighteenth century went at the risk of their lives. Two of them, Nicholas Boscovich and Michael Dobromiri, the former vicar general of Marco Andriasci, Archbishop of Sofia and Administrator of Philippopolis, and the latter, who filled his place during the prelate's long exile, were brought, chained, to Adrianople in 1738, and there beheaded. The situation in Bulgaria was always strained and pitiable; no churches, no liberty. Nevertheless, the missionaries' zeal was invincible, their patience unalterable. They kept the faithful from the schism. But that was not enough, because continuity was precarious and liable to interruptions. Propaganda, to put things on a more stable footing, assigned the mission to the Augustinians in 1833, then to Redemptorists from Vienna, nominating the superior, John Ptacck, Vicar Apostolic, in 1835, and finally entrusted it to the Capuchins, with Father Andrew, of Garessio, as Prefect Apostolic.

There are now about three million schismatics in Bulgaria, but there are thousands who have remained faithful adherents of the true Vicar of Christ. These originally belonged to the heretical sect of the Paulicians, but three centuries ago were converted to the Catholic faith, thanks to the indefatigable zeal of the Franciscan Fathers, who have ruled them first as Vicars and then as Archbishops of Sofia and Administrators of Philippopolis. They follow the Latin rite. The first Franciscan consecrated Bishop of Sofia was Pietro Salinati, to whom is due the foundation of various convents of Bulgarian Franciscan religious and the conversion of many Mussulmans and schismatics. Consecrated in 1610, he left the vicariate in 1625 to Father Elias Marinic, who remained up to 1641, when he was replaced by Bishop Doetato Backsch, who was the real apostle of the Paulicians, as the "*Acta Bulgariæ Ecclesiastica*," printed in Zagabria, calls him. Under Marco Andriasci (1725) persecutions by the Mohammedans and Greeks increasing caused them to desert the Apostolic See. For more than a century the mission was without Bishops. The work of the Redemptorists, sent before the persecutions had completely ceased to restore order,

tyrology fix the feast of Hermas for the 9th of May and the Greeks on the 8th of March and again on the 5th of October. They rank him among the Apostles and the seventy-two disciples. They add that he was made Bishop of Philippi, in Macedonia, or of Philippopolis, in Thrace (Abbé Migne, "*Dictionnaire Historique de la Bible*," Vol. II.). Migne gives in footnotes a number of authorities in support of above statements. The Roman Martyrology gives: "Hermas, discipulus Beati Pauli," etc.

rekindle faith and comfort the good Christians who, notwithstanding the insidious sectaries, had remained faithful to the Catholic Church, was productive of great fruit. They built a church and convent in Philippopolis. But while the Redemptorists were sowing the good seed, the schismatics, those implacable enemies of religion, by their machinations got Propaganda to recall them. It was reserved to the Capuchin Order, five years later, to begin a new era in the vicariate by overcoming difficulties of all kinds.

The first expedition of the Capuchins, led by Father Andrew, of Garessio—one of the Canova family, born on May 15, 1806—reached Philippopolis on March 21, 1841. Nominated Prefect Apostolic, he was accompanied by Father Venance, of Rosara; Father Onuphrius, of Torrette, and Father Theodore, of Caraglio; the two last Piedmontese like himself. It was a twelve days' journey. He found things in a sad state. He found the churches were only small holes built of branches and clay, covered for the most part with straw, with bare floors, and so low that a man could hardly stand upright. In place of altars some had tables disjoined and corroded by time. "I do not exaggerate in the least," he says, "in affirming that there are not in the whole world more wretched or viler churches than these; narrow and dark, with bare, squalid walls, with low, perforated roof, it seems rather a place designed to receive animals than to praise the Lord of heaven and earth." The convents, so called, were in the same condition; neither doors nor windows, but wretched narrow holes open to all weathers. In addition, the Catholics were split into parties, and held of no account by Turks and schismatics. To improve the situation and to provide in the best way possible for the spiritual needs of his people, the Prefect reserved to himself the city of Philippopolis, sending Father Onuphrius to Daugior and then to Kalasclia, where he remained three years, and Father Venance to Selgikov, who after a sojourn of eleven years there went to Kalasclia and Gherene, reaping fruits of zeal and constancy. These first missionaries were afterwards joined by other members of the order, whose coming raised the wrath of the schismatics.

As he had not had recourse to the Turkish Governor and obtained his license to establish them in the posts assigned to them, he was ordered to keep two of the religious near him pending further arrangements, but as the Prefect could not obey His Excellency's commands, and the Capuchins claimed to be independent of his authority, the latter, assuming they could not subsist without begging from the Christians, strictly forbade the latter to give anything to the friars so as to starve them out and compel them to

leave. Unable to vent his rage against them, he threatened the Catholics with imprisonment, exile and torture, until a few days afterwards, when they became more straitened, when the horizon became darker and the storm was already imminent, they had recourse to the usual expedient and sent him a large sum of money. He then left the Christians in peace, but would not allow the two missionaries to go. It was only through the intermediary of the French Ambassador at Constantinople that they secured freedom of action.

The overcoming of these first obstacles greatly enraged the schismatical Bishop, who put it into the Pasha's mind that the foreign missionaries were spreading European maxims among the people which would end in undermining the throne of the Osmons and compromise the public peace. The Pasha at once ordered the recall of the Capuchins from the villages to which they were sent and threatened the Prefect with immediate expulsion. In these straits the missionaries had again recourse to the customary expedient; they bought the protection of an influential Mussulman; the throne was saved and tranquillity was undisturbed. The friars remained where they were and continued to exercise their ministry in peace.

The Prefect tells how consoled he was by the fervor of the Catholics who filled the church every time he preached; their attendance at daily Mass; their recital of the rosary either in the church or in their homes; their great devotion to the Blessed Virgin, and their frequentation of the sacraments. Owing to help received from Europe, every parish had its pastor. But some who early in life had to take service under the Turks little by little lapsed into ignorance of their religion and were incapable of teaching their children the principal mysteries of the faith, as Father Francis Dominic, of Villafranca, found when he scoured the villages round about Philippopolis. They had, besides, before them the bad example of the schismatics and infidels. The surroundings were more favorable to religion in the country than in the city, where open air Corpus Christi processions even impressed and edified schismatics and Turks.

Although the Sultan Mahmud allowed the free exercise of any religion, Turkish fanaticism was not spent, on which account it was not safe to go into the open country unless accompanied by a man well armed, nor even then, for Father Edward, of Turin, in going to his station, was attacked by a Turkish robber who by repeated sabre thrusts strove to take his life, and of whose fury he would have been a victim had not Providence inspired his guide

with such courage that he succeeded in extricating him, not without a great struggle, from the hands of his would-be assassin.

In 1843 Father Andrew, of Garesio, was raised to the position of Vicar Apostolic and brought with him three of his brethren, Father Eletto, of Carmagnola; Father Maurizio, of Castellazzo, and Father Serafino, of Casteltermeni, the last of whom ended his days in Philippopolis and was the first victim of the order in that land. He was able to report that religion in that province, twelve days' journey from the capital of the Ottoman Empire, was beginning to enjoy greater liberty. They did not live in such constant fear as before; punishments were less frequent and not so barbarous; every Christian could, without having to pay a fine, settle down in his place and repair his dwelling, a freedom of which the Vicar took advantage to build three houses for the missionaries where hitherto they were obliged to lodge with the faithful at great mutual inconvenience. This liberty, however, did not extend externally to the churches of which they could not remove a tile without the permission of the local authority, nor effect any necessary restorations without disbursing money. Schools were opened in every parish, several abuses traceable to the schism extirpated and religious confraternities established. Despite multiplied obstacles, which it took years to overcome, he built five churches where a few years before the Catholics had none, nor a sufficient number of priests. In every village there was a resident priest, one of whose preoccupations was to take steps to erect a new church, while the schismatics had only one priest for four or five of their districts, and all their adherents, great and little, were immersed in the most stupid ignorance.

All, however, was not sunshine. "True," he observes, "this mission, as I have already noted in another of my reports, is not fertile in conversions either of Turks or schismatics. Besides the dense veil of ignorance, which does not let them discern the light of truth, they are prevented from embracing the Catholic religion by their co-religionists, who would persecute, despoil and perhaps kill them. Nevertheless, it is a compensating consolation to see these Christians, surrounded by Mussulmans and schismatics, most attached to their religion, to the observance of the divine law and fervent in the service of God, equal to people whose happy lot it is to be exclusively Catholic. I am also consoled by the progress that from day to day the Ottoman Government is making in the way of civilization and religious tolerance. The mind is struck with horror at the oppression and slavery under which, scarcely twenty-five years ago, the people of this province groaned. The

wealthiest, not only in villages, but also in cities, were constrained to live in poorhouses and to wear wretched garments if they wished to enjoy their fortune in peace, and the poorest were completely dependent on the Turks, who treated them as they liked, employing them to labor in their fields without any payment, to cultivate rice and prepare and bring to their houses as much as they wanted. No one, passing through a city, was allowed to ride; if a Turk met a Christian in the country, the latter had to get down from his horse and to remain motionless until the former had passed. The master of a house could not replace a tile that fell off. Whoever dressed like a foreigner was an object of scorn and offense, and no foreigner ventured to pass through these countries if he had not a good escort. To-day all is changed. The Christian is no longer obliged to get off his horse when he meets a Bashaw. Besides, the poor are not so ill treated, although there is much still to be desired. Toleration being accorded to all creeds, Catholics, although separated from their brethren by many days' journey, have full freedom to fulfill their religious duties. Missioners are no longer obliged to disguise themselves and to celebrate the divine mysteries in this house or that in the darkness of night for fear of being discovered by Turks or schismatics; they now freely wear the ecclesiastical habit, are respected by all, tranquilly exercise their holy functions, and, what is more notable, the authorities, at their simple request, give them guards to maintain good order during the most frequented functions of Christmas, Easter and Corpus Christi, to which through curiosity the heretics also come. So they preach in the open church, as in the heart of Christendom, have solemn processions, give honorable burial to the dead and open schools to teach the young. Every one is aroused from the lethargy in which they lived, and every one likes to be instructed. At the close the missioners translate into the Bulgarian language some books circulated from hand to hand, and although Father Francis, of Villafranca, has already formed a little library, still the devotion of the faithful is not satisfied and calls for the translation of other books."

Christianity was at length beginning to rise in public estimation; Catholics, no longer formed of the old parties, saw their name, formerly despised, regarded with increasing honor by the very Musulman authorities. The general state of things being improved, the Holy See wished to give a new prop to that people and add a new lustre to the mission by investing its superior with the episcopal dignity. On the 14th of December, 1847, Father Andrew, the Vicar Apostolic, was nominated titular Bishop of Croia. He hesitated for

some months accepting it, but he was finally persuaded and obeyed the will of his superiors. On March 26, 1848, he was consecrated at Constantinople by Monsignor Hillereau, assisted by Monsignor Hapun and Monsignor Artin, the one Primate and the other Bishop of the Armenians. On his return the people met him two leagues from the city and escorted him to the church, where they all kissed his ring. Catholicism had made such progress that where the missionary at first was not allowed to approach the Governor, that functionary now seated the Bishop alongside him, and, as a sign of equality, tendered the coffee and the pipe, "the calamat of peace and cup of joy."

The large chapel built by the Redemptorists (1836-39), being no longer suited to the number of Catholics and to the new importance acquired by the mission, Monsignor Canova erected a cathedral dedicated to St. Louis of France. Such a change had been operated that he was allowed to build two other churches, without firmans (official authorizations), bribes, expedients or disturbance, their opening taking place with the concurrence of schismatics and Turks.

The Catholics at Gherene being slaves of the Turks, the Capuchins bought a part of that village, leaving the rest to the Turks and schismatic Bulgars, and founded there a new colony composed of twenty families. They first celebrated divine worship in one of the usual wretched little holes, and then erected a suitable church, which was finished in 1857. A similar colony was established at Komakis, in the vicinity of Philippopolis, and a church dedicated to St. Roch built there in 1861. Shortly after that of Baltagia was reconstructed on new foundations, and in 1863 remodeled, as well as the church of Selgikov. All the convents were improved and further provision made for the education of girls and boys, the former being given in charge to the Sisters of St. Joseph of the Apparition and the latter to the Brothers of the Christian Schools.

For the better protection of the mission Monsignor Canova got the Governments of Austria and France to appoint two Vice Consuls in Bulgaria (1856-57). Napoleon III., then at the height of his power, made the Vicar Apostolic a Knight of the Legion of Honor, a distinction which helped to raise the status of the Catholic body in the mixed community of Bulgaria.

If the number of converts was not greater and did not correspond to the great labors of the missionaries, it was because the Turks had forbidden conversions from Mohammedanism and the schismatics opposed them by every artifice. It is marvelous that the Catholics, already trebled, in presence of a thousand dangers

and the impossibility of retroceding, in a worldly sense, in case of apostasy should have adhered to the old faith. Among the schismatics vague traditions reminded them of Rome, but the astuteness of the Greeks and the intrusion of Russia closed every avenue and stifled every idea of returning to the bosom of the Church. However, after the Crimean war, when the Greek Patriarch refused to concede ecclesiastical autonomy to Bulgaria, a Romeward movement manifested itself. On November 5, 1859, Monsignor Brunoni wrote from Constantinople: "There embarked at Salonica, the very time the ship weighed anchor, a deputation of Bulgarians from a far distance to disclose to me their intention of returning to the bosom of the Church. It being impossible for them to have a conversation with me, they placed in the hands of the very worthy Monsignor Turroques, superior of the Lazarist mission, a long declaration of their pious design. I received this document at the Dardanelles, and do not think it inopportune to say something about it here. Primarily it is a sad narrative of the oppressions and cruelties to which the Bulgarian nation has been subjected by the schismatic Patriarch of Constantinople. 'For twelve years,' they say, 'our Archbishop conducted himself towards us not as a pastor, but as a rapacious wolf who devours the flock of Christ.' Weary of such oppression and scandal, this 'wretched people deliberated about throwing off the Greek yoke and returning to the bosom of Catholicism to which their ancestors very long ago belonged.' It declares that they recognize in the person of the Roman Pontiff the successor of the Apostle Peter, Bishop of Bishops. It manifests the desire of being admitted to the communion of the Latin Church; preserving, moreover, its own particular rite, its own language, its usages and a native clergy among whom could be selected its Bishop, presented for the approval of the Holy See."

This first step was followed by others. After a year's negotiations and conferences a deputation came to present this address with more than two thousand signatures: "The Christian world remembers that the Bulgarian nation began by receiving from the holy apostles, Cyril and Methodius, a distinct national canonical hierarchy, united by ties of faithful obedience to the Holy Universal Church of Rome. Inauspicious circumstances have hindered the Greek Patriarchs of Constantinople from detaching the Bulgarian nation from this canonical institution by criminal means and depriving it of its rights, of subjecting it to its authority. The Bulgarian nation has several times protested, but in vain. The present generation, confessing the same faith always united with

its prescriptive rights, encouraged, on the other hand, by the Hattihoumayoum, which secures to every subject of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan respect for personal religious convictions, protests anew against the violence it has endured for centuries, a violence which endangers, too, its interests, prevents every intellectual and free development, without defense against the persecutions and abuses of a foreign anti-Christian upper clergy. To judge who are the Bishops placed over us, it is enough to mention that several are at this moment arraigned before the courts for crimes such as violations and infanticides. Earnestly desiring to preserve this faith as it received it from the Apostles, the Bulgarian nation has resolved to break the bonds that unite it to the anti-Christian Patriarchate of Constantinople,⁴ and intends to reconstitute the Holy Bulgarian Church of Constantinople, its true spiritual mother, under the authority and protection of the Holy Roman Church. To that end we the undersigned, charged by the Bulgarian nation to reunite its ties with the Holy Church of Rome through the intermediary of the holy and venerable successor of St. Peter, supreme head of the Christian Church, solemnly declare that we recognize as holy the dogmas of the Church of Rome and promise full and sincere fidelity to His Holiness Pius IX., to his successors and to his apostolic delegates. The Bulgarian nation, relying upon the decrees of the Holy Church of Rome for the conservation of the rites of the Oriental Churches, and persuaded that its rites and liturgy will remain intact, as established at the Council of Florence in what concerns the rites of the Oriental Churches; wherefore we, the undersigned, humbly pray His Holiness Pius IX. that in receiving into the bosom of the Universal and Catholic Church our Bulgarian Church to deign to recognize our distinct and national hierarchy as canonical. Finally, we humbly beg His Holiness to deign to invite His Majesty the Emperor of the French, as eldest son of the Church, to intervene with His Majesty the Sultan in order that our hierarchy may be recognized by him as independent and that he may protect us against every intrigue as much on the part of the Greeks as every other party. And we also pray the French Government to deign to grant us its protection as it does the other nations of the Ottoman Empire who recognize the Church of Rome." Then followed the signatures.

A special letter was also addressed to Monsignor Hassun, then Primate of the Armenians. It ran as follows: "Constantinople,

⁴ In 1870 the Bulgarian Church threw off the yoke of the Greek Patriarch and became an independent autonomous Church.

November 23, 1860.—Excellency: The Roman Church has at all times had a paternal solicitude for the Christians of the East and for the preservation of their religious ceremonies, usages and other institutions adopted from time immemorial and maintained up to our days. To that end we have the security given by union with the Holy Roman Church. Conformable to the decisions of the Œcumenical Council of Florence, our liturgy, rites, ceremonies and religious usages instituted by the Holy Fathers, and religiously preserved, shall not be entirely modified, but that, quite the contrary, shall be respected, and that our national hierarchy and our national clergy alone shall govern us. And they shall not cease to act thus on this occasion. Imploring your blessing, we are, your spiritual children," etc.

To this Monsignor Hassun replied: "We, Antony Hassun, Archbishop-Primate of Constantinople, Assistant at the Pontifical Throne, etc., to the Most Reverend Archimandrites Macarius and Joseph and the worthy clergy and Bulgarian people assembled at Constantinople, dearest sons in Jesus Christ, health and benediction. It is with lively satisfaction we hasten to reply to the letter dated yesterday which you have been pleased to send us regarding the union you have effected with the Roman Church, conformable to the decisions of the Œcumenical Council of Florence. This union being only a return to the Mother Church, from which you have from the beginning received your hierarchy, your liturgy, rites, ceremonies and religious usages, instituted by the Holy Fathers and religiously preserved up to our days, shall not only not be changed, but shall be respected and receive a new consecration, as the present Supreme Pontiff, His Holiness Pope Pius IX., in his encyclical of the 6th of January, 1848, addressed to the Orientals solemnly proclaims: 'We equally hasten to assure you that, in conformity with the said encyclical, your clergy, with its national hierarchy, shall be respected and confirmed in its honors and dignities; consequently the clergy and hierarchy who shall govern you will be your own clergy and your own national hierarchy under the protection of the supremacy of the Supreme Pontiffs who have loved so much your nation, so flourishing in ancient times with its own rites and its language. Dear sons in Our Lord Jesus Christ, be thou entirely reassured on that subject; put no faith in the suggestions of those who, as St. Paul wrote to the Philippians, 'seek the things that are their own, not the things that are Jesus Christ's,'⁵ and continue to remain faithful subjects of our august sovereign, His Majesty the Sultan, who among so

⁵ Philippians II., 21.

many favors has so generously accorded freedom of worship to his subjects throughout his whole empire. You ought, like us, recognize the value of such a great favor, and more than ever loyally serve his imperial government, in conformity, too, to the holy words of Our Saviour, who has said in the Holy Gospel: 'Reddite ergo quæ sunt Cæsaris Cæsari, et quæ sunt Dei Deo' ('Render, therefore, unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's and to God the things that are God's').⁶ Remember that, following this divine precept, St. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, prescribes to the faithful, particularly in his first letter: 'Honor all men, love the brotherhood, fear God, honor the King.' Whereupon we accord you the holy benediction and pray the good God to bestow all His favors upon you.

"Given in our residence at Constantinople the 24th of November, 1860. A. Hassun."

On Sunday, December 30, 1860, two archimandrites, three priests, twenty "esnaf" or chiefs and two hundred representatives of the different corporate bodies presented themselves before the two prelates and with much solemnity completed the act of union.

One said: "The entrance of the Bulgars into the Roman Church is an accomplished fact. That most important occurrence took place on Sunday morning with great solemnity in the Church of the Holy Ghost. The province awaits with impatience the news of the union. It looks as if along with that all Bulgaria will embrace the Catholic faith." A paper of the country wrote: "Joy uplifts our souls and we can hardly express our sentiments! The 30th of December, 1860, is a glorious day for our nation; it will be the first national festival of Bulgaria." The news was proclaimed throughout the Province on the same day. The Government made no opposition. The Grand Vizier declared to a deputation of the same persons that freedom of conscience in Turkey was henceforward an accomplished fact.

The act of adhesion was sent to Rome, and Pius IX. replied: "We have experienced an extreme joy in the Lord when, after the different notices already published about the return of the Bulgarians to the faith and Catholic unity, we have seen that this mode of proceeding, so salutary and so desirable, had, thanks be to God, had a happy beginning, since in these days you have sent us, Venerable Brother, the letter which several Bulgarian ecclesiastics and laity have addressed to us, to our great delight, that the inspiration of divine grace has drawn them from the abyss

⁶ St. Matthew xxii., 21.

⁷ First Epistle ii., 17.

of a most disastrous schism and caused them to return to the bosom of the Catholic Church, that mother full of love. And by this they declare to us expressly in the same letter that they believe and profess all that the Holy Roman Church, mother and mistress of all the churches, believes and teaches, and recognize with respect and full submission the Roman Pontiff as the head of the whole Catholic Church, the Vicar of Our Lord Jesus Christ on earth and the successor of the Blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, as they have done honor to themselves by declaring nobly and publicly with a solemn profession of faith, formulated in your presence, in presence of the Venerable Brother Antony, Archbishop-Primate of the Armenians, and in presence of other Prefects Apostolic and priests of both clergy (Latin and Armenian) on the 30th of last December. Then the above-mentioned letters of the Bulgarians have reached us in the midst of the anguish caused us by the bitterest calamities that oppress the Church in these days full of grief, and the multiplied dangers that on every side beset the Catholic flock. We have given thanks, with all the humility of our heart, to the God of all consolation who has been pleased, in this joyful event, to give us such a sweet consolation in our sorrow. Without any delay, we have written, Venerable Brother, the present letter in which we recommend you to announce also in our name to these same Bulgarian Uniats that we are full of joy at their return to the faith and Catholic unity, so much desired. And also in our name assure them, in the most affectionate terms, of the singular and very paternal tenderness we feel towards them, embracing them lovingly, as our dearest sons and as those of the Catholic Church; disposed besides to do everything that can contribute to their greater spiritual advantage. May it please God that we may soon embrace and see united to us and this Chair of Peter all the other members of the noble Bulgarian nation, principally those that are in sacred orders and are honored with other ecclesiastical dignities! These same dear children, the Bulgarian Uniats, have expressed to us most respectfully in their aforesaid letters wishes for the preservation of their sacred and legitimate rites, their ceremonies; their liturgy and hierarchy. And, therefore, Venerable Brother, confirm in our name what the Venerable Brother Antony, Archbishop-Primate of the Armenians, has written them, that we very willingly grant them what we have expressed and clearly declared in our Encyclical Letter to the Orientals of the 6th of January, 1848. We have no doubt whatever that these same Bulgarian Uniats will continue, with the fidelity that is required of and becomes

Catholics, to serve His Majesty the Sultan, sovereign of the Turks. But while giving all this information to these same dear children, the Bulgarian Uniats, and communicating to them our letter, tell them also that we send them lovingly, from the bottom of our heart, the Apostolic blessing, wishing them all that contribute to their true happiness and that we cease not to address to the good and most high God the most ardent prayers, that He may always bestow on them more abundantly the plenitude of the riches of His divine grace. Finally, as a pledge of our particular good will to you, Venerable Brother, we impart to you lovingly the Apostolic blessing, as well as to all your clergy and all the faithful laity confided to your solicitude. Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, the 24th of January, 1861, the fifteenth year of our pontificate."

In pursuance of this Brief the new converts proposed as Bishop an old Archimandrite named Joseph Sokolski, whom a deputation accompanied to Rome, and there, presented to the Pope by Cardinal Barnabo, Prefect of the Propaganda, was read this address: "Behold us at your feet, we, representatives of the Bulgarian Uniats, chosen by them to come to you to testify our sincere return to the faith of our fathers, already children of this same Roman Church and nourished by her in their infancy with the milk of the purest doctrine. As long as our nation remained docile and faithful under the guidance of the father of the great Christian family, the legitimate successor of the Apostle St. Peter, to whom was given command to feed the lambs and sheep (John xxi., 17), we were happy and received abundance of spiritual and temporal blessings. But seduced by a bad example and perfidious counsels, we transgressed too by asking, or rather taking the portion of our inheritance, and quitted the unity of the family to wander and be lost in the more distant and desolate region of error. Alas! for many centuries we have fed on husks; that is, the impure doctrine of the Photian schism, and as we were dying of misery and hunger, we thought of our Father, of Him who has truly begotten us and brought us forth to the life of Christianity, and we said: Let us arise and go to find Him, acknowledging with confusion and penitence to have sinned against heaven and against Him. So, most Holy Father, we return to the paternal home, already encouraged by your appeal, which is not only that of forgiveness, but also the voice of affection and love. We are the feeble interpreters of all our Bulgarian brethren united to us in the same profession of Catholic faith. If there are even prejudices, ignorance and other obstacles that stop us on the threshold, the blessing you will give us will also, we hope, draw down upon

them the same grace and we will all again form one flock under one shepherd."

His Holiness replied: "It is with great joy I receive the deputation of the Bulgarians; my heart is moved by the news that a portion of them is returning to the faith of their fathers. This return is to me at present one of my consolations. May God strengthen them in their holy resolution and make them persevere in the union, drawing others thereto! And that I have asked in my prayers for some time, and above all during Holy Week. I have offered the Holy Sacrifice many times to this end: I hope that God has heard and answered our prayer. Next Sunday I shall myself consecrate that good old man, the Archimandrite, thus resuming the tradition of my predecessor, Pope St. Nicholas I., who imposed hands on your first Archbishop." On April 14, 1861, Joseph Sokolski was, in fact, consecrated by Pius IX. with great solemnity in the Sistine Chapel.

This Romeward movement was opposed by the Greek Patriarch and the Russian Embassy for obvious reasons. They did everything in their power to lead the converts back to the Photian schism. Sir Henry Bulwer,^a the British Ambassador at Constantinople, and Prince Zabanoff, the Russian Ambassador, at variance about everything else, were agreed on this. The former sent a consular agent to Philippopolis, supplied with money, to stir up an anti-Catholic movement, but the money was wasted. The Capuchin missionaries, faithful guardians of the flock, did their duty.

When the new Bishop returned to Constantinople, everything prospered marvelously for a time, and there was promise of the most favorable results for the civil and religious regeneration of the people, when suddenly, early in June, a rumor was spread that Bishop Sokolski had vanished from Constantinople. This rumor, which at first seemed either exaggerated or artfully disseminated by some malignant person, so unlikely was it thought, was found to be too true, but without any one being able to throw light on its foundation or the why or wherefore of the deplorable event. At last it was found out that the unhappy Sokolski was in Odessa, whence he was relegated to an obscure monastery in Kiew. In Odessa he visited the seminary, where he found Bulgarian students in large numbers. When some of these young men asked him for what motive he had fled his eyes filled with tears, and after a brief silence he replied that he was unworthily entrapped,

^a Sir Henry Bulwer (Lord Dalling) was, at the close of the Crimean War, appointed successor of Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe, Ambassador Extraordinary to Constantinople. On his return from the Bosphorus in the winter of 1865 he retired from the diplomatic service.

and bitterly grieved at being sent to a foreign country, far from his new flock, doubtless accompanied with their maledictions, to be ultimately deprived of his proper dignity. One of the seminarists having asked him if he would consent to return to his post, he replied: "It is impossible; I am in iron hands," and he began to weep.

He was an octogenarian. He was deported to Kiew; nothing else was known. A correspondent of a leading Catholic organ afterwards stated that the Bulgarian Bishop, Joseph Sokolski, had not apostatized,⁹ and was perfectly sound; a very good man, but who did not unite to the simplicity of the dove the prudence of the serpent. He was allured, it is not known under what pretext, to the Russian Embassy at Constantinople, and as close to that embassy continually lies the steamer that goes to Odessa, he was made to go on board by some subterfuge or other. As soon as the prelate had put his foot on the deck the boat steamed off. When he heard of this seizure the Turkish Governor expressed his intention of demanding explanations through the medium of diplomatic intercourse. That frightened the emissaries of the Holy Synod, who then skilfully spread the rumor that the Bulgarian Bishop, fatigued after his preceding voyage to Rome, had died on disembarking at Odessa. The Sublime Porte, which was then too much embroiled with Russia, and whose agents are naturally parasites, availed of these rumors not to move any further.¹⁰

Notwithstanding the disappearance of Monsignor Sokolski and the strong opposition of the Greek Patriarch, the Bulgarian converts remained firm in their faith and increased in numbers. Father Cecilio, of Cairo, writing on behalf of Monsignor Canova, from Philippopolis on September 5, 1861, said: "Besides the fifty districts in the Province of Salonica alone have simultaneously given their adhesion to the Catholic religion, at present in the environs of Adrianople there are very numerous conversions, too, in the interior of the country. Here in the city of Philippopolis a vicar forane named Stancio, speedily sent to direct the new converts of Kazanlik, a short distance from this city, where is being built a church for them, has been converted. Our companion, D. Pietro Arabagiski, Bulgarian missionary of this our mission of Philip-

⁹ The Catholic Encyclopedia (Vol. II, art. "Bulgaria") says: "Sokolski lapsed back into schism in June, 1861." The well-known Italian periodical, conducted by the Jesuits, appears to have been better informed than the writer in the Encyclopedia, who gives no authority for his statement, for it was closer to the sources of authentic and reliable information.

¹⁰ *Civiltà Cattolica*. Correspondence from Petersburg. Series V., t. III., p. 672; August 16, 1862.

popolis, has been called to the post of Monsignor Sokolski. Cardinal Barnabo addressed a letter to him, in which he said that the Supreme Pontiff, after the defections that have taken place, having no longer any confidence in the newly converted Bulgarian ecclesiastics, begged him to come at once to Constantinople to preside over the mother church of the Bulgarian converts, enjoining him at the same time to substitute the Slav rite for the Latin rite used by him up to now in the exercise of divine worship."

The Capuchin mission had greatly enlarged its sphere of operations, embracing besides the two capitals of Sofia and Philippopolis, the stations of Aglano, Komakio, Ambarlia, Dovaulia, Selgikov, Daugior, Baltagia, Kalasclia, Gherene, Jamboli and Burgas. All these places were pleasantly situate and are now in a progressive position. Some created about the middle of 1800, and others of older foundation, were in Monsignor Canova's time the wildest under a corrupt and decadent government. Their progress is due to the influence of religion, Christian charity and the Catholic faith, thanks to the assiduous care and lofty spirit of the self-sacrificing missionaries. For all this we to-day must bless the venerable figure of Father Andrew Canova, of Garesio, and the memory of those who earnestly and zealously coöperated in the spiritual resurrection of the Bulgarian populations. The first years of his apostolate were certainly the most difficult, for the Turkish authorities, unbridled by any protecting Power and provoked by the Greco-schismatic clergy, raised up grave obstacles to the mission. But the universal esteem in which he was held on account of his virtues influenced the minds of his adversaries. The very heads of the Turkish cities and the heterodox sects began to have a great respect for the Vicar Apostolic, and the Greek Archbishop of Philippopolis himself did not think it unbecoming to pay homage to him. The great and lowly went to the good Vicar to solicit his advice in their disputes and at times of danger, and he had a good word for all, to draw them to the faith or give them a counsel based on experience and wisdom.

As to the state of the mission and the work of the Capuchins, it appears from an account sent at the close of 1859 by Father Andrew Canova to Propaganda that there were no Catholics for many years in Sofia and its vicinity because they had fled from persecution and had taken refuge in Bulgarian territory and in Rumelia. Notwithstanding that, the exercise of worship was free and continuous in all the churches. The church of Philippopolis, the centre of the mission, was enlarged, but being still narrow and poor they set their minds on building another more fitting and cap-

able of containing all the faithful. Considering then the state of the mission in 1859, it is evident that it had progressed both materially and spiritually. In fact, besides the churches and houses built in every village, the Capuchins had in Philippopolis a house for the Bishop, a second for the vicar general, a third for the male school, a fourth for the females and a hospital. In addition, in the same city was constructed a quarantine of small solidly built houses to receive poor families and a very large area for future edifices acquired from the Government. Among the church furniture was an organ built in Paris, the first introduced into Bulgaria.

"Some years before my arrival," wrote Monsignor Canova, "the Catholic religion was trampled upon by Turks and schismatics. My predecessor was led to cut the ice along with galley slaves; no missionary could wear ecclesiastical attire; no person distinctly of another communion ever honored the Vicar Apostolic with a visit. Now all the missionaries wear their respective habit. I am now honored with visits from the Pasha (Governor), grand Turks and schismatics, and when I go into their houses I am received with tokens of the most marked respect. The Catholic nation, too, now enjoys a reputation it had not in past times. They preach openly, all the practices of worship are conducted with every solemnity. In the past no Catholic knew how to read and write; now, instead, thanks to the teaching of the schools they frequent, those who have not some notion of knowledge are rare."

From what we have set forth of the very active work of Monsignor Canova, it clearly appears that the progress made since 1859 in the mission of Sofia and Philippopolis is to be attributed to the sagacious and indefatigable work of the missionary fathers, inspired solely by zeal for Christian morals and the glory of the Catholic faith rather than to political changes in European Turkey. The dream of Monsignor Canova was in great part realized. As testimonies of esteem he was the recipient from ecclesiastical and civil authorities of singular honors and decorations. After twenty-three years of a fruitful apostolate he began to feel the first strokes of the malady that in a few years was to lead him to the tomb and which he bore with tranquillity, patience and exemplary fortitude. When he saw that his system could no longer resist its progress, he went to Rome in 1864 to resign the office of Vicar Apostolic and beg permission to retire to some quiet cloister and there prepare for death. As soon as he began to express his wish to the Supreme Pontiff, the Pope, already aware of the immense good the prelate was doing in Bulgaria, and of the anxiety of missionaries and people to have him back with them, would not let him finish the sentence

and replied with his usual affability, "Monsignor, let us not speak of that." In these few words of the Head of the Church Monsignor Canova saw the expression of the will of God, humbly submitted and returned with renewed joy to his flock whom he had regretfully left, believing that in obeying he was fulfilling a conscientious duty. On the 4th of September, 1864, he was back in his mission to the great rejoicing of the Bulgarians and all his brethren. But the malady did not give him a moment's respite, and for two years more he was tortured with the greatest suffering. During its acutest phases he always gave an example of the most perfect resignation. At times his tongue, inflamed by fever, made wine unendurable, and so deprived him of the comfort of celebrating Mass. Four days before he died, although he could not keep his feet, he wanted to go to the church to say Mass for the last time. On the 15th of August, 1866, the disease conquered the resistance of the illustrious prelate and opened eternal life to his beautiful soul, purified by a very painful and protracted malady and sanctified by the constant practice of every religious virtue. So Bulgaria lost its pastor, the Capuchin Order a true disciple of the Seraphic Father St. Francis and the Church a model Bishop.

He was succeeded in the Vicariate by his vicar general, Father Francis Dominic Reynaudi, of Villafranca, who had been a fellow-student of the apostle of Africa, Cardinal Massaia,¹¹ and who was consecrated Titular Bishop of Egea at Constantinople on March 22, 1868, by Monsignor Velerga, and in 1885 promoted to the Titular Archbishopric of Staupoli. In 1872 he built the orphanage in Philippopolis, the monastery for tertiaries adjacent to it and the seminary and erected schools and a monastery in Adrianople. He will be long remembered in Bulgaria not only for his effective ministry, but for the self-sacrifice he displayed during the Russo-Turkish War, all the calamities of which he shared with his brethren, assisting the sick and dying, lavishing material and spiritual succor on those who needed them and winning the admiration of the whole people, who saw in him a consoling angel. The Turks and Bulgars being at daggers drawn in 1877, Monsignor Reynaudi,

¹¹ This most distinguished member of the Capuchin Order, Guglielmo Massala, was born on June 9, 1809, at Plova, in Piedmont, and died at Cremona on August 6, 1889. He was confessor to Victor Emmanuel, who became the first King of united Italy, and Ferdinand, Duke of Genoa. The first Vicar Apostolic of Gallas, in Abyssinia, a mission confided to the Capuchins, he was a great missionary-Bishop. A very strenuous life of thirty-five years' missionary work in Abyssinia has, at the command of the Pope, been recorded by him in a work entitled "I miei trentacinque anni de missione nell' alta Ethioopia." He had much to endure from the opposition of the schismatic Copts, and was seven times exiled, but always returned to his labors with renewed vigor.

by his authority, his affability and his mildness, often succeeded in restoring peace and preventing bloodshed. The Turks, thirsting for blood, saw with an evil eye the intervention of Europeans in their political affairs. At the close of that very year the authorities several times proposed to Monsignor Reynaudi to abandon their possessions along with all the Catholics, offering to pay all the expenses of their departure. But the Vicar, seeing in the invitation the insidious intention of removing Europeans so that they might not be witnesses of the massacre of the native Christians the Turks were planning, replied that he placed himself in the hands of Providence and that, at the cost of his life, he would never abandon his people in the moment of their greatest danger. When the massacre of the Bulgarians took place, faithful to his word, he gave heroic help to those suffering people. During the war the charity of the missionaries towards all, without distinction of race or religion, was greatly admired and highly extolled by Turks, Bulgars, Greeks and Russians. The Czar, in recognition of the services of the Capuchins to his soldiers, decorated Monsignor Reynaudi with the Cross of St. Anne. When, after the war, the European Powers sent a commission to Philippopolis to settle affairs in the Balkans, the Bishop, by his authority and his thorough local knowledge of men and things, rendered the greatest service in the solution of the grave political interests involved. Among the conclusions arrived at on the proposal of the European delegates was one that honored the religious orders. The organic statute, promulgated by Eastern Rumelia, contained the following article: "All the heads of religious communities shall possess the right of being members of the National Assembly and he who is the oldest in that office shall be the honorary president of the same until the election of the effective president." In pursuance of this law, Monsignor Reynaudi, as *doyen* of all his colleagues, was elected President of the Parliament, an office he filled worthily during three legislatures. In his speeches at the opening of the Assembly he always counseled them not to bestow so much attention upon extern or foreign politics as upon the development of agriculture and commerce, the true sources of the economic welfare of the country. His parliamentary work, wholly devoted to the well-being and moral elevation of the people, increased the esteem in which he was held by all classes of persons, not only in Bulgaria, but abroad. King Humbert, knowing the merits of this distinguished man, who by his word and work was an honor to Italy, bestowed on him in 1890 the Cross of St. Michael and St. Lazarus. In the year following (October, 4, 1891) he celebrated his missionary golden jubilee, when he was the recipient of

further honors from Ferdinand I., Prince of Bulgaria, and from France the Cross of the Legion of Honor. The blessing of the new church in Kalasclia, built by Father Samuel, of Prato, who was his vicar general for ten years, took place on this occasion, which was graced by the presence of the Prefect of Philippopolis, the French diplomatic agent in Sofia, the Austrian consul, the schismatic Bulgarian Bishop and many nobility. In 1885, when he resigned the administration of the mission to Monsignor Robert Menini, the aged prelate, being then eighty-three, retired to the quiet village of Kalasclia, where he died on the 24th of July, 1893.

Monsignor Menini has continued with increasing success the apostolic work of his predecessors in the vicariate. Two hospitals, an orphanage, three infant asylums, four colleges, new schools for the people, new residences for the missionaries and new houses for the poor bear witness to the work of the Capuchins. After thirty years in the episcopate Monsignor Menini was, in 1912, assigned a coadjutor in the person of Father (now Monsignor) Cletus, of Baltagia, who had been Commissary-Provincial of the Commissariate of the East.

The missionary activities of the Capuchins extend over a very wide range of territories in the Near East. Besides the missions in Constantinople, Sofia and Philippopolis, they have been laboring fruitfully in Cephalonia, the largest of the Ionian Islands; St. Maura, Corfu, Scio, Zante, the islands of the Levant, Smyrna, Candia or Crete, where one of the Capuchins, Father Ignatius, of Apiro, died in the odor of sanctity and where many of the brethren were persecuted and displayed great heroism, their inspiring example and indefatigable zeal producing a revival of Catholicism in the whole island; in the islands in the Ægean Sea, in Palestine, Syria, Persia, Mesopotamia, Georgia and Trebizond. They have not only had much to endure from wars, persecution, pestilence and earthquakes, but they have had to combat the subtle opposition of heretics and schismatics, for there is not, nor ever has been, a strange doctrine that has not had its followers in the East—Ebionists, Corinthians, Arians, Nestorians, Eutychians, Pelagians, Monophysites, Monothelites, Photians, etc. To dispel the darkness of inherited errors which clouded the minds of races fanatically and obstinately attached to them and shed the light of truth in souls, to revive the Christian spirit among long-oppressed peoples and elevate them morally and intellectually, called for a legion of new apostles. The Capuchins, true sons of St. Francis, have answered the call.

Along with the Capuchins the other religious orders ministering in Bulgaria are the Passionists, Marists, Assumptionists and Resur-

rectionists. The first named in the Vicariate of Sofia and Philippopolis number about thirty-one. The Coadjutor *cum jure successionis*, Monsignor Cletus Vincent Pejov, O. S. F. C., was consecrated titular Bishop of Lyrba on December 13, 1912. Another Capuchin prelate is Monsignor Francis Camillus Carrara, Vicar Apostolic of Erythroæa and Bishop of Agathopolis, a see suffragan to Adrianople.

The Catholics of Bulgaria are directly subject to the Bishop of Nicopolis, Monsignor John Theelen, C. P., who governs a Catholic population of 15,000, having his seat at Rustchuk, and the Vicar Apostolic of Sofia and Philippopolis, who has 14,880 Latin Catholics and 1,000 Greeks under his jurisdiction. Thirteen thousand of the Uniat Bulgarians remained true to the Roman Church. Thrace contains 3,000 Catholics and Macedonia 5,950 Græco-Bulgarian Catholics. The few Latin Catholics in Adrianople are dependent on the Vicar Apostolic of Constantinople, and the Greek Catholics, numbering about 4,500, on the Vicar Apostolic of Thrace.

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THE TWIN NATIONS.

WHILE the war is devastating the world and the belligerents on the one side and on the other are solemnly asserting that they fight to liberate the smaller nationalities, and while the neutral nations are agreed that freedom and independence be given to all peoples, and while democracy is getting a stronger foothold, liberty-deprived Ireland and Poland are approaching the court of justice and fair play. The struggle of Ireland and Poland to regain their rights and liberties has reached its climax in the war, from which will issue a broader acceptance of the rights and justice of individual nations.

Ireland's cause is the cause of Poland and Poland's cause is the cause of Ireland. Their joint cause is the cause of freedom and independence and—democracy. If we claim that Ireland has a right to self-existence and self-development, that this right is in keeping with her dignity as a separate nation, we assert the same of Poland. We cannot enumerate Poland's trials and triumphs, her ambitions and ideals and hopes, without enumerating those of Ireland. The struggle of Ireland, her sufferings and aspirations are one with those of Poland. Hand in hand, grown weary under the weight of centuries-old sufferings and trials, but alive to their inalienable rights, come Ireland and Poland, seeking no intervention of foreign Powers, begging no grace of their usurpers, but believing in the power of the most sacred and strongest of all rights—the right of living and self-development.

Their joint voice may not remain unheeded now when democracy, like a huge wave, is rolling over the world. The voice of Ireland and Poland is the voice of two wronged nations, which possess the strongest consciousness of their historical right and present all the essentials of youthful and energetic races, alike able and willing to labor for the betterment of humanity and the advancement of civilization.

"Twin Nations" is a fitting name to give Ireland and Poland. Though not related racially and territorially far apart, they are more alike for their religious and political life, for their genuine patriotism and their hope of a better future than any other two nations. Their sufferings were the same; their ideals are akin; both yearn to be free and independent. Their national missions were the noblest; their national trials stand in a class all of their own. Both have unjustly been accused of not being able for self-government. Both have erroneously been called turbulent people for the same obvious reason that both would at times justly rebel

against the foreign rule which would make them slaves. Their national indestructibility is phenomenal.

From the beginning the two nations entered upon a career peculiar to them alone. Their histories were not to be the histories of other nations. Their national development was to stand in total independence of that of other nations. Their common national sufferings were to win them the title of martyr nations. Their common histories have time and again been brought out in song and poetry. Historians have not failed to point out their likeness, while statesmen to-day are viewing their national development with the greatest interest.

It is interesting to note how the peculiar nature of their territories should so tend to shape the political development of the two people as to make them appear as one. The Isle of Erin, cut off from the Continent and surrounded by sea as if to guard it against foreign invasion, bears no resemblance to Poland in Central Europe, constantly exposed to the deluging inroads of the Tartar and the Turk. But yet the relation of their territories to their national missions constitute the fundamental reason for their political oneness.

God entrusted all nations with a peculiar mission. The Jews were to preserve primitive tradition; the Greeks, to realize the beautiful; the Romans, to develop the State. But Poland and Ireland were entrusted with the noblest of national missions; for Ireland was to teach the true faith and Poland to defend it. It is not hard to understand how their geographical locations determined their political careers, which were formally those of the fulfillment of their respective missions. Ireland, the teacher, could not better prepare to discharge her mission than by spending long ages in preparation in the seclusion of her territorial monastery. The Isle of Erin was a happy place for the Irish. Here they lived for themselves. Here the Irish were happily free from all that undesirable influence of thought and religion which easily found its way elsewhere. Here the Irish, unmolested, attained to a relatively high civilization long before Greece and Rome rose to intellectual prominence. Their religion was free from those pagan abominations which characterized it elsewhere. The Irish were early preparing to receive the teachings of the Redeemer, which, having once received, they never swerved from.

Ireland was territorially set apart from the rest of the world, and as a happy consequence remained free from all that undesirable influence and those hurtful fluctuations which found an easy access elsewhere. It is not hard to understand, then, the readiness and unflinching fervor with which the Irish embraced the true faith at the advent of their celebrated patron, St. Patrick. They were ripe

for the reception of Christianity, more so than any other people; for long before the Gospel was preached to them they had developed a foundation, a substratum, for Christianity.

But the influence Ireland's geographical position exerted upon her great mission is much more clearly brought out long after she had become Christian. The Irish lived for themselves; they grew accustomed to yield to no foreign influence, religious or social; for it seldom found its way to Ireland. The Irish considered that to be the best for them which they developed among themselves. Hence the Irish had shown themselves adverse to all influence of thought and religion which in other countries wrought much perversion. Hence Protestantism, which was so easily planted in the Scandinavian and in fact all the Northern countries, found no encouragement whatever among the Irish; all the persecutions they suffered failed in their end, and to-day "the Irish," as Brownson puts it, "are fulfilling an important mission in evangelizing the world."

But if Ireland's noble mission was to propagate Christianity, the equally noble mission of Poland was to defend it against the infidel. Victor Hugo could deservedly say of Poland: "While my own dear France was the missionary of civilization, Poland was its knight," and Parsons: "Just as to the sword of France the Europe of the early Middle Ages owed its escape from imminent Mussulman domination, so does modern Europe owe to Poland the great fact that she is not to-day either Turkish or Muscovite," and "Poland during her preëminent existence repelled ninety-two Tartar invasions, any one of which, if successful, would have at least jeopardized the existence of European civilization." Poland's mission was no less determined by territorial position than was that of Ireland. Unlike Ireland, Poland could not spend long ages in preparation, for Central Europe was the very hotbed of never-ceasing migration of nations.

Poland's appearance among the family of nations was surprisingly sudden and in keeping with her national mission. Two hostile powers were developing: Christianity in the West and Infidelism in the Southeast. Either meant to destroy the other—the crush was becoming inevitable—the time was fast approaching when the two would enter a death-life struggle. It was Poland's mission to stand between them and keep them apart.

In the ninth century Poland was first heard of as a kingdom. In the same century she received Christianity. In the eleventh century, under the indomitable Chrobry, Poland had already risen to a dominant power, ready to undertake the arduous task of her mission—to defend Christendom against the Hun, the Tartar and the Turk. Poland rose at once—she could not undergo a long process of de-

velopment as did Ireland—her mission was of an instantaneous nature. The need of warding off the East from the West was growing imminent, and Poland was called upon to perform the task.

The political life of the two countries had admittedly been a singular one. It stands in complete independence of that of other nations. A mere summary of their histories establishes a political parallel peculiar to them alone. Both Poland and Ireland were independent nations. Both enjoyed their own constitutional laws, both were settling their own affairs and lived a happy and contented people. If Poland rose to greater political preëminence it was perhaps because her mission demanded that she should occupy a prominent place among the family of European nations. Had Poland not been a powerful kingdom she would not have been able efficaciously to stay the surging waves of the Turkish deluge. The mission with which Ireland was entrusted was not of a nature to require Ireland to rise to a political preëminence equal to that of Poland. She was to be the modest teacher rather than the indomitable warrior commanding the respect of the Eastern barbarians. Later the two nations became overwhelmed by a superior force and subjugated, and the foreign yoke has since weighed on them. They were both on the verge of extinction, their usurpers trying every possible means to denationalize them. If the impious motto, "*Divide et Impera*," has ever been employed by a usurper with a view to suppressing a people, it was against Poland and Ireland. Still the two nations, while they have preserved their faith pure and their nationality distinct, are possessed of a virulent vital force together with a racial coherence that is surprising. They are each a nation or rather resurrecting nation commanding universal respect. Perhaps there is only this difference in the history of the two people, that Ireland entered upon her political career first; Ireland came first into political being; she became subjugated long before the subjugation of Poland had taken place, and to-day her persecutions suffer a notable relax. Poland followed Ireland's political career all along, only Poland to-day is as yet Ireland groaning under the Penal Laws.

There are no other two nations whose rights were more inhumanely trampled upon. When England took possession of Ireland it would seem that Ireland should have been given considerations such as are at least due to a tributary country. What should it matter to England what religion the Irish professed—what language they spoke, what national customs they followed and jealously guarded? England could rule over Ireland without interfering with these their God-given rights. Ireland could have been allowed polit-

ical consideration that would be in conformity with her dignity as a separate nation.

When the Irish asserted to Henry VIII. their God-given right of continuing a separate people and refused to sanction the acts of their leaders proclaiming the inviolability of their country and rose against their usurper, they were declared rebels and traitors and dealt with accordingly. Queen Elizabeth invented new means for bringing about a speedy annihilation of the Irish. Elizabeth's "Protestant Plantations," Cromwell's war of extermination—these were the measures which, while they thrill with horror the reader of the Irish history of that time, make one justly wonder why the Irish race should have survived it all and presented for all ages an admirable example of the cohesive strength and indestructibility of a race. Then came the Penal Laws, which were a prototype of the Expropriation Act Prussia enacted against the Poles in 1908, and which, though apparently prohibiting the natives from obtaining land into possession, were ultimately meant to make a total wreck of the people. The Irish were exiles on their own soil, and Prendergast could fitly ask: "Had they not a right to live on their own soil?" A veritable parody on the national rights of a people! But yet what more wonderful than that the Irish should have survived the very maelstrom of anti-Irish measures and establish the strongest antecedent of the national integrity of a people?

No nation has been nearer the verge of a total extinction. And yet, though apparently crushed by the tyranny of Cromwell, though deprived for ages of what is considered the basis of nationality—self-government—the Irish rose superior to every measure of their adversary, and to-day they exhibit an exuberant individuality, a distinct national character, a unanimity of feeling, devotedness to principle and love for country and religion. All the centuries of blood and misery failed to destroy their national spirit and rob them of their religion. If all the persecution succeeded in accomplishing anything, it made them one—it united them—it developed among them, together with an extraordinary love for their religion, a deep love for their martyr country. They are being born to a new independent national life.

Poland reiterates Ireland's history. After a splendid political career of nine centuries, Poland, like another Ireland, had been shorn of self-government and subjugated for no other reason than because such impious course would help advance the interests of her selfish neighbors. The whole policy of Poland's usurpers was in its end that of England against Ireland—to wipe out every vestige of national life in Poland. Poland was with them a conquered

country, and the maxim, "To the victor belongs the spoils of war," was applied to her most rigorously. Poland, like another Ireland, has been dealt with without any regard to her religious or national rights, and when in all justness she rose in vindication of her sacred rights she was declared a rebellious country. The Poles who rose in defense of their national rights suffered the fate of the patriotic Irish after their surrender at Limerick and after they rose against England and gallantly fought for freedom at Athlone and Aughrim. If Ireland's defeats were followed by an age of gloom, so were those of Poland. The course which Russia and Prussia adopted towards Poland after her insurrections failed would have no parallel in history for oppression were it not for the sufferings which were inflicted upon Ireland.

"Had the Irish followed the English as a nation," says Thebaud in his "History of Ireland," "Elizabeth would not have made war on them or introduced her plantations." No doubt, could Poland act on the injunction of Alexander II., "that the happiness of Poland depends on the entire fusion with the rest of my empire," Russia would not have attempted to destroy her Polish subjects. But, unfortunately, this they could not do. They constituted separate and distinct nationalities, whose "character," as Thebaud puts it, "once established cannot be eradicated without an almost total disappearance of the people." They possessed a religion separate and antagonistic to that of their usurpers. They realized the inward feeling of their national dignity. They had a soul—a consciousness of their own. Neither the Polish nor the Irish could any more discard their nationality than they could disavow their religion; for these constituted the very essence of the Irish and the Polish. The very idea of despoiling them of their ideals was as unreasonable and impious as it was impossible. The only alternative, if considered without reference to morality, that lay in the hands of Poland's usurpers was either to let them alone or kill them off.

Ireland and Poland are in spirit opposed to the Powers which took upon themselves to dominate them. This fact, while it was much responsible for their natural suffering, proved a strong factor in saving them from becoming assimilated. The two nations are an agricultural rather than a commercial people. They are radically opposed to the lust of power and world domination. Neither Ireland nor Poland had in their long record of history wronged or oppressed any nation. Neither had as much as attempted to rob any people of their sacred birthright of liberty. They had never raised their sword in an unjust cause. If Ireland and Poland ever unsheathed their swords, it was not to extend their power, to subjugate peoples,

to carry aggressive warfare, but it was in the highest, the holiest and best of causes—the freedom of peoples and their own freedom, the altar of God and the altar of the nation!

Ireland and Poland had never shown autocratic tendencies. They led a communal life. They had their kings, but they were really presidents elected by the people. They were the most democratic nations in their time. They had their civilization based on law ennobled and made rich by their native genius and the culture of a free people.

The Irish and the Polish are a liberty-loving people. Where liberty demands a service there the Irish and the Polish are invariably found. Their common cause is the cause of freedom. Their uprisings had this single objective—to regain their freedom and independence, of which they had been deprived.

There has been an accusation heaped alike on the Irish as on the Polish, unjust as it is unreasonable, that they are not able for self-government; that they are turbulent people; that they are little disposed to compromise; that they seem to lack that mutual compromise which characterizes other people and which is a necessary asset to order and a continuous existence of self-government—that the Irish and the Polish are better off to continue a subject people.

A more unjust accusation has never been made against any people. Have the Irish and the Polish not actually governed, and governed well? Is their subjection consequent upon their inability to self-govern, or is perhaps the “alleged” inability to govern self consequent upon their subjection? Had the Irish not creditably governed self before England imposed her laws on them, or had the Polish not being a self-governing people prior to the Partitions? The Irish had laws with power to enforce them. They had their chiefs and their judges and the people respected them. There was peace and mutual concession among them then. They were a most peaceful people. The Brehon laws rivaled the Justinian code. Poland, too, had her laws and her republican government for nine centuries. The Poles were a law abiding people. The laws of Casimir the Great were known for their equity and fittingness. The Constitution of the 3d of May stands to this day a most perfect charter of the liberties of people. Let Ireland be restored her government and she will, as of old, not only be able to self-govern, but to serve an example to other people. Let Poland become free and she will continue to preach her gospel of democracy and be a bulwark against the rampant lust for world power.

Just why should Poland and Ireland be the most persecuted and ill-governed countries under heaven; why they should have been

denied religious freedom; denied their very national life; why they should have been doomed to extinction without effective protest on the part of other nations we will yet have to learn. But what we have learned about them is this: that no matter what persecution and annihilative measures are yet in store for them, they shall not yield one iota of their faith and nationality—their very national soul. They have stood proof against all destructive hurricanes, hardened and rendered indestructible by long ages of persecution.

No other two histories stand forth so conspicuous for their likeness as do those of Ireland and Poland. If Ireland had her Elizabeth, Poland had her Catherine. If Ireland had her Henry VIII., Poland had her Bismarck. If Ireland had her deportations, Poland had them after her uprisings. If Ireland groaned under the Penal Laws which tended to make a total wreck of the people, Poland is suffering under the abject expropriation act, which is the last alternative of Germany to destroy the Polish race.

Ireland is fitly called the "Isle of Saints." Perhaps no nation sent so many missionaries into foreign lands and more strongly adhered to the principles of faith than the gallant Irish nation. Poland has earned her epithet, the "Bulwark of Christendom," in her struggles against Asiatic races. Poland gave birth to a gallantry of knights that are seldom found amidst other peoples—not the Cæsar or Napoleon type, but true Christian knights who fought not to inflict pain, but to relieve mankind of suffering. Chrobry, Henry the Pious, Sobieski and Kosciuszko were soldiers who fought, not in self-interest, but for the good of humanity at large.

But it is their wonderful national indestructibility that makes them alike more than anything else. No other two nations have been nearer the verge of total extinction. But though apparently crushed by tyranny and aggressive measures, though for ages deprived of what is considered the basis of nationality, self-government, the Irish and the Polish to-day exhibit an exuberant individuality, a distinct national character, a unanimity of feeling, a devotedness to principle and love for country and religion.

Nothing succeeded in blighting their nationality. To-day the Irish and the Polish are numerically stronger than they ever had been. They exhibit an energizing vitality which evidences itself in the vigorous growth of mental and spiritual life, and if all the nefarious measures which have been launched against them ever since their downfall accomplished anything, they consolidated them into insuperable bodies. They enkindled in them a love for their country and made them strongly patriotic. All the persecutions which Poland and Ireland suffered produced the very opposite

effect from the one intended by their usurpers. They made the Polish more Polish and Irish more Irish. If the Irish to-day possess their individuality as distinct as though they were ruled by the O'Neil dynasty, only that they are imbued with the greatest unity of feeling and devotedness to principles, the Polish to-day are certainly the very same as when ruled by the Piast dynasty, by Chrobry the Great, Batory and Sobieski the Mighty. They are the very same as they were when they made that gallant fight for freedom and independence under Kosciuszko. True, Ireland and Poland are not recognized as national units and lack all the externals of a government, but if a nation is, as a writer in the *North American Review* (Vol. CXV., p. 389) puts it, "a race of men, small or great, whom community of traditions and feeling binds together into a firm and indestructible unity and whose love of the same past directs their hopes and fears to the same future," then both Ireland and Poland are still two great nations of the world.

Their glorious histories are ever present to their minds; no misfortune will break down and dishearten them. They are full of bright anticipations. They think of the resurrection of their countries, Ireland to-day would be recreant to her past if she did not feel for Poland, so often called the Ireland of the East. Irishmen would not be the chivalrous and brave race were they not to welcome a free and independent Poland, as Poles would not be the lovers of freedom were they not to rejoice when Ireland has been declared free.

A. J. ZIELINSKI.

WOMEN SCHOLARS OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

THIS brief paper may be prefaced at the outset by stating that the women scholars of the Middle Ages were preëminently the "religious," the nuns, the women who, flying from the distractions, snares, temptations or pleasures of the world to the secure refuge of the convents, employed their leisure moments, few as they were in many cases, in the labors of the schools, in studying the Bible, the histories of the saints and the masterpieces of Greek and Latin literature, which owed their preservation to the loving and intelligent care of the inmates of the monasteries. Not only did these pious women study, but they imparted their knowledge to others, and thus helped to keep the torch of learning alight through all the vicissitudes of war and the constant change of rulers or of dynasties with all their attendant circumstances, whether for good or evil.

To quote a writer, Maitland, who has made an exhaustive study of these same Middle Ages, which roughly speaking may be said to have lasted for one thousand years, from the fifth to the end of the fifteenth century: "It is impossible to get even a superficial knowledge of the mediæval history of Europe without seeing how greatly the world of that period was indebted to the monastic orders and feeling that, whether they were good or bad in other matters, monasteries were beyond all price in those days of misrule and turbulence, as places where, it may be imperfectly, but yet better than elsewhere, God was worshiped, as a quiet and religious refuge for helpless infancy and old age, a shelter of respectful sympathy for the orphan maiden and the desolate widow, as central points whence agriculture was to spread over bleak hills and barren downs and marshy plains, and deal bread to millions perishing with hunger and its pestilential train, as repositories of the learning which then was, and well-springs for the learning which was to be, as nurseries of art and science, giving the stimulus, the means and the reward to invention, and aggregating around them every head that could devise and every hand that could execute." In fine, the monasteries were the great missionary, civilizing and educational centres of the world.

In special reference to women it has well been said by another writer in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* that: "The institution of monachism was the only corrective in the Middle Ages of those habits and ideas which tended to degrade women. The cloister was not alone the single secure shelter for women who had no strong arm to rely on, but it provided the only alternative profession to

marriage, and that one recognized by public opinion as of even higher distinction, and opening to women positions of substantial rank and authority, less precarious than the possession of real estate, which might only serve to attract cupidity and so invite attack. The abbess of a great Benedictine house was more than the equal of any, save the wife of a very great noble, and as single women were not obliged to look to wedlock as the only path to safety, they were more likely to mate on equal terms, and less likely to be viewed as the mere slaves or toys of the stronger sex."

This is looking at the matter in its mere worldly aspect, but the chief point to be noticed in connection with the religious women of the Middle Ages is the fact that the all-paramount reason for their entering convents was that they might serve God more perfectly than they could do in the world. That always has been and is the cause that impels women to embrace the religious life.

Naturally, among the great numbers of nuns who were noted for their scholarly attainments the names of some stand out more prominently than others, like, for instance, that of Dame Juliana Berners, a nun of Hertfordshire, prioress she was of Sopewell Nunnery, near St. Albans. Lady Juliana was of a distinguished family, her father, Sir James Berners, having been of sufficient importance to be beheaded in May, 1388, during the reign of Richard II. Old chronicles report the prioress as being very beautiful and high spirited and also extremely fond of the chase. Indeed, no species of sport seemed to come amiss to the Lady Juliana. These characteristics, however, would scarcely entitle her to a place among the scholars were it not that she was the first woman who is known to have written English verse. In fact, she is claimed as the first woman writer in the English language. She wrote three rhyming treatises on "Hawking, Hunting, Fishing with an Angle" and "Coat Armour," which were published in 1486 under the title "Boke of St. Albans." It would seem these were rather singular subjects for the prioress of a nunnery to expatiate upon, but as an old writer quaintly remarked: "Amongst the many solaces of human life she held the sports of the field in great estimation, and was desirous of conveying these arts by her writings to the youth as the first elements of nobility."

The prioress of Sopewell Nunnery, however, came rather late in the Middle Ages, and long before she penned her English rhymes there were other scholarly religious women in other English religious houses. Back in the early years of the seventh century stands out in wonderful prominence the figure of St. Hilda, abbess of Whitby, the Saxon woman whose life is so intimately connected with that of the early English Church and early English literature,

and who was of the royal family of Northumbria and grandniece of Edwin, the first Christian king. St. Hilda founded the famous Abbey of Whitby about 657 and ruled with rare ability over a double community of monks and nuns that gathered around her, for in some of the orders of the Church these double monasteries were to be found, and it was the usual thing for the abbess to exercise the chief authority. All accounts agree that St. Hilda was a just, a wise and a prudent ruler. Learned herself, she encouraged learning in others. Pious to a degree, she fostered piety in those under her charge. Burning with zeal for the conversion of those living in darkness, she sent forth missionaries and Bishops, bearing the light of faith to distant countries. Wise in counsel, she was the adviser of the great ones of the land, kings and Bishops and princes, who sought to benefit by her wisdom. When Caedmon the cowherd, the "Father of Anglo-Saxon Poetry," first began to repeat his inspired verses it was the Abbess Hilda who encouraged him, gave him opportunities for education, and made him translate the Bible into Anglo-Saxon, and Caedmon, the precursor of Milton, sang before the abbess of the "Revolt of Satan" a thousand years earlier than the author of "Paradise Lost" penned his immortal work, and his verse, the earliest Anglo-Saxon metrical work in existence, may still be admired even when placed side by side with the great modern epic. When St. Hilda died in 680 her communities mourned as for the loss of a mother, and even to our own days were there churches bearing her name in some of the English towns. At Whitby the tradition lingered long that on a summer forenoon, when the sun shone in the highest window of the north part of the abbey, the figure of St. Hilda could be discerned, and so inseparably was the name of the famous abbess associated with the place where she exercised her beneficent sway for so many years, that the ammonites, the fossil shell formations closely resembling a coiled serpent, are called St. Hilda's snakes, from an old popular belief that St. Hilda changed snakes into stones. These fossils were found in great abundance near the old monastery and are still to be seen on the rocks nearby. Scott in one of his poems alludes to the old tradition:

"Of thousand snakes, each one was changed into a coil of stone
When Holy Hilda prayed."

It is absolutely impossible to crowd into the limits of a brief sketch any account of the numbers of Anglo-Saxon nuns who distinguished themselves as scholars. Every convent contributed its quota; daughters of kings studied and worked and prayed side by

side with the humble peasant girl, all devoutly observing the rule—work, pray, study. A more or less active correspondence seems to have been engaged in by many of these learned nuns with their contemporaries. Indeed, oftentimes great saints like St. Boniface or St. Bernard depended on these learned and pious women for aid in their labors. They often asked, and were never refused, to have portions of the Scriptures copied for them; thus St. Boniface entreated the Abbess Edburge to send him the Epistles of St. Paul written in letters of gold, to inspire worldly men with the greater respect. Sometimes they asked for the vestments needed in the offices of the Church, for the illuminated missals which so many of the nuns were proficient in decorating, and even for assistance in their missionary labors. Some of these quaint old letters have been preserved and form most attractive reading. Among the correspondents of St. Boniface, the Apostle of Germany, for instance, was "St. Lioba, the well-beloved," an Anglo-Saxon nun of Wimbourne. Lioba closes a letter to St. Boniface with "four lines of verse curious from their rhymed hexameters, which read thus in English:

"The Almighty Judge who in His Father's realms
Created all and shines with endless light,
May He in glory reign and thee preserve
In everlasting glory and delight."

Lioba introduces these verses with a letter, of which a few paragraphs may be quoted:

"I ask your clemency to recollect the friendship which some time ago you had for my father. His name was Tinne, he lived in the western parts and died about eight years ago. I beg you not to refuse to offer up prayers to God for his soul. My mother also desires to be remembered to you; her name is Ebba. She is related to you and lives now very laboriously, and has been long oppressed with great infirmity. I am the only daughter of my parents, and I wish, though I am unworthy, that I may deserve to have you for my brother, because in none of the human race have I so much confidence as in you. I have endeavored to compose these under written verses, according to the discipline of poetical tradition, not confident with boldness but desiring to excite the rudiments of your elegant mind and wanting your help. I learnt this art from the tuition of Eadburga, who did not cease to meditate the sacred law. Farewell, live long and happy and pray for me." Then follow the four poetical lines, a poetical ending being quite usual in letters of the period.

Lioba is certainly a most attractive personality. She was noted

for her profound learning and intimate acquaintance with the Scriptures, for she is said to have committed the whole Bible to memory. She is described as of great beauty, but exceedingly humble and of such zeal and fervor of spirit that she was a valuable auxiliary to St. Boniface in the conversion of the warlike German nation. The most noted figure in the Irish Church after St. Patrick was undoubtedly the nun St. Bridget, and she must, to quote the renowned Celtic scholar, Dr. Douglas Hyde, have attained her preëminence by "sheer ability and intellectuality." It is recorded that when St. Bridget decided to embrace the religious life she retired to a lonely part of her father's territory and founded a little oratory near an oak tree, whence the name Kildare, from "cill-dara," the "church of the oak." The small oratory under the shadow of the branching oak soon grew into a mighty institution, and two considerable establishments grew up, one for women and one for men. Long before St. Bridget's death, about 525, a regular city and a great school had arisen around her oak tree.

The monks and scholars at Kildare seem to have given much attention to decorative art and produced most beautiful results in chalices, shrines, bells and various other articles. The transcriptions and illumination of manuscripts were also carried on at Kildare. The abbess took great delight in this work and employed many scribes, superintending their labors herself. One of the books thus transcribed and decorated, "The Four Gospels," was preserved at Kildare as its greatest treasure for hundreds of years. St. Bridget wrote several treatises on the "Ascetic Life," a "Rule" for her nuns, a "Letter to St. Aidan" dissuading him from traveling, and the treatise "Quiver of Divine Love." Three of these compositions were known to be in existence as late as 1647. A poem written in Irish and ascribed to St. Bridget is said to have been extant until very recently.

Germany was also rich in the possession of learned religious women, and one of the most celebrated was Hrotswitha, the "White Rose of Gandersheim," who occupies a notable position in the history of European literature. Gandersheim was a Benedictine monastery, and only ladies of German birth were privileged to become inmates. Its school was famous and "the course of study included Latin, Greek, the philosophy of Aristotle and the liberal arts." One of its abbesses won fame in her day as a logician, and her treatise on logic was highly thought of by her contemporaries. It is the nun Hrotswitha, however, who conferred on the convent its greatest celebrity, for she was the first German poetess and the first dramatist since the Roman epoch. Hrotswitha, born in 940, was educated at the convent school of Gandersheim and entered the

convent itself as a nun some years after. She was an industrious writer and left behind her a number of poems and dramas which have excited the wonder and admiration of students of literature for generations. The poems, eight in number, deal with various religious subjects, some being taken from the life of our Lord and others from the legends of the saints. Her "*Carmen de Gestes Oddonis*" was an epic following somewhat the great Roman model. When finished, Hrotswitha presented it to the old Emperor and his son Otho II. About one-half of this life of Otho the Great is still in existence.

Another important work of the versatile Hrotswitha was a poem in hexameters narrating the story of the beginning of her own convent and its history up to the year 919. It is on her plays, however, that her fame as an author rests. They were, evidently, to quote a writer on German literature, "devised on the simple plan that the world, the flesh and the devil should not have all the good plays to themselves." It has been said that "these plays form the visible bridge between the few earlier attempts to utilize the classical drama forms for Christian purposes and the miracle plays," and, again, "they are undoubtedly the production of genius and have not missed the usual tribute of the supposition that Shakespeare borrowed from the writings of the "Nun of Gandersheim." The plays are founded on sacred legends, one being that of Theophilus, the mediæval Faust. It is considered of the first importance that Hrotswitha gave these legends the dramatic form as in a similar manner Shakespeare dramatized tales. The dramas are seven in number and are in the style of Terence and are said to "afford incidental evidence of her perfect familiarity with the sciences of music, astronomy and dialects as then taught in the schools." The plays are short, abound in rapid action, constant change of scene and lively dialogue. The speeches are never dull, too long and the piety never dull or wearisome. All critics seem to be practically unanimous in thus characterizing these unique compositions, and it is noted that "many varieties of the latter drama were foreshadowed in her work."

"*Gallicanus*," for instance, is an historical tragedy in two parts, in which the contrast is shown in a striking manner between a Christian and a heathen emperor, the respective rulers being Constantine and Julian the Apostate. In "*Dulcitus*" are seen many of the elements of the modern comedy. "*Abraham*" is the precursor of the modern sentimental drama. "*Callimachus*" is an example of a love tragedy with a curious likeness in some portions to "*Romeo and Juliet*." These lively little plays were written to supplant the plays of Terence and to enforce the duty of purity

of life, which Terence made so light of, and are essentially the "drama with a purpose." With all her genius and scholarly attainments the "Nun of Gandersheim" was unaffectedly humble and unassuming, ascribing her gifts to the goodness of God and taking the lesson to heart that the more God gives so much the more should He be loved and adored.

Her first book of "Poems" was thus prefaced: "Here is a little book, simple in style, though it has cost the writer no small trouble and application. I offer it to the criticism of those kind judges who are disposed rather to put an amateur right than to find fault with him. For I willingly acknowledge that it contains many errors as well against the rules of composition as those of prosody; but methinks one who frankly confesses her defects merits to meet with a ready pardon and a friendly correction." Hrotswitha then ingenuously continues: "It has been alone and unaided that I have produced my little work, in my rustic solitude far from the help of the learned, by dint of repeated composition and corrections." Then after paying a loyal tribute to the Abbesses Richardis and Gerberga, who had been her instructors, she concludes by saying: "Although the art of making verse is difficult, especially for a woman, I have ventured, trusting to the Divine aid, to treat the subjects of this book in heroic verse. My only object in this labor has been to prevent the feeble talent committed to my care from growing rusty." In the epistle prefixed to her prose writings Hrotswitha acknowledges the praises showered on her by the learned with unaffected simplicity. "I cannot sufficiently wonder," she says, "that you who are so well versed in philosophy should judge the humble work of a simple woman worthy of your commendation. But when in your charity you congratulate me it is the Dispenser of that grace which works in me that you praise;" and again: "I rejoice from my heart to see God and His grace praised in me, but I fear lest men should think me greater than I am, for left to my own strength I should know nothing." The White Rose of Gandersheim wrote in the Latin of the tenth century, and it was not until the beginning of the twelfth that the name of the Nun Ava stands out as that of the first woman to write verse in German. Three religious poems are ascribed to her in which she describes the Seven Gifts of the Holy Ghost communicated to men, the appearance of Antichrist at the end of the world and the Last Judgment.

In this same twelfth century the Abbess Hervada wrote an "Encyclopedia," certainly a most comprehensive piece of scholarship. Also during this period flourished St. Hildegard, a nun who

was of great importance in the history of mediæval mysticism. St. Hildegard was a friend of St. Bernard of Clairvaux and exerted a powerful influence over her contemporaries by her piety, her learning and her intimate knowledge of public affairs. Among her correspondents were Popes and emperors, who sought her wise counsel. She was a voluminous writer, "Letters and Exhortations," "Exposition of the Rule of St. Benedict," "Lives of Various Saints" and "Expositions or Explanations of the Athanasian Creed" being some of her best known works.

There is a long array of scholar nuns to be noted, like Ebba of Coldingham, learned and saintly; Walburga, niece of St. Boniface; Hildelida of Barking; St. Frideswida, foundress of the monastery which in later times developed into Christ Church, Oxford, and Radegunde, queen and saint, who was not only learned herself, but the patron of learning in others and the friend of that Fortunatus who composed the hymn "Vexilla Regis," still sung in the Church. Queens and women of noble birth were found in the cloister in England, in Spain, in Scotland, in Sweden, where Bridget the Princess founded in 1344 the Order of Brigittines and wrote her "Revelations," known and admired by those aspiring to perfection in the spiritual life; in France, where Agnes d'Harcourts was abbess of the celebrated Convent of Longchamps, founded in 1261 by Isabella, sister of Louis IX., saint and king. Agnes was made abbess in 1263, and before her death in 1291 had contributed to the literature of France her "Life of Isabella," written with such charming simplicity of style that it was considered one of the most valuable works of early French writers. The Abbey of Longchamps up to the time of the Revolution of 1789 possessed the original manuscript of this "Life," written, possibly by Agnes herself, with the greatest care on a roll of vellum.

Italy, of course, was rich in scholar nuns, and perhaps the most celebrated, the best known of all these learned and pious cloistered women of the Middle Ages, was St. Catharine of Siena, who lived in the last half of the fourteenth century. Born in 1347 and taking the habit of a nun in 1366, she was distinguished above all the women of her time for her austerities, fervent charity and devotion. The literary work of St. Catharine is comprised in her "Letters" and her "Revelations." The "Letters" were addressed to Popes, Cardinals, Bishops, kings, princes, political bodies, corporations and private individuals, for she was so renowned for her wisdom and extraordinary piety that there were few public affairs of importance that did not engage the attention of this devout and humble nun. The history of the time could almost be written

from her letters, dealing as they did with the great historical events of her day, and which show so plainly that she had a marked and salutary influence on public questions. Thus she was mainly instrumental in inducing Pope Gregory XI. to return to Rome and reëstablish the Pontifical See in that city after its seventy years' sojourn in Avignon. During the pestilence of 1374 her efforts to alleviate the sufferings of the plague-smitten people were unceasing. Called upon to reconcile enemies, to bring peace to warring factions, to exhort sinners to repentance, St. Catharine never hesitated, never faltered in the work she was set to perform.

The account of her visions, her spiritual communings, her "Revelations" was written down by her biographer, Blessed Raymond of Capua. Her printed works are a "Treatise on Providence" six treatises in form of a "Dialogue," "A Discourse on the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin," and some three hundred and sixty-four "Letters." Much has been written concerning the works of St. Catharine in their purely literary aspect, and from the vast volume of criticism a few extracts may be made to show the esteem in which they are held. "This mass of writing has for several centuries enjoyed a high reputation, and of the praise bestowed by Italian critics much refers to the style and diction." Another writes especially concerning the "Letters" and "Treatises:" "Written at a time when the language fresh from the hands of Dante, of Petrarch and of Boccaccio was still in its infancy, and in a city at all times celebrated for the purity of its vernacular, they have by common consent of Italian scholars taken rank as one of the acknowledged classics of the language." The philological excellence of St. Catharine's writings, however, is the least part of the praise bestowed upon her as an author. Her moving eloquence, exalted piety, noble sentiments and sound argumentation all come in for their due meed of praise.

In the search for definite data concerning the religious scholars of the Middle Ages it has been interesting to notice the high position held by women and the important fact that a woman was not considered incapable by reason of sex of exercising authority over great institutions made up of both men and women. For a number of centuries the rule held sway that in double communities the abbess, as at Kildare and Whitby, or the canoness, as at Fonteraud, was the superior. In Burton's "History of Scotland," in a paragraph treating of the Irish system of Church government, it is stated: "Women had great influence among them. There was in that peculiar Church a dignitary called a co-arb. It is difficult to assign his place . . . but it is clear, however, that the

co-arb was a greater person than a Bishop, and some of the co-arbs were women. In Kildare the co-arb was always a woman."

This custom evidently lasted for centuries, especially in some of the Benedictine foundations and in communities under the rule of the Brigittines. The canoness of Fonteraud was superior general of both communities, and Fonteraud was one of the most important of French convents. Founded in 1100, to it were princesses of the blood royal sent to be educated, and it was in existence up to the time of the French Revolution. Accounts agree with great unanimity as to the wise and capable management of these double communities governed by women, which, though united under one head, yet maintained a strictly exclusive separate existence. In looking back to those far-off times, when the sword was in daily use and might made right, it is cheering to note that the progress that came slowly but surely was due in great measure to the loving, unselfish and enlightened scholar nuns of the Middle Ages.

JANE CAMPBELL.

THE TESTIMONY OF JOSEPHUS TO THE HISTORIC REALITY OF CHRIST.

THE futile attempts of Drews, Smith and a few other writers on Christian origins to relegate the personality of Christ to the airy region of myth have revived interest in the early Christian evidences drawn from non-Christian sources. Of these the best known, if not the most important, is the testimony of Josephus.

Flavius Josephus was born in Jerusalem, in the year 37 A. D. He lived till after the close of the century, the exact date of his death being unknown. He belonged to one of the first priestly families of the nation. He was carefully instructed after the Jewish fashion of the day, and became conspicuous for his knowledge of Jewish history and of Jewish law. In his early youth he made trial of the three chief sects among his people, and having gone even so far as to live for months in the desert, under the spiritual direction of a Jewish hermit, he cast his lot with the Pharisees. In the year 63 he went to Rome to secure the release of some friends, who on slight pretext had been thrown in prison, and whom Felix, very likely at the time he held St. Paul in bonds, had sent to Rome to plead their cause before Cæsar. On the way he narrowly escaped death by shipwreck. Having succeeded in his errand, in large part through the friendly influence of the Empress Poppæa, he returned to Jerusalem, where he exercised with distinction the office of priest. He seems to have been a prominent member of the Sanhedrin. Not long afterwards the beginnings of the disastrous revolt against Rome made themselves felt in Judea and Galilee. Josephus was deputed by the Sanhedrin to repair to the latter country and to try to pacify the rebellious factions. Finding his efforts vain, he allowed himself to be carried along by the popular movement, and accepted the office of commander of the Galilean forces.

The invasion of the country by the Roman army soon followed. At the head of several thousand soldiers, Josephus took refuge in the fortified village of Jotapata, and there withstood a siege of forty-seven days. When it succumbed to the repeated assaults of the Romans, he was taken from his place of hiding and brought before Vespasian. The Roman general and his son, Titus, were placated by his address and polished manners, and were led to treat him with a leniency rarely shown in those days to a vanquished foe. After a period of easy captivity, he was released from

his chains and became their companion and interpreter. In this capacity he was a witness of the terrible siege and destruction of his native city. When the war was ended he went to Rome with the victors and there lived in comfort for the rest of his days. Vespasian made him a Roman citizen, gave him a yearly pension and placed at his disposal an apartment in the house he had occupied before he was raised to the throne.

Josephus did not apostatize from the religion of his fathers. He remained in sympathy a Jew. In his works he is ever ready to vindicate Jewish rites and Jewish customs. But at the same time he did not scruple to associate with Gentiles in a way that no strict Jew could tolerate, and he managed to win and preserve the friendship of the rich and powerful in Rome. It was doubtless owing to this fondness for the conquerors of his nation that the great run of the Jews hated him as a renegade.

Besides his autobiography and his defense of the Jews against the aspersions of Apion, two great historical works have come from his pen. One of these, the "History of the Jewish War," composed in 78 A. D., was dedicated to his benefactors, Vespasian and Titus. They highly praised its accuracy, as did also Herod and Agrippa II. In the year 93 or 94 he published his greatest work, the "Jewish Antiquities," in which he set forth an apologetic history of the Jewish people and the Jewish religion from the beginning down to the year 66 A. D. It was highly esteemed by the Romans, for whom it was especially written.

Josephus was thus a contemporary of the Apostles in their later years and of the younger generation that succeeded them. Living in Jerusalem and educated as a Jewish priest, he must have become thoroughly acquainted with the ever-growing sect of the hated Christians and with the main outlines of the public life of Christ. He doubtless knew personally members of the Sanhedrin that condemned Christ. In the eighteenth book of his "Antiquities" he speaks sympathetically of John the Baptist, and states that his cruel death under Herod was thought by some to have been divinely avenged through the defeat of the king's army in his war with Aretas, whose daughter Herod had married and basely repudiated in favor of Herodias. (B. XVIII., ch. v., no. 2.) In the twentieth book he tells how the insolent high priest Ananus, to the grief and indignation of the better class of citizens, caused to be put to death "James, the brother of Jesus who was called the Christ." (B. XX., ch. xix., no 1.)¹ Hence there is little room for doubt that Josephus was acquainted with the main features of the

¹ Josephus was living in Jerusalem when this event took place, 61 A. D.

story of Christ and with the chief events that followed upon his death.

Now, in the eighteenth book of the "Antiquities" is a paragraph that sums up briefly the story of Christ. (B. XVIII., ch. cxxxi., no. 3.) Eusebius, in his "Church History," book the first, chapter the eleventh, cites it word for word, along with Josephus' account of St. John the Baptist. It runs as follows: "And there lived at that time Jesus, a wise man, if indeed it be proper to call Him a man; for He was a doer of extraordinary works, and a teacher of such men as are eager to accept what is true. And He drew to Himself many of the Jews and many also of the Greek nation. He was the Christ. When Pilate, on the accusation of the leading men among us, condemned Him to the Cross, those who first came to love Him did not fall away; for He appeared to them alive again on the third day, the divine prophets having told these and a thousand (literally ten thousand) other marvelous things about Him. Even till now the tribe of Christians named after Him has not come to an end." Eusebius deemed this testimony sufficiently important to insert it also in his "Demonstratio Evangelica" ("Proof of the Christian Religion"), book the third, chapter the fifth.

Three different views have been taken of this interesting passage. one that it is genuine, another that it is a forgery, and the third that it is partly genuine, the original having been retouched by an unknown Christian hand.

The view that it is genuine prevailed from the time of Eusebius down to the sixteenth century. A few generations ago it had the approval of many scholars, among whom may be mentioned C. Böhmer,² J. Danko,³ J. Langen⁴ and F. Hettinger.⁵ In recent times, too, it has found able defenders, though their number has been growing less. The chief argument in its favor are that the passage is found in all existing manuscripts of the "Antiquities" and that it was held to be genuine by Eusebius, Sozomen, Rufinus, Jerome and other ancient scholars.⁶

The argument based on the manuscripts is not so strong as it appears at first sight, for none of them is older than the ninth, possibly the eleventh century. The passage is also found in two Latin translations, one of the sixth century, the production of which

² "Über des Flavius," Josephus Zeugnis von Christo, 1823.

³ "Historia Revelationis Divinae Novi Testamenti," 1867, I., pp. 308ff.

⁴ "Der Theologische Standpunkt des Flavius Josephus," Tübinger Theologische Quartalschrift, XLVII., pp. 51ff.

⁵ "Lehrbuch der Fundamental-Theologie," 1888, pp. 301ff.

⁶ The other arguments, which this view has in common with the third view, will be considered further on.

is partly due to Cassiodorus, the other of the latter part of the fourth century, wrongly ascribed in former times to Hegesippus. Thus the earliest indication of the existence of the passage is to be found not in these manuscripts or translations, but in the writings of Eusebius.

What tells most strongly in favor of the genuineness of the passage is that Eusebius took it to be part of the original text of "Antiquities." But this argument, weighty though it be, is not decisive. Against its genuineness is the weightier fact that before Eusebius we do not find a single ecclesiastical writer making use of it, the citation of which might have been made with advantage by the Christian apologist. The natural inference is that the passage, at least in the form cited by Eusebius, did not exist at that early period. The attempts to explain away this serious difficulty fall short of the mark. We are told, for instance, that the earlier apologists, being so near to apostolic times, made light of testimony coming from Jewish sources.⁷ The statement is beyond control, and were it true it would not account for Origen's failure to quote the passage. Another answer, more commonly given, is that the contempt in which Josephus was held by his countrymen did not warrant its use by the Christian apologist. To cite the words of a recent writer: "It is true that neither Tertullian nor St. Justin makes use of Josephus' passage concerning Jesus, but this silence is probably due to the contempt with which the contemporary Jews regarded Josephus and to the relatively little authority he had among Roman readers."⁸ Josephus was, indeed, despised by the Jews for his friendship with the hated Romans, but his authority as an historian seems to have been recognized both by Jews and by Romans. If we may trust Eusebius, "he was the most noted of all the Jews of that day, not only among his own people, but also among the Romans, so that he was honored by the erection of a statue in Rome, and his works were deemed worthy of a place in the library."⁹ His authority as a writer seems to have been greatly respected by Christians also, if we may judge from the use of his writings made by Eusebius and Origen.

The way in which Origen speaks of Josephus' attitude towards Christ makes it extremely difficult to hold that the passage as cited by Eusebius formed part of the original text of the "Antiquities." In his work "Against Celsus" (I., 47), he points out

⁷ Hettinger, loc. cit.

⁸ A. J. Maas, S. J., art. "Jesus Christ," in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. VIII., p. 376.

⁹ "Ch. Hist.," III., ix., 2. Eusebius here alludes to the imperial library founded by Augustus and enriched by his successors.

that Josephus spoke with sympathy of John the Baptist and of James the Just, but that, not believing in the Messiahship of Jesus, he failed to attribute to their true cause the calamities that befell the Jews after they had basely put Christ to death. His words are: "I would like to say to Celsus, who represents the Jew as accepting somehow John as a baptist who preached Jesus, that the existence of John the Baptist, baptizing for the remission of sins, is related by one who lived no great length of time after John and Jesus. For in the eighteenth book of his *"Antiquities of the Jews"* Josephus bears witness to John as having been a baptist and as promising purification to those who underwent the rite. Now, this writer, although not believing in Jesus as the Christ, in seeking after the cause of the fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the temple, whereas he ought to have said that the conspiracy against Jesus was the cause of these calamities befalling the people, since they put to death Christ, who was a prophet, says, nevertheless, being although against his will not far from the truth, that these disasters happened to the Jews as a punishment for the death of James the Just, who was a brother of Jesus called the Christ, the Jews having put him to death, although he was a man distinguished for his justice."¹⁰

In his *"Commentary on Matthew"* (XIII., 55) he has a similar passage, in which Josephus' disbelief in Christ is expressed in the words *"Not acknowledging our Jesus to be Christ."*¹¹

¹⁰ *"Ante-Nicene Fathers,"* New York, 1890; Vol. IV., p. 416.

¹¹ Like Origen, Eusebius says of Josephus that the fall of Jerusalem was declared to be a divine punishment for the slaying of James. (*"Church Hist., II., xxiii., 19-20."*) According to the extant manuscripts, Josephus says nothing of the kind. Some think that the text of the *"Antiquities,"* as known to Origen and Eusebius, must have had a sentence to justify their assertion. Against this view there are two objections. First of all, it is very unlikely that Josephus would attribute to the wrongdoing of an individual high priest, acting against the better judgment of the citizens of Jerusalem, a consequence so disproportionate as the downfall of the nation. Secondly, the only section of the *"Antiquities"* where a statement of this kind would be in place is that which treats of the death of James. Now, this section is quoted by Eusebius in the chapter just mentioned, and it agrees with the corresponding portion of the text now existing. It is possible that Eusebius was led into error by what he read in Origen, for whose authority he had great respect. How, then, shall we explain Origen's mistake? In his account of the death of John the Baptist, Josephus states that some of the Jews saw in the defeat of Herod's army at the hands of Aretas a divine retribution for his execution of John. May not Origen writing from memory, have been under the impression that it was James' death that was said to have been divinely punished, and so identified this retribution with the fall of Jerusalem? At any rate, this very discrepancy, which a forger would have been careful to avoid, does but tell in favor of the genuineness of the passage in the works of Origen.

Now, had the passage on Christ as cited by Eusebius been known to Origen, would he have made the statement that Josephus did not believe in Jesus as the Christ? Would he have elsewhere repeated the statement in slightly different words? On the contrary, would he not have been keen to call attention to the striking, if reluctant admission, couched in the language of a believer, that Jesus was the Christ foretold by the prophets, working miracles and rising from the dead? Could he have wished for better testimony to refute Celsus, who denied these things?

One of the most recent defenders of the genuineness of the passage, Professor Emery Barnes, seeks to explain this attitude of Origen by reading into the words of Josephus a meaning quite different from the obvious one that has hitherto been taken.¹² According to his opinion, the passage was not quoted before the time of Eusebius because it did not convey to the Greek reader the admission that Jesus was the Messiah who rose from the dead. "May we not say, then," he writes, "that Eusebius, as one who spoke the language which Josephus wrote, recognized better than many modern scholars how guarded are the terms in which the controverted passage speaks of our Lord? . . . Why should not Origen, a greater critic than Eusebius, have discerned no less than Eusebius the true significance of the cautious phrases of Josephus? Both fathers were Greeks in language and both were likely to be good judges of the meaning of the Jewish historian."¹³

Positive evidence is lacking to show that Origen and Eusebius shared this view of Professor Barnes. His attempt to enlist Eusebius on his side will hardly convince many of his readers. The unlikelihood of this view is amply set forth by the impression which the passage of Josephus made on the historian Sozomen, who, like Origen and Eusebius, spoke Greek, wrote Greek and knew thoroughly the exact meaning of Greek expressions. In his "Church History," book the first, chapter the first, he says: "Josephus, the son of Matthias, who was also a priest and most distinguished among the Jews and Romans, may be regarded as a noteworthy witness to the truth concerning Christ, for he hesitates to call Him a man, since He wrought marvelous works and was a teacher of truthful doctrines, but openly calls Him Christ; that He was condemned to the death of the Cross and appeared alive again on the third day. Nor was Josephus ignorant of numberless other won-

¹² "The Testimony of Josephus to Jesus Christ," *Contemporary Review*, January, 1914, p. 57ff. While the purport of this article is, in my opinion, untenable, it contains a number of keen observations showing that the chief portions of the text, at least, are in all likelihood genuine.

¹³ Loc. cit., p. 64.

derful predictions uttered beforehand by the holy prophets concerning Christ. He further testifies that Christ brought over many to Himself, both Greeks and Jews, who continued to love Him, and that the people named after Him had not become extinct. It appears to me that in narrating these things he all but proclaims that Christ, by comparison of works, is God. As if struck by the miracle, he ran a somewhat middle course, assailing in no way those who believed in Jesus, but rather agreeing with them.¹⁴

There is little doubt, then, as to the meaning of the passage. But this very point raises one of the most serious difficulties against its genuineness. Its language is the language of a reverent Christian rather than that of a prejudiced, time-serving Jew, anxious to set forth the story of his people in as creditable a light as possible, but at the same time bent on securing favor with the polite society of Rome.¹⁵ Is it at all likely that he would have spoken so sympathetically of Christ at a time when the Christians were the objects of contempt, hatred and persecution? Would a Jew of his stamp have declared that Jesus was the Christ, a teacher of truth, a worker of miracles, who in fulfillment of divine prophecy rose from the dead? And this at a time when Tacitus, his distinguished contemporary and acquaintance, was labeling the religion of Christ a pernicious superstition, *exitiabilis superstitio*?¹⁶

These considerations, which tell so strongly against the genuineness of the passage in its present form, and to which a satisfactory explanation has not been given, are strongly emphasized by those who view the whole passage as spurious. The advocates of this view, among whom are many eminent scholars, such as E. Schürer,¹⁷ A. McGiffert,¹⁸ P. Batiffol,¹⁹ B. Niese,²⁰ L. Linck,²¹ allege other reasons as well, that it betrays a language not distinctly Josephan, and that in its setting it has the appearance of a clumsy insertion into the previously completed text.

The latter objection—the interruption which the passage causes

¹⁴ "Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers," second series, Vol. II., p. 239.

¹⁵ A keen critic has said of Josephus: "Son erreur fondamentale. . . c'est une préoccupation excessive d'être compris et admiré des lecteurs grecs et romains." Lagrène: "Le Messianisme chez les Juifs, 1909, p. 2.

¹⁶ Some scholars, as G. A. Müller: "Christus bei Josephus," are of the opinion that Tacitus got his information about Christ from Josephus.

¹⁷ "History of the Jewish People in the Time of Christ," 1890, div. I. Vol. II., pp. 143-149.

¹⁸ "Church History of Eusebius," New York, 1890, p. 98, note 11, Vol. I. of "Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers," second series.

¹⁹ "Orpheus et l'Evangile," 1910, pp. 13ff.

²⁰ "De Testimonio Christiano quod est apud Josephum Antiq. Jud.," XVIII., 63 sq., "Disputatio" (Lectionsverzeichnis der Marburger Akademie, 1893).

²¹ "De Antiquissimis Veterum quae ad Jesum Nazarenum Spectant Testimoniis," 1913, cap. I.

in the flow of the narrative—is held by not a few to be one of the strongest proofs of alien authorship. The Abbé Batiffol lays great stress on it,²² and so does Professor McGiffert.²³ The latter points to “the decided break which the passage makes in the context. Section 2 gives the account of a sedition of the Jews, and section 4 opens with the words, ‘About the same time also another sad calamity put the Jews into disorder;’ while section 3, containing the account of Christ, gives no hint of sedition or disorder among the Jews.”²⁴

Granted that the account of Christ gives no hint of sedition among the Jews, may not, all the same, the very establishment of the Christian religion have been viewed by Josephus as one of the calamities that befell the Jewish people? That it was so held by many Jews of that time is beyond question. It is true that the passage in its present form fails to convey this impression. But its sinister import is easily implied when, according to the view which we shall soon examine, it is stripped of its probable Christian glosses and restored to its original wording. Thus viewed it ceases to have the appearance of being a later insertion thrust by force into the text. And then does not the story of Christ, digression though it be, have a certain right to be here, for the further reason that, like what immediately precedes, it involves the name of Pilate, by whose authority the sedition in Jerusalem was put down, and somewhat later Jesus was crucified? The passage, then, in its emended form, cannot fairly be thrust out as an intruder. Moreover, the critics who reject it on the score of its being an interruption of the narrative seem to overlook the fact that what immediately follows, the story of the scandal perpetrated in the temple of Isis in Rome, likewise intervenes to disconnect the account of the Jewish disturbances in Jerusalem, mentioned in section 2, from the story told in section 4, of the rascality that led to the expulsion of the Jews from Rome. Now, of these two digressions the story of Christ has by far the better right to its place in the text, for the disgraceful deed in the Isis temple involved Romans, not Jews, and hence has absolutely nothing to do with the history of the Jewish people. It is safe to say that if Josephus could put in his narrative of Jewish calamities the absolutely irrelevant story of the Isis temple scandal he could have admitted the far more appropriate story of Christ. One may ask, besides, if Josephus did have in mind to tell in a few words what he knew of Jesus, where better could he have told it?

²² “*Orpheus et l’Evangile*,” 1910, p. 19.

²³ Link argues in like manner, *op. cit.* pp. 17-18.

²⁴ *Loc. cit.*

But this is not all. If the story of Christ be wholly removed from the text, the faulty digression on the temple scandal stands out as a stupid blunder, of which Josephus would hardly be capable. His was too keen a mind not to recognize its irrelevancy. Why, then, did he make use of it? The only explanation forthcoming is one that postulates the story of Christ, in a less favorable form, as part of the original text. To use the words of Edersheim, "It has been suggested by Paret that it was intended by him as one of those vile anti-Christian insinuations about Christ, too common in that age, made in a manner which, without breach of charity, may be designated as peculiarly Josephan."²⁵ For this reason, Niese, who, in his edition of Josephus' works, brackets the paragraph on Christ and leaves untouched that on the crime in the Isis temple, lays himself open to criticism.

There is another difficulty that the forgery view encounters, one, moreover, that seems to be largely overlooked. This is the positive statement of Origen, recorded in two widely different works, that Josephus did not admit Jesus to be the Messiah. Now, if the passage in question be rejected as an out-and-out forgery, there is no place left to serve as an adequate ground for Origen's statement. It might, of course, be said that Origen based his assertion on the fact that Josephus lived and died a Jew. This is, indeed, possible, but in view of the emphasis which he lays on the statement, thinking it worth while to tell it a second time, there is a much greater likelihood that he had in mind a definite passage from the pen of Josephus.

Some scholars think that Origen based his statement on the phrase which Josephus applies to James, "the brother of Jesus who was called the Christ." This view is favored by one of the latest writers on the testimony of Josephus, Kurt Linck.²⁶ But a like phrase is found in Matt. i., 16, "Jesus, who is called Christ." Hence it cannot be called a decided expression of unbelief.

Others try to dispose of the difficulty by declaring the statement in Origen's works to be spurious, a method only too common nowadays of getting rid of embarrassing evidence. To this class belong the advocates of the Christ-myth theory. In the present instance the attempt utterly fails. In the first place, no forger, seeking to bolster up the testimony of Josephus to Christ, would have put in Origen's writings a statement that hinders rather than helps. Again, the statement is incidental to what Origen says of Josephus' account of James, in which account, as has been pointed out, is a discrepancy that a forger would have been careful to avoid. Moreover,

²⁵ Art. "Josephus," Smith and Wace, *Dict. of Christ. Biogr.*, III, p. 459.

²⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 9.

the passage containing the statement is found, not only in the work "Against Celsus,"²⁷ but also in the "Commentary on Matthew." If a forger put the statement in the former work, why should he have gone out of his way to insert it also in the latter? Some advocates of the forgery view feel compelled to reject as spurious all that bears on the testimony of Josephus to Christ. His account of John the Baptist, which has every mark of genuineness, is pronounced an interpolation; so likewise his account of James, the Lord's brother. Then, as a necessary consequence, they cast aside the two corresponding passages in which Origen mentions these testimonies of Josephus, and in which is also found his statement that the Jewish historian did not acknowledge Jesus to be the Christ. Such a wholesale elimination of texts may well be viewed with suspicion.

The objections which tell so strongly against the two views we have thus far considered are satisfactorily met by the third view, to which we now turn, the view, namely, that the passage in question is partly genuine and partly spurious. The advocates of this view command respect both by their number and by their learning. Among them are G. A. Müller,²⁸ A. Gutschmid,²⁹ H. Ewald,³⁰ A. Edersheim,³¹ T. Reinach,³² P. Schaff.³³ They may be divided into two groups, according as they hold the passage to be largely genuine or largely spurious. The view that it is largely spurious is open to the objection, well expressed by Professor McGiffert, that "after the obviously Christian passages are omitted there remains almost nothing; and it seems inconceivable that Josephus should have given so colorless a report of one whom the Jews regarded with such enmity, if he mentioned him at all." (*Loc. cit.*) This objection cannot be made against those who, like Ewald, Reinach and Renan, hold that the passage is in large part genuine, but so altered as to present the Christian, instead of the Jewish point of view. Renan, who cannot be suspected of undue leaning towards Christianity, says: "I believe the passage on Jesus is authentic as a whole. It is in perfect keeping with the taste of Josephus. If the historian mentioned Jesus, he must have spoken of Him in this way. Only

²⁷ The same words are to be found in two places in this work of Origen, I. 13, and II. 47.

²⁸ "Christus bei Josephus Flavius," 1895.

²⁹ "Vorlesungen über Josephos' Bücher gegen Apion" (Kleine Schriften, herausgegeben von Franz Rühl, 1893, IV., pp. 352ff.

³⁰ "History of Israel," 1883, VI., pp. 138ff.

³¹ Art. "Josephus," Smith and Wace, Dict. of Christian Biography, III., pp. 458ff.

³² Art. "Josèphe sur Jésus" (Revue des Etudes juives, XXXV., pp. 1ff.

³³ "History of the Christian Church," I., pp. 92ff.

it would seem that a Christian hand has retouched the passage, adding a few words, without which it would have been almost blasphemous, and perhaps also omitting or modifying a few expressions."²⁴ What are the grounds on which this view is based?

It has already been stated that Josephus, in the twentieth book of his "Antiquities," tells how the high priest Ananus unjustly put to death "James, the brother of Jesus who was called the Christ." This casual reference to Jesus would lead one to surmise that the author had previously made Him known to his Roman readers.

We have also seen that in the eighteenth book of this same work Josephus relates the cruel death of John the Baptist. Now, if he thought it worth while to speak of these, does it not seem likely that he said a few words of the leading figure in the great Christian drama? The tragic mission of Christ, which so deeply stirred the Jewish people and which gave rise to a movement that made itself felt in every part of the Roman Empire, must have been an event which Josephus, like Tacitus, could not wholly overlook. The fact that it involved the name of Pontius Pilate would give the story additional interest for the cultured circles of Rome.

The probability that Josephus did write an account of Jesus is raised to a fair degree of certainty by the testimony of Origen, who, as we have seen, records what Josephus said of John the Baptist and of James, and states that Josephus did not acknowledge Jesus to be the Christ. He plainly has in mind some explicit assertion of Josephus. He could hardly have based his statement on the words, "Jesus who was called the Christ," for a like expression occurs in Matt. i., 16. There was, then, in the text of Josephus, as known to Origen, another passage where he spoke of Christ in terms already expressing his unbelief.

Now, the passage in the eighteenth book of the "Antiquities," with a very small number of changes, is just such a story as Josephus, in a few words, would have told of Christ. The main features of primitive Christianity are there—Jesus a man of wisdom, a worker of miracles, declaring Himself to be the Messiah, gathering about Him devoted disciples, brought before Pilate by the Jewish authorities and condemned to die on the Cross, then the preaching of the Apostles that Jesus had risen from the dead according to the Scriptures, the persistence of the Christian religion down to the present day.

There is nothing in all this that Josephus might not have put with perfect propriety in his "Antiquities of the Jews"; only, as one sharing to the full the bitter prejudices of his people against

²⁴ "Life of Jesus," New York, 1863, p. 5.

things Christian, he would have written from the Jewish, not the Christian point of view. Now if we make a very few changes in the text, necessitated, as there is good reason to think, because of marginal glosses made by some ancient Christian reader, we shall find that the passage thus corrected reflects the mind and exhibits the style of Josephus.

The opening sentence is one that betrays the retouching of the original by a Christian hand. "Now there lived at that time Jesus, a wise man, if it be proper to call Him a man, for He was a doer of extraordinary works, and a teacher of such men as are eager to accept what is true."

A Jew like Josephus would hardly have written the parenthetic clause hinting belief in the divinity of Jesus, nor would he have been apt to characterize the disciples of Jesus as lovers of truth, for we may lay it down as a certainty that Josephus wrote from the Jewish point of view. A priest of the sect of the Pharisees, he doubtless held Jesus to be a teacher of novelties rather than a teacher of the truth handed down from Moses. If, then, we omit the parenthetic clause and substitute for *alethe* (true) the adjective *kaina* (new)—as a number of scholars suggest—we have a sentence in thorough accord with the mind of Josephus. He would have felt no repugnance in calling *sophos* (wise) in the sense of clever, a very common meaning of the term. Like the Pharisees in the Gospel, he probably admitted Jesus to be a wonder-worker, but attributed His superior power to diabolical agency.³⁵ The emended text would thus run: "Now there lived at that time Jesus, a clever man, for He was a doer of extraordinary works, and a teacher of such men as eager to accept what is new."

"And He drew to Himself many of the Jews and many also of the Greek nation." Here the writer is not altogether correct. As every one knows, the immediate disciples of Jesus were all of Jewish origin. Only after His death were Greeks won over to His teaching. This inaccurate statement is one that might well have come from the pen of a non-Christian. It tells in favor, rather than in prejudice, of Josephan authorship.

"He was the Christ." This is the language not of an unbelieving Jew, but of a Christian, and hence could hardly have come from Josephus. As an admission of Jesus' Messiahship, no words could be plainer, none more to the point. Sozomen saw in the words this obvious meaning. To take them in the sense that Jesus was the historic personage who went by the name of Christ, as some

³⁵ It was in this way that Celsus accounted for the miracles of Jesus. Cf. Origen, "Contra Celsum," I., 58.

scholars have done, is a strained, unnatural interpretation.⁸⁶ It seems, then, far more likely that Josephus made some such statement as "pretending to be the Christ," to which the indignant Christian reader opposed the sentence, "This was the Christ." According to Matt. xxvii., 63, the Jews did not scruple to give Jesus the contemptuous epithet, seducer (deceiver). Josephus would doubtless be inclined to speak of Him in similar terms, and may well have written, "And He drew to Himself many of the Jews and many also of the Greek nation, pretending to be the Christ."

"When Pilate, on the accusation of the leading men amongst us, condemned Him to the Cross." Do not these words unmistakably bespeak the Jewish point of view and reflect the mind of Josephus? Jesus, accused by the Sanhedrin, "the leading men among us," is condemned by Pilate to the Cross. Not a word to suggest that His death was unmerited. On the contrary, the implication is, Jesus, being a false Christ, was rightly put to death.⁸⁷

"Those who first came to love Him did not fall away." This statement could be made by Josephus without implying sympathy for the Christian cause. The steadfast devotion of the disciples to Jesus was a fact that the Jews did not deny.

"For He appeared to them alive again on the third day, the divine prophets having told these and a thousand other marvelous things about Him." The admission, plainly expressed in these words, of Christ's resurrection and of numerous other miracles in fulfillment of divine prophecy is one of the last things we should expect of Josephus. What he wrote must have been from the Jewish point of view. He doubtless knew, from personal experience in Jerusalem, that this was what the disciples of Christ preached. But this preaching only served to excite his contempt and skepticism. And so he may well have written, "For they gave out that He appeared to them," etc., using the optative form of indirect discourse to imply his unbelief. The insertion of this single word makes all that follows thoroughly Josephan. Moreover, some such word seems to be called for by the context. The preceding statement that the disciples did not fall away after the death of Jesus leads one to expect that the following clause should refer to some act of theirs rather than to an act of Christ. The clause thus seems

⁸⁶ Professor Barnes, who denies that the sentence expresses belief in Jesus' Messiahship, tries to make out that to have this meaning it should read, "This is the Christ," as in Acts ix., 22. Loc. cit. p. 61. Were his contention true, the divinity of the Word would not be asserted in the opening sentence of St. John's Gospel, since the present tense is not used, "And the Word was God."

⁸⁷ "Not a word here to blame the Sanhedrin, nor to protest the innocence of the Lord." Professor Barnes, loc. cit., p. 61.

to be explanatory, not causal. Note, too, the thinly veiled touch of irony, as Professor Barnes points out, in the words, "a thousand other marvelous things."²⁸

"Even till now the tribe of Christians, named after Him, has not come to an end." Here again is a sentence with the true Josephan ring. A Christian writer would hardly have chosen the slyly contemptuous term, *tribe*; nor would he have contented himself with the indifferent statement that the tribe of Christians was not yet extinct. As Professor Barnes justly remarks, "It is again the observer from the outside who is speaking."²⁹

With these few emendations, the passage conforms strikingly to the viewpoint of Josephus. It is just such an account as he might have written. It is just such a form of the original text as is needed to explain Origen's assertion that Josephus did not admit Jesus to be the Christ. And note that the remarkably small number of changes needed to give the emended text its present Christian dress can be easily and naturally accounted for as marginal glosses made by some overzealous Christian, which, in the process of copying, became embodied in the text.

To make this more vivid, it may not be amiss to present the conjectural reading of the original with the probable glosses that were first put in the margin. The words affected are in italics.

if, indeed, it be proper
to call Him a man.

true

This was the Christ.

for He appeared

"And there lived at that time Jesus, a clever man, for He was a doer of extraordinary works and a teacher of such men as are eager to receive what is *new*. And He drew to Himself many of the Jews and many also of the Greek nation, *pretending* to be the Christ. When Pilate, on the accusation of the leading men among us, condemned Him to the Cross, those who first came to love Him did not fall away, for they *gave out that* He appeared to them alive again on the third day, the divine prophets having told these and a thousand other marvelous things about Him. Even till now the tribe of Christians, named after Him, has not come to an end."

It is worthy of note that in order to give a Christian turn to the

²⁸ Loc. cit., p. 62.

²⁹ Loc. cit., p. 63.

text as emended above all that is needed is to substitute one word for another and to strike out, in addition to one short phrase, three other words.

If the text, as here emended, conforms in its contents to the mind of Josephus, does its phraseology likewise agree with his manner of writing? This brings us to the objection made against the passage on the score of style.

Probably no recent writer has laid greater stress on this objection than Linck, in his opusculum already mentioned. A careful reading of his chapter on the Josephan testimony does but serve to call up two considerations that tell against his thesis, first, that the text, as emended above, contains a fair number of expressions that are decidedly characteristic of Josephus, and secondly, that the few words to which exception is taken are not such as to warrant the conclusion that they did not come from his pen. Linck, following in the footsteps of B. Niese,⁴⁰ is led to suspect certain words from the point of view that the passage never had any other than its present Christian form. Now, the moment the passage is stripped of its Christian dress and restored to the form it probably had in the beginning, these objections, in large part, fall away.

Take, for example, the word "poietes," which occurs in the opening sentence. As here used, it means a doer of extraordinary works. Linck notes that it has elsewhere in Josephus the meaning of poet, and approves Niese's rejection of the word on the ground that in the New Testament it is found in such expressions as doer of the word, doer of the work, not to mention numerous cases where the verb "poiein" is used with "erga," to do works.⁴¹ Both these critics seem to overlook the fact that the expression, to do works, is not peculiar to the New Testament. It is likewise found in the Septuagint version of the Old Testament, and hence might be used by a Jew as well as by a Christian. Linck himself admits that the expression is found at least once in Josephus. ("Antiquities," IX., 44, of Niese's edition.) It seems, then, hardly prudent to deny that "poietes ergon" is also from his pen. Gutschmid, in his critical study of the text, sees no good cause to reject it.⁴² Moreover, it is to be kept in mind that the Greek of the New Testament was the form of Greek current in the East in the first century, the very form with which Josephus was familiar. Hence it is not a just cause for suspicion if a word used in the New Testament in a

⁴⁰ "De Testimonio Christiano quod est apud Josephum Antiq. Iud.," XVIII., 63 sq. "Disputatio, Lektionsverzeichnis der Marburger Akademie," 1898.

⁴¹ Op. cit., p. 21.

⁴² Op. cit., p. 353.

sense not specifically Christian should be found, even though rarely, in Josephus.

This principle applies with special force to Linck's rejection of "didaskalos" (teacher), on the ground that in the New Testament it is often employed as an epithet of Christ. It was a term in common use in Josephus' day, and was frequently employed by him. Hence it should not be discarded here on the sole ground that Christ is called teacher in the Gospels, particularly as the emended phrase in which it occurs shows a point of view that is anything but Christian.

A similar mistake is made by Linck and others in rejecting the expression "hoi agapesantes" (those having loved), on the ground that the verb "agapan," generally has in the New Testament the specific meaning of love for God the Father and the Son.⁴³ Gutschmid also thinks the term too distinctively Christian to have been used by Josephus.⁴⁴ He suggests the substitution of the words, "those led astray by him." Th. Reinach, in his article, "Josephe sur Jésus, Rev. des Études Juives," xxxv., p. 12, inclines to Gutschmid's view. Even in the New Testament, the word "agapan" is sometimes used interchangeably with "philein" to signify pure love of friendship.⁴⁵ Hence it must have been in common use among the Greek-speaking contemporaries of Josephus. But more than this, the word, as Linck admits, far from being foreign to the vocabulary of Josephus, is employed in a number of places in the "Antiquities," not to mention his other writings. Thus in the eleventh chapter of the second book is found the sentence, "Jacob loved Joseph more than the rest of his sons," where the form "agapa" is used. The participial form may be found in book VI., chapter xi., and in book VII., chapter x.⁴⁶ If, then, Josephus could use the word elsewhere, he could surely have used it here.

Another word to which Linck strongly objects is the opening word of the passage. It is here used as the historical present, with the meaning "there flourished," "there lived," or as some prefer, "there appeared." The word is rejected by Linck, not on account of its form, which is common enough in Josephus, but for the alleged reason that it is not Josephus' custom to use either the present or the imperfect indicative with this meaning. He finds that "egeneto," which, by the way, is not "ginetai," is used in this sense in the Gospel of St. John, and thereby seems to imply that "ginetai" must have been written by a Christian hand. But, as

⁴³ Op. cit., pp. 27-28.

⁴⁴ Op. cit., p. 353.

⁴⁵ John xi.: 3, 5; xxi.: 15-16.

⁴⁶ Other places in which the verb is found are in Niese's edition, VIII., 198; XI., 339; XII., 166, 173; XIII., 289; XVIII., 245.

Linck himself admits, the verb in its participial form, with the same meaning as above, occurs at least four times in Josephus' work, "Against Apion."⁴⁷ Is it safe, then, to assert that in the present instance "ginetai" could not have come from his pen?

Both Niese and Linck reject the expression, "the leading men among us," on account of the use of the first person. Niese asserted that in the narrative proper Josephus always speaks of the Jews objectively, in the third person, never identifying himself with them so as to use the words we, us, our. Hence the expression was absolutely to be rejected.⁴⁸ This was a curious blunder for one to make who had carefully edited the works of Josephus; for as the Jesuit scholar, A. C. Kneller, has shown, Josephus does speak of the Jews in the first person, and that in many places.⁴⁹ One instance is to be found in the opening paragraph of the very chapter that contains the passage on Jesus, "the law forbidding us to make images." Linck tries to rescue Niese from his embarrassment, upholding the rejection of "par hemin" on the alleged ground that Josephus uses this expression and others of a similar kind only where the statement has reference to himself as well as to the Jews in general. According to this distinction, Josephus could not have written the phrase in question, since he was not a participant in the trial of Jesus.⁵⁰ His argument fails to convince. In the first place, the instances he adduces are too few to warrant the distinction he makes. Moreover, it is not borne out by such statements as "for it is the ancient practice among us to have many wives at the same time;"⁵¹ "Solomon, who was the first of our kings" (XV., xi., 3); "our people were transported from their land into Babylon" (XI., i., 1). Josephus did not have many wives at the same time, nor was he a participant in either of the last two actions mentioned. If, then, he could write "our people were transported to Babylon," he could say, with equal propriety, "When Pilate, on the accusation of the leading men among us."

These are the chief instances brought forward to prove that the passage is not after the style of Josephus. That they are far from decisive has been amply shown. On the other hand, fairness demands that we take note of the several expressions which even

⁴⁷ Op. cit., pp. 19-20.

⁴⁸ This was his objection par excellence on the score of style. "Et haec omnia ut tolerari possint, prorsus tamen a Josephi more aliena sunt par hemin, pro quibus parsa Joudaios vel similia ponenda erant." Op. cit. p. 5.

⁴⁹ "Flavius Josephus über Jesus Christus" (Stimmen aus Maria-Laach, Vol. LIII., p. 15. For examples cf. XI., 1; XV., 50, 398; XVIII., 46, 55, 159, in Niese's edition).

⁵⁰ Op. cit., pp. 26-27.

⁵¹ "Antiquities," XVII., ch. 1, No. 2.

Linck admits to be in thorough agreement with Josephus' manner of writing. These, together with the traces already indicated of a non-Christian hand—traces ignored by Linck—tell strongly in favor of the genuineness of the passage in its emended form.

It would be going too far, of course, to insist that the text, as emended above, squares exactly with the original words of Josephus. It is at best but an approximation, but in all probability it represents substantially what Josephus put on parchment. This view that the passage is in great part from the pen of Josephus, but altered after the time of Origen by an unknown hand, altered, perhaps, intentionally, as we have seen, has far more to recommend it than the view that it is an out-and-out forgery. The difficulty, if it be rejected, to account for Origen's statements, the competence of Josephus to tell the story, the strong likelihood that he did speak of Christ, the several traces in the passage of a non-Christian hand, the distinctively Josephan flavor of the text in its emended form, the explanation of the important fact that no one before Eusebius quoted the passage—all this goes to make a cogent argument in its favor. Even the irrelevant story of the Isis temple scandal, otherwise inexplicable, has its significance when preceded by the unsympathetic account of Jesus which the Jewish historian seems to have written. In this form, lacking though it be in reverence, there is no loss of strength in the testimony of Josephus to the historical reality of Christ.

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DOGMATIC MAGISTERIUM OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH
AND ITS PRETENDED DOGMATIC NOVELTIES.

IN HIS admirable treatise "On the Unity of the Church"¹ St. Cyprian outlines in a few words the nefarious work of "the enemy, who was detected and cast down by the advent of Christ." "That enemy," he writes, "has invented heresies and schisms whereby he might subvert the faith, might corrupt the truth, might divide unity. Those whom he cannot keep in the darkness of the old way he circumvents and deceives by the error of a new way. He snatches men from the Church itself, and while they seem to themselves to have already approached to the light and to have escaped the night of the world he embraces them again, in their unconsciousness, within new darkness, so that, although they do not stand firm with the Gospel of Christ and with the observation and law of Christ, they still call themselves Christians, and, walking in darkness, they think that they have the light, while the adversary is flattering and deceiving—that adversary who, according to the Apostle's word, transforms himself into an angel of light and equips his ministers as if they were the ministers of righteousness, who maintains night instead of day, death for salvation, despair under the offer of hope, perfidy under the pretext of faith, Antichrist under the name of Christ, so that, while they feign things like the truth, they make void the truth by their subtlety. This happens so long as we do not return to the source of truth, as we do not seek the head nor keep the teaching of the Heavenly Master."

We have, then, in the Catholic Church a perennial source of truth. This is Jesus Christ, our Lord, the heavenly arch "of every best gift and every perfect gift coming down from the Father of Lights. He has begotten us by the word of truth." (James i., 17-18.) The word of truth, that is, divine revelation, has been entrusted to the Church, "the incorrupted and pure Spouse, who cannot be adulterated, for she knows one home and guards with chaste modesty the sanctity of one couch."² The Catholic Church keeps the Word of Christ; still more, she puts on it a spiritual armor; she defends it against the assaults of its foes; she unfolds by her own industry the inexhaustible treasures of its contents; she pours forth over that heritage, to quote a beautiful comparison of St. Maximus the Confessor, her radiations like a candelabrum of massive gold.³ She is as a divine artist who by dint of an un-

¹ "De unitate Ecclesiae," 3. P. L., IV., col. 497-498.

² *Ibid.*, 6, col. 502-503.

³ "Quaestio," LXIII., P. G. XC., 665.

ceasing labor moulds, in a more perfect manner, the varied aspects of unchangeable and inviolable truth bequeathed to her.

Yet the Church, although divine in origin, constitution and her inward life, performs her mission for men and among men. Therefore, in those matters which are not essentially connected with the word of divine truth she is affected very much in the same manner as other human efforts for the betterment of our moral and intellectual being. When we say that the Church satisfies the needs of passing generations and adapts herself to the spirit and tendencies of new epochs and environments her condescension refers only to that human element which inheres in her earthly life. It is precisely because the Church is kindled with a divine flame that she enjoys a fulness of life even in the order of nature. As her Divine Founder was "beautiful above the sons of men" (Psalms xliv., 3), because the eternal beauty of the divine being dwelt in His soul, so the Church, in spite of human vicissitudes, stands always beautiful and pure, as "the flower of the field and the lily of the valley." (Cant. ii., 1.)

She is endowed by the Christ with a marvelous ability to renew her youth. Her life runs parallel with the life of humanity. However different may be the social, political and intellectual conditions of peoples and nations, she finds at every stage of the world's history the proper message that fulfills the expectations of the Christian flock and seals the lips of her foes. Her simple attractiveness is never greater nor less, yet by her versatility, resourcefulness and tranquil forehandedness she gives ample evidence of her freedom from decay and rigidity.

While the Church emphasizes the fulness of life at all times and in all places, she does not create any impediment to the onward march of man towards better forms of life and organization. Why, then, in modern society has she become, like her Divine Founder, "a sign which shall be contradicted?" (Luke ii., 34.) The answer is obvious. Christ was crucified because He spoke to men as the Son of God, who requires the captivity of every understanding unto His obedience (II., Cor. x., 5); because by His moral teaching He asked for the crushing of the natural body, that a spiritual body could rise. (I. Cor. xv., 44.) Now, the Church by her doctrinal and ethical teaching requires from men the same sacrifice of the understanding and will, and consequently she is exposed, as was Christ, to the hatred of the wisdom of the flesh, which is an enemy to God. (Rom. viii., 7.) The whole strategy of those "wise in the flesh" in their onslaught against the Church of Christ

* "Communitorium," *XX.*, 49, P. G. L., col. 666.

is aimed at the belittlement of the divine character of the truth which she unfolds to men in fulfillment of the redemptive mission of her Founder.

The Church claims to have inherited from Christ through His Apostles a body of doctrines which are in no way subject to human frailty nor error. Christian revelation, that is, this body of doctrines, is no ore, to be worked over by the Church and transformed to her liking into the varied products of human skill and industry. The mission of the Church confines itself to the custody of revealed truths. They are the first and immovable principles of a science which does not rest upon human foundation. They are the doctrinal pillars of Christian faith. "Other foundation no man can lay but that which is laid; which is Christ Jesus." (I. Cor. iii., 11.) If the Church attempted to shake off the foundations laid by Christ she would destroy herself, she would depart from her Divine Spouse, she would rend asunder the admirable unity and harmony by which she lives. She, the word of truth uttered by Christ and unalterable in itself, is kept in the Church without innovation.

The claim of the Church that she possesses unadulterated the teaching of Christ is opposed by the adversaries of Christian revelation. The Church is charged with having set the label of divine stability and origin upon the mere results of human speculation, or with having bargained away the pure gold of divine truth for the tinsel of human opinion. On the one side, the pride of reason protests against the historic fact of divine revelation and boldly proclaims that the dogmatic teaching of the Church is the product of the natural and purely human evolution of religious consciousness; on the other, the revolt against legitimate authority imputes to the *magisterium* of the Church the crime of impairing the essential features of the doctrinal heritage of our Lord and of raising to the dignity of dogmas theological opinions which have no other merit than that of fostering the human ambitions of the Papacy or hierarchy. Hence it follows that the dogmatic magisterium of the Catholic Church is accused of having committed forgeries as to the whole or as to a part of the deposit of divine revelation.

"The Catholic Church is the counterfeiter of the gold of evangelical truth"—this is the battle cry we hear from the lips of the champions of an unbridled rationalism, of a rebellious modernism, of a rigid orthodoxy. In the name of reason, rationalism clamors that the divine revelation is a myth, a chimera; all the dogmas of the Church are religious thoughts, begotten of human brains as well as of philosophical systems. The Church therefore deceives herself

and her followers by gracing them with the eternal stability of divine truth.

In the name of scientific loyalty, Modernism pretends that the dogmatic definitions of the Catholic Church are the spontaneous evolution, of some fundamental statements (*rationes seminales*) given by Jesus Christ to His disciples. They spring up in the religious consciousness of Christianity, grow and finally die, like all human knowledge. They are the product of evolving human speculation, which gives them different meanings in accordance with the variable tendencies of human mind. The Church, therefore, is wrong in asserting their divine origin.

Lastly, according to the theologians of the Eastern Churches, the ecclesiastical elaboration of dogmatic formulæ and definitions came to a close in the ninth century. After that epoch all the attempts at dogmatic definition are sacrilegious. The Roman Church, therefore, in failing to cease working out dogmatic formulæ is guilty of altering and mishandling the deposit of divine revelation for the sake of her own selfish interests.

Before showing the groundlessness of the charge of unwarranted innovation it will be well to set forth more in detail the arguments which are advanced by the assailants of Catholic doctrine. Here let me observe that the apologist of the Catholic Church need never be afraid of expounding loyally and faithfully the objections and theories of his adversaries. The great glory of Cardinal Bellarmine as a controversialist with Protestantism consists precisely in his literary honesty. He gives full prominence to the objections of Protestant polemicists, however strong they may appear at first sight. To set forth in its minute details a system of negations, to quote with their own words the tenets and sophistries of the aggressors of Christian revelation, does not mean at all that their expounder subscribes to them or sympathizes with them. In his deeply rooted conviction of the divine truth of the Catholic doctrine he looks upon the erudite scaffolding of the foes of the Catholic Church as upon a building without a solid foundation. It is only by full and guileless exposition of the errors of our adversaries that we are able to show their inconsistency.

RATIONALISM.

First, the dogmatic teaching of the Catholic Church is branded as an historical forgery by Protestant rationalists. We say Protestants, for, as a matter of fact, rationalism is the offspring, the late intellectual phase of the Reformation. From a doctrinal point of view, by its leap into the darkness of an unrestrained rationalism, the

Reformation has realized the truth of the wise remarks of Vincent of Lerins: "At one moment, when at last error has been set in motion, its *slaves* are hurried whithersoever the wind drives them; at another, turning back, they are dashed like reflux waves; again, with rash presumption, they give their approval to what seems uncertain; an instant later, in irrational fear, they are frightened out of their wits at what is certain, in doubt whither to go, whither to return, what to seek, what to shun, what to keep, what to throw away."⁴

Strange to say, the rationalism of the Reformation started out from the fundamental dogma of the reformers that the only source of faith is the Bible, as interpreted by individual reason. That dogma, it was believed, would have sufficed to keep the cohesion of the mystical body of Christ. But the experience of several centuries makes it clear that the personal interpretation of the Bible as the only source of faith opens wide the gates to unrestrained rationalism. According to a Protestant divine, "Skepticism sounds forth the popular cry: 'The Bible, the religion of Protestants!' 'The right of private judgment, the great principle of the Reformation'; then it divorces the book from historical Christianity as embodied in the Church; then it takes up the book with the forceps of hermeneutical criticism, dissects the modern theory of a self-authenticated, plenary, mechanical inspiration, lays bare the weakest argument in defense of revelation that ever burdened Christianity and raises the shout of victory. The people listen and say: 'It is the voice of God! we will be Bibliolators no longer.' And then for want of anything else to worship, each man adores himself, and renders divine honors to his own transcendent reason."⁵ In its attempts to supersede the dogmatics of the Catholic Church and to make away with the principle of authority in matters of faith, the Reformation sank into doctrinal anarchy." "The religious cranks," a Protestant writer bitterly complains, "rend their triumphal way up and down our Bibles, allegorizing, distorting, misinterpreting at will, because Protestantism as the people understand it has decreed that the Bible is an infallible encyclopedia of all knowledge, and every man's notion of its meaning as good as any other's. The alternatives before us are authority or anarchy."⁶

From the very first rationalism turned its efforts towards bringing theology into disrepute. Theologians were scoffed at as dull visionaries, exhausting themselves at a task of Sisypheus. They lay

⁴ "Position of the Church," *American Quarterly Church Review*, New Haven, VI., 1858, p. 424.

⁵ Benjamin W. Bacon: "The Problem of Religious Education and the Divinity School," *The American Journal of Theology*, VIII., 1904, p. 691.

claim to explore the skies, while they wander up and down in an ocean of darkness. Theology is accursed as the iron cage of human minds. "The Catholic theology of the old school," writes E. Renan, "despises the intelligence of men of the world. The nature of this scholastic discipline is to close the mind against all that is refined; to train the eye only for those difficult trifles which have already depleted life."⁷ "The theologian has an interest—his dogma. Minimize that dogma as much as you will, it is still, to the artist and the critic, an insupportable burden. The orthodox theologian may be compared to a caged bird; every movement natural to it is forbidden. The liberal theologian is a bird, some of whose wing-feathers have been clipped. You think him master of himself, and in fact he is until the moment he seeks to take his flight. Then it is seen that he is not completely the child of the air. Let us say it boldly; critical studies relating to the origin of Christianity will not have said their last word until they are cultivated in a purely secular and unprofessional spirit."⁸

The discredit of theology in the literary history of rationalism was but a preliminary step to the war waged against the dogmatic formulæ of the Catholic Church, the creeds. All the trials of Christianity in its distressed life, all the calamities which through centuries have fallen upon mankind, all the evils which from time to time have brought to a standstill the moral and intellectual progress of society; in a word, all the deficiencies inherent in our human nature, in our sinful hearts and in our limited minds—all of them were imputed to the wickedness of dogmatic creeds.

Let us hear William E. Channing, the great doctor of Unitarian rationalism: "When I see this generous, heavenly doctrine of Christianity compressed and cramped in human creeds I feel as I should were I to see screws and chains applied to the countenance and limbs of a noble fellow-creature, deforming and destroying one of the most beautiful works."⁹ Christianity, as set forth in creeds, is a propounder of dark sayings, of riddles, of knotty propositions, of apparent contradictions. Christianity becoming identified by means of creeds with so many dark doctrines is looked on by many as a subject for theologians to quarrel about, but too thorny or perplexed for common minds, while it is spurned by many more as an insult on human reason, as a triumph of fanaticism over common sense.¹⁰ Creeds are skeletons, freezing abstractions of unintelligible

⁷ "Life of Jesus," Boston, 1896; p. 230.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁹ "A Letter on Creeds," the Works of W. E. Channing, Vol. V., Boston, 1841; p. 294.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 297.

dogmas. Creeds are to the Scriptures what rushlights are to the sun.¹¹ Poets, following quickly in the footsteps of critics, depict in biting satire what they term the misdeeds of creeds:

"Creeds and confessions? High Church or the Low?

I cannot say; but you would vastly please us
If with some pointed Scripture you could show
To which of these belonged the Saviour Jesus.
I think to all or none. Not curious creeds
Or ordered forms of churchly rule He taught,
But soul of love that blossomed into deeds.
With human good and human blessing fraught.
On me, nor priest, nor presbyter, nor Pope,
Bishop nor dean may stamp a party name;
But Jesus with His largely human scope
The service of my human life may claim.
Let prideful priests do battle about creeds,
The Church is mine that does most Christlike deeds."¹²

The claim of the Catholic Church to the possession of an infallible dogmatic magisterium is spurned by Protestant rationalists, as a challenge to historic reality and as a handicap to intellectual progress. "The Church having committed herself to the doctrine of her own infallibility, standing in the position of teaching persistently throughout the ages that which is now demonstrated as not being true, did all that she could to prevent men from finding out what was true. Not one single step of intellectual advance has the world made for a thousand years except in the teeth of and in defiance of that Church which has claimed to stand as the representative of Jesus."¹³

Of course, the depreciation and repudiation of creeds gave rise to bitter criticism of the Catholic Church regarding Christian dogmas, old and new alike, as celestial messages. Rationalism declares that the doctrinal element is not to be found in primitive Christianity. "Christianity does not come to men primarily as a system of doctrine demanding the assent of intellect, but rather as a practical remedy for sin asking the consent of the will to its application."¹⁴ "It was not, in its origin, a series of sententious propositions, nor a code of laws, nor a system of doctrine, nor a scheme of salvation of a holy life, a noble death, a wonderfully pure

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 293.

¹² John Stuart Blackie, quoted by John Monroe Dana: "The Wider View: a Search for Truth," New York, 1899.

¹³ M. J. Savage: "The Evolution of Christianity," Boston, 1892; p. 138.

¹⁴ J. M. Dana, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

and perfect character and nature, a teaching at once self-proving and sublime—the whole absolutely unique in their impressive loveliness.”¹⁵

It is especially by the Protestant historians of dogma that the theory of the adogmatism of primitive Christianity and of the dogmatic forgeries of the Catholic Church is advanced and set forth as the final conclusion of historical criticism. “Dogma,” says Neander, “does not form an original part of Christianity, but is derived and secondary. The essence of Christianity consists not in a system of ideas, but in a tendency of the inner life. It is a pregnant saying of George Hamann that the pearl of Christianity is a hidden life in God, consisting neither in dogmas, nor ideas, nor ceremonies. Dogmas are only that form of the life rooted in God which is constructed by thought and reflection.”¹⁶ Dogma, according to Harnack, is “the result of an initial misunderstanding of Christianity, which has vitiated its development all through; an amalgamation of primitive Christian ideas, with conceptions borrowed from the Greek schools—the Hellenizing of Christianity.”¹⁷ Neither dogmas, nor ceremonies, nor Church, such is the logical inference of what the Gospels disclose to us about the character of Jesus.”¹⁸

No wonder, then, if the followers of the broad path of rationalism declaim that “the twentieth century will be an era of Christian ethic even more than of Christian theology.”¹⁹ It will witness the decay of dogmatism, “which embarrasses the religious life, places the emphasis at the wrong point, and fortifies it with a perverse temper. . . . It is flexible truth which subserves the purposes of progress. Inflexible truth begins at once to lose power.”²⁰ To dogmatism we are indebted for the paradox that through the Church Christ is no more a Christian. “It is evident (!) that, according to the exclusive canons of dogmatic and historic Christianity, *Jesus was not a Christian at all*. He never could have recited or understood any one of the historic creeds.”²¹

Thus rationalism makes a *tabula rasa* of the dogmatic teaching of Christianity and proclaims the advent of a new religious spirit. “There will be one great common religion, broad and comprehen-

¹⁵ William Rathbone Greg: “The Creed of Christendom,” quoted by Dana, op. cit., p. 68.

¹⁶ A. Neander: “Lectures on the History of Christian Dogmas,” Vol. I., London, 1858; pp. 3-4.

¹⁷ “History of Dogma,” I., p. 21.

¹⁸ C. Guignebert: “Modernisme et Tradition Catholique,” Paris, 1908; p. 91.

¹⁹ James Orr: “The Progress of Dogma,” London, 1901; p. 353.

²⁰ John Bascom, “The New Theology,” New York, 1891; p. 152.

²¹ Charles F. Dole: “The Coming Religion,” Boston, 1910; pp. 158-159.

sive, for all the families of man. The larger religion is everywhere growing out of the older forms."²²

It will be free of the danger of theology, for "theology, too, has been and still is a great danger. It desires to become the finished product of a narrowly deductive process; it ascribes to its immediate conclusions a divine authority, and thus, in the temper of dogmatism, anticipates all the instruction of scientific inquiry, human history and God's daily providence; and struggles hard to put upon the growing products of thought, as fast as they arise, a narrow construction of its own."²³

Thus, according to rationalism derived from the Reformation, the dogmas of the Catholic Church are the discordant voices of our religious debates, the wordy issue of our wrangling. They do not throw any light on the solution of the riddle of our human destinies. They are perishable opinions, and therefore it will always be a matter of regret that "for the sake of opinions, for which we find not one single syllable of warrant in the teaching of Jesus, the Catholic Church has turned itself into the most pitiless persecutor that the world ever saw."²⁴ Hence they must be expunged from Christian life and cast into oblivion. "Sacramental superstition must die out, and along with it the overweening love of dogma, and in the place of these two idols of the past must come a consuming devotion for the kingdom of God, a passion for righteousness, a resolute purpose that God's will shall be done. . . . Our *pium desiderium* for the future is not a Church without a creed or a theology, or a philosophy, or regarding these things as idle encumbrances. We desire a Church possessing all these, but knowing better what to do with them than the Church of the past; using them as ideals, not as compulsory ordinances; as goals, not as starting points; as symbols and means of advanced fellowship, not as conditions of admission to her communion, or even to the exercise of *teaching* functions."²⁵

MODERNISM.

Modernists do not go so far in their assaults on the dogmatic system of the Catholic Church. They cling fast to the label of Christianity. If they wish to compass the ruin of the majestic edifice of Catholic doctrine, they are, nevertheless, not without a certain affection for its venerable façade. It may be a question of atavism. They feel that an invisible power inescapably claims

²² *Ibid.*, p. 166.

²³ I. Bascom, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

²⁴ Savage, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

²⁵ Alexander Balmain Bruce: "The Future of Christianity," *The Biblical World*, Chicago, 1895; Vol. VI., pp. 258-259.

them to traditions, checking their every movement. As they say, they never thought of superseding the genuine teaching of Christ. They love Christ as a divine teacher, for they do not deny the divinity of the Saviour.²⁶ They feel, however, that Christianity must get rid of the dross, of the dust heaped upon its truths by a slow and laborious process of dogmatization. No doubt, revelation is the main source of Christian faith. But dogmatic formulæ are the products of Christian religious experiences. They afford to us new forms of intellectual life, new orientations of Christian thought. They mark the awakening of a new religious consciousness. They are the culmination of a period of theological speculation, and, so to speak, its ripe fruits, its verdant fields. The *onomasticon maledicentiae* of Modernism does not contain as many words of contempt as they need to brand the dogmatic formulæ of the Catholic Church. They are "the most tortuous wriggings or exegesis," "meaningless and mischievous encrustations," "dustheaps of scholasticism," "pious tamperings with the truth," "controversial chicaneries," "the cobwebs of centuries," "empty forms," "mere corpses," "ornamental nonentities," "mere collocations of words," "puns," "fanciful conceits," "dialectic legerdemains," "exegetical tricks." They "sound unintelligible to our contemporaries"; "they reduce the Church to sterility"; "they are incompatible with the fundamental positions of Catholic theology"; "they have lost all value nowadays"; "they hinder the reconciliation of the old Catholic tradition with the new thought."

Dogmas are not leaves of truth fallen from heaven. Historical criticism traces them back to their birth, their obscure origins in the different stages of Christian spiritual life. "Every day brings new success in the endeavor to mark, by means of a critical analysis of documents, the slow and at times imperceptible evolution of Christian psychological experience toward the formulation of dogma—an evolution guided by the necessity of finding theological formulæ to foster and direct the original religion of the Gospel, which consists in the expectation of a kingdom or heaven upon earth, in the felt solidarity of all souls in relation to their common good and in trust and confidence in the Heavenly Father."²⁷

At the dawn of Christianity the Church was free from the chains of dogma. "Instead of finding from the first at least the germs of those dogmatic affirmations formulated by Church authority in the course of ages, we have found a sort of religion which was originally formless and undogmatic, and which came gradually to de-

²⁶ A. Leslie Lilley: "The Programme of Modernism," New York, 1908; p. 119.

²⁷ "The Programme of Modernism," p. 78.

velop in the direction of definite forms of thought and ritual owing to the requirements of general intercourse and to the need of giving abstract expression to the principles which should shape the religious activity of the faithful.²⁸ If the newly born Church was adogmatic, dogmas are the product of her grown-up mind. Criticism has made us see how Catholic dogma has sprung entirely from the need of setting experience in harmony with the mind of the age, and the unchanging spirit of religion with the ever-varying expressions of thought."²⁹ Consequently dogmas are "doctrinal formulæ devised at a particular crisis to meet the passing religious needs of religious consciousness." Far from being the voice of an outward revelation by a loving God, they are the echo of an inward revelation springing up from the depths of the believing soul. "Sacred tradition communicates to us those eternal signs in which revelation has been recorded. The human mind ought not to remain passively receptive and inert in regard to them, because the religious experience, which they are designed to evoke, proceeds from the needs and interests of the spirit and from the synchronous vibration of our whole moral being with the divine world, which is revealed or reveals itself through these outward symbols."³⁰ In a few words, "the dogmas are shaped by the abstract formulation of Christian experience."

There is little need longer to dwell on Modernistic errors, especially as it is difficult to grasp clearly any of the concepts of dogmas entertained by Modernists—for it must be remembered that we are perforce dealing with individual concepts, for the Modernist cannot reconcile himself to abstract formulation. "Modernism," according to Tyrrell, "is not a finished and coherent theological system deduced, like scholasticism, from a few definitions. It is a method and spirit rather than a system; a mode of inquiry, not a body of results. . . . It is a movement, a process, a tendency."³¹ No wonder, then, if its terminology is vague and if it lacks precision. One could say that Modernism is afraid of the logical inference from its premises. It knows that they do not materially differ from those of extreme rationalism. Their mystical tints cannot conceal their ugliness. Modernism, in a word, like rationalism, idolizes human reason. It rejects both authority and tradition. It strikes to the heart of Christianity by squeezing the teaching of revelation into the compass of a created mind. It humanizes Christ and Chris-

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 109-110.

³¹ "The Prospects of Modernism," *The Hibbert Journal*, Vol. VI, 1908; pp. 246, 248.

tianity—and a humanized Christ (we use the word insofar as it implies the denial of the divinity of our Saviour) is no longer a Divine teacher; a humanized Christianity sinks to the level of a philosophical system.

ORTHODOXY.

Orthodoxy repeats against the Catholic Church the grievances alleged by Modernism and rationalism. It differs from both of them arithmetically, so to say. While rationalist and Modernist alike see only the hand of man, and the human life of the Church, in all the expressions of her dogmatic life, the member of the Orthodox Church boasts of the firmest loyalty to tradition. Of course, the theologians of the East come to the same conclusion. "The Catholic Church is not the true Church of Christ." For if the Catholic Church is liable to one error in dogmatic matters, it is all over with her authority and infallibility. She cannot claim from the faithful a full adhesion to her dogmatic utterances. These lack the requisite to bind their consciences. A Church that raises to the dignity of dogmas historical forgeries and individual opinions, however insignificant they may be, has lost its grasp on the souls of its believers. She will totter along the quicksands and, sooner or later, collapse. The reproach of introducing dogmatic novelties into the deposit of Christian revelation was cast upon the Catholic Church by Photius, when he did not find Pope Nicholas I. willing to overlook his usurpation of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. In his Encyclical Letter to the Eastern hierarchy he discharges all his fury against the newly born dogma of the Procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. The dogma is anathematized as a revolt against God, as blasphemy, a drunkenness of impiety, an absurd subterfuge, an act of arrogance and madness, a sacrilegious utterance, an heretical opinion, a devilish forgery, a system of iniquity, a deadly poison, an apostasy from faith, a pagan error worse than the fables of the Gentiles.²² According to Photius, the dogmatic novelties of the Roman Church are: the belief in the Procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, the insertion of the Filioque in the creed and the supremacy of the Bishops of Rome.

Byzantine revolt from the Catholic Church dates from Photius. It reflects his spirit of hatred, his dialectical method, his subtle sophistry. For the Eastern Churches, Photius fills the place of Luther in the Western Reformation. His followers went far beyond the animosity of their master. Under their pens, the dogmatic divergencies between the East and the West reached fan-

²² "Epistola Encyclica ad Orientales," P. G., CII., col. 721-742.

tastic proportions. They were counted by tens and hundreds. Nothing was spared in order to make the Latins guilty of the strangest crimes. The most inoffensive liturgical customs and traditions, the most guileless practices of piety were scoffed at and turned into ridicule as dogmatic novelties. A Byzantine polemist of the fourteenth century inveighed against the Latin heretics on the ground that "Comedunt ursos, picas testudines, echinos, canes fluviatiles, cornices, cervos, laros; una cum barba totius corporis pilos praesules radunt; canes ursos aliaqua immunda animalia in ecclesias introducunt." And this is by no means the limit of his angry pen. Finally, the definitions of the Immaculate Conception of Mary and of Papal infallibility drove the Orthodox theologians almost entirely out of their wits. The Catholic Church was accused as the great adulteress of Christianity. Orthodox theology vied with that of the Reformation in echoing Harnack's assertion that "dogma is a system of law placed at the disposition of the Pope, carried out administratively and losing itself in endless casuistry."⁸³

CATHOLICISM.

Strange to say, the Catholic doctrine about dogma and the dogmatic progress was clearly and fully outlined by the grand master of Modernism before his lamentable defection: "The deposit of faith is as a document delivered once and for all into the Church's hands, to which she can add and from which she can take not an iota or tittle. Her only mental progress in its regard is that of a clearer, deeper and fuller penetration of the meaning. . . . What we have received as of faith that we hold forever, and as far as possible in the same form, yet unlike those Christians who appeal from the living Church to the dead, or who fix some arbitrary date at which all dogmatic evolution was arrested, we believe that, in the mind of the Church collectively, the conception of the whole body of revealed truth grows in fulness and distinctness as she ponders it in her heart; that the relations of part with part stand out more clearly; that new consequences and applications are observed; while the denials of heretics ever call for modifications of expression by which an increasing exactitude is secured."⁸⁴

That doctrine is as old as the Church itself. Its roots are to be found in the earliest traditions; it echoes throughout all the pages of the ancient fathers and doctors and ecclesiastical writers; it was

⁸³ An historical survey of the pretended dogmatic novelties of the Roman Church according to the orthodox polemics is contained in the writer's work: "Theologia Dogmatica Orthodoxa," Florentiae, 1913, Vol. II., pp.1-168.

⁸⁴ G. Tyrrell: "The Faith of Millions," London (second ed.), 1902; pp. 148, 133.

clearly systematized in the fifth century by Vincent of Lérins; in the Middle Ages by masters of scholasticism. No clearer and fuller exposition is to be found than that of St. Bonaventure. The great doctor queries whether the truths of the faith are susceptible of a numerical augmentation and makes this distinction in answering the question. The increase may be understood in a double sense, either as the addition of new articles of faith; viz., dogmatic truths or as the explanation of dogmatic truths implicitly contained in the deposit of divine revelation. In the former sense dogmas cannot increase. In the latter there is a dogmatic progress, insofar as those truths that were implicitly believed by the faithful were explained and, so to speak, distinguished in many articles of faith.³⁵ This augmentation, however, this progress in the domain of faith, does not alter substantially its object, but only accidentally, for it limits itself to the explanation of what was implicitly believed. Hence it would be repugnant to sound logic to say that faith may be liable to essential alterations.³⁶ This, however, does not exclude a relative dogmatic progress. Faith increases as to the fulness of its light. Its augmentations rest on a fuller exposure of truth and a larger diffusion of divine grace. The teaching of the faith improves as time goes on. The believers know better what they believe, and their knowledge is superior to that of the ancients. They have the foundation of the words of Christ. They have the sacraments of the new Covenant, the merits of Christ, the price of His Redemption, and following them a more abundant effusion of the grace of the Holy Ghost.³⁷

³⁵ Credibilia multiplicari dupliciter potest intelligi; vel quantum ad movorum articulorum additionem, vel quantum ad explicitorum explanationem. Si primo modo intelligatur, sic non est concedendum fidem profecisse quantum ad credendorum multiplicationem; si secundo modo sic profecit secundum progressum temporis, quia quod uno tempore credebatur implicitite, et quasi uno articulo processu temporis explicatum est, et quasi distinctum in multa credibilia. . . . Et sic patet quod fides profecit quantum ad credibilium multitudinem, non nova addendo, sed quodam modo implicita explicando. Sentent. lib. III., Dist. XXV., 9, 1. a. II Opera omnia, t. IV., ed. Peltier, Parisiis, 1865; p. 555

³⁶ Multiplicatio articulorum, secundum quam dicimus fidem profecisse, non mutat obiectum secundum substantiam, sed solum secundum accidens, quia implicitum explicat; et idea ex hoc non potest inferri, quod fides essentialiter sit mutata. Ibid., Ad. Secundum, p. 556.

³⁷ Secundum diversitatem temporum crevit fides quantum ad luminis plenitudinem, intelligendo de fide secundum statum vevi communem. Hoc autem non est propter ipsorum temporum transmutationem primo et principaliter, set propter veritatis exhibitionem; propter maioris gratiæ diffusionem; propter pleniorum instructionem; ideo enim credentes clarius nunc ea quæ credunt, cognoscunt, quam antiquitus cognoscebant, quia jam est veritas exhibita per Christum, jam etiam gratia Spiritus Sancti amplius diffunditur in sacramentis novæ legis propter Christi meritum, et pretium jam solutum. Ibid., 9, II., p. 558.

The fundamental unchangeableness of Christian dogmatics constitutes, therefore, the criterion of Catholic theology in its position as to revealed truth. The teaching of faith, which was revealed by God, is not to be perfected by human minds like a philosophical system. It is a divine deposit consigned to the Spouse of Christ, a deposit to be faithfully watched and infallibly declared. Hence it follows that that meaning of dogmas ought to be perpetually preserved, which Holy Mother Church once declared, and it is never allowed under the pretext and appearance of a higher understanding to deviate from that meaning. The intelligence, then, the knowledge, the wisdom, as well of individuals as of all, as well of one man as of the whole Church, ought in the course of ages and centuries to increase and make much vigorous progress. But this will occur only within the bounds of and consistent with its own category; that is to say, in the same doctrine, in the same sense and in the same meaning.²⁸

The Church cannot betray her mission by spreading a doctrine which was not given her by her Divine Founder. "Keep the deposit," Vincent of Lerins eloquently urged upon the Universal Church. "Preserve the talent of Catholic faith inviolate, unadulterated. That which has been intrusted to thee, let it continue in thy possession, let it be handed on by thee. Thou hast received gold; give gold in turn. Do not substitute one thing for another. Do not for gold impudently substitute lead or brass. Give real gold, not counterfeit."²⁹

The Catholic Church has been faithful to the principles laid down by Vincent of Lerins on the granite base of ecclesiastical traditions. All the documents issued by the authentic magisterium of the Roman See exclude in the clearest terms the legitimacy of new dogmas, that is of dogmas which neither explicitly nor implicitly are contained in the deposit of divine revelation. Moreover, all the documents issued by the same magisterium vehemently condemn the theories, both theological and philosophical, that undermine the principle of the absolute immutability of dogmatic truths.

²⁸ Neque, enim fidel doctrina, quam Deus revelavit, velut philosophicum inventum proposita est humanis ingeniis perficienda, sed tanquam divinum depositum Christi sponsae tradita, fideliter eustodienda et infallibiliter declaranda. Hinc sacrorum quoque dogmatum is sensus perpetuo est retinendus, quem semel declaravit sancta mater Ecclesia, nec unquam ab eo sensu altioris intelligentiae specie et nomine recedendum. Crescat igitur . . . et multum vehementerque proficiat, tam singulorum quam omnium, tam unius hominis quam totius Ecclesiae, tetatum ac saeculorum gradibus, intelligentia, scientia, sapientia: sed in suo dumtaxat genere, in eodem scilicet dogmate, eodem sensu eademque sententia. "Constitutio de Fide Catholica," c. iv., Deniger; "Enchiridion symbolorum," ed. X; Friburgi Brisgoviae, 1908; pp. 479-480.

²⁹ "Commonitorium," XXII., 53.

The literary history of the Catholic Church does not offer any statement opposite to her oft-repeated declarations as to the eternal stability of her dogmatic teaching. In 1903 Pius X. condemned those theories denying the fulness of Christian revelation as achieved by the Apostles, or insinuating that dogmas are the interpretation of some religious experiences and the speculative product of the human mind.⁴⁰ If, therefore, the Catholic Church rejects whatever denies that the cycle of divine revelation closed with the death of the Apostles, it is obvious that, far from authorizing the elaboration of new dogmas, she repudiates even their possibility.

Of course, we do not say that after the death of the Apostles the revealed truths lost their vitality and, so to speak, their outward elasticity. They did not fossilize within the formularies of faith. Under the leadership of the Church, great thinkers and theologians strove to elucidate their meaning by means of human analogies. They showed their relation and evolved more precise terms for their enunciation; they threw the pale light of the human intellect upon their sacred mists. The Church took advantage of the results of theological speculation to clothe the revealed truths with formulas admirably expressing their divine contents. Thus no room was left for the cavil of heresy. But we repeat once more, she is conscious of holding, by virtue of the divine assistance, that faith which, according to the Vincentian rule, "has been believed everywhere, always and by all."⁴¹ Her teaching is marked with the characteristic notes of the truly Catholic doctrine, viz., *universality, antiquity and consent*. "Let there be no innovation," declared Pope Stephen I. (254-257) in his letter to the Africans. "That holy and prudent man," comments Vincent of Lerins, "well knew that true piety admits no other rule than that whatsoever things have been faithfully received from our fathers, the same are to be faithfully consigned to our children; and that it is our duty not to lead religion whither we would, but rather to follow religion whither it leads; and that it is the part of Christian modesty not to hand down our own beliefs or observances to those who come after us, but to preserve and keep what we have received from those who went before us."⁴²

The adversaries of Catholic doctrine object that the theory of an outward progress, of a scientific elaboration or of a clearer ex-

⁴⁰ *Revelatio, obiectum fidei catholicae constituens, non fuit cum Apostolis completa. Dogmata, quae Ecclesia perhibet tanquam revelata, non sunt veritates e coelo delapsae, sed sunt interpretatio quaedam factorum religiosorum, quam humana mens laborioso conatu sibi comparavit. Decretum "Lamentabili," prop. 21, 22; Denziger, p. 540.*

⁴¹ "Commonitorium," II., 6.

⁴² *Ibid.*, VI., 17.

planation of the dogmatic truths of our faith is a subterfuge to cloak the unruly adoption of dogmatic novelties. In answering the objection let us observe that the right of setting forth the authentic meaning of a theory whatsoever belongs to its author. With greater reason that right is claimed by the Catholic Church. She is a living institution. She claims a divine mission. Her spiritual and social action has spread throughout the world. She is the keeper of a doctrine which she proclaims to have inherited from Jesus Christ and His Apostles. From this it follows that dogmas are an essential element of the intellectual life of the Church. They belong to her, and she knows them better than those who do not participate in her life. Therefore, when she affirms that a theory about dogmatic truths is the genuine expression of her faith or teaching we ought to accept her assertion. And when her foes declare that a principle set forth by her infallible magisterium contradicts her practice it is the Church herself that is entitled to explain the meaning of that controverted principle. Still more. She feels the duty of clearing up the sense of her doctrine, of her axioms, of her principles, and that duty is pressing when controversies arise which sow dissension among the ranks of her followers.

Herein the conduct of the Church does not differ from what we see happening in any walk of life. Suppose that a provision in some code of laws gives rise to various discordant interpretations. Its true meaning ought to be elucidated. To whom does the civil power entrust this task? No one in his right senses would maintain that surgeons or mathematicians were to be charged with the interpretation of such a paragraph. The task naturally falls to jurisconsults. Similarly, it would be absurd to call in a jurisconsult or a mathematician in order to ascertain whether a man has died of pneumonia or blood-poisoning. All the branches of human learning have their official interpreters, their authoritative teachers, who have spent the best years of their life in the study of them. To those teachers we apply whenever we need to know thoroughly the meaning, the value, the bearings of a principle within the range of those sciences of which they are respectively masters. What reason, then, is there to refuse to the Catholic Church the right of interpreting her own doctrine? She has at least as much right as scientists in all departments of human learning. So far as our present subject is concerned, the magisterium of the Catholic Church has ever shown the authentic meaning of dogmatic progress. This refers only to the elaboration of dogmatic formulas. It does not touch the kernel of dogmatic

truths. Therefore, the body of Catholic dogmas does not undergo any substantial alteration either through omission or commission. It does not increase or diminish.

We speak of the "magisterium" of the Catholic Church. And it is a fact that the meaning of dogmatic progress, as outlined above, is not drawn from the peculiar teaching of this or that theologian. It is clearly defined and set forth in the authentic and official documents of the Church. When we say, therefore, that the Catholic Church by her dogmatic definitions excludes the numerical augmentation of her dogmatic truths we do not expound the opinion of an individual theologian. We ought to declare that *theoretically* the Catholic Church rejects the birth of new dogmas and the death of the old ones. She repudiates the *substantial* evolution of dogmas. The deposit of faith remains inviolate in her hands. She beautifies and states precisely the doctrinal inheritance of Christ *externally*. She works out new dogmatic formulæ, not new dogmas.

It may be objected that *theoretically* our assertions answer to the point, but that practically they are belied by the facts. It will be said that the history of dogma contradicts the theory of the Catholic magisterium. This objection we shall discuss in a later paper.

A. PALMIERI.

Lawrence, Mass.

CLARENCE MANGAN.

OUTSIDE his native land the name of Clarence Mangan is practically unknown. To many, even of his countrymen, he is known only as a translator of the German poets. The man, his splendid gifts, the richest fruits of his genius, all are hidden in an obscurity from which it is very difficult to rescue them, so few and hard to trace are the records left to us of this singularly gifted and most unhappy being. Clarence Mangan was born on May 1, 1803, in Fishamble street, Dublin. Many historic memories cluster round this ancient quarter of the city. Here in the old music hall Handel's "Messiah" was first performed, and here also was the famous theatre where one of the conditions for admittance was that "ladies and gentlemen should wear shoes and stockings." No. 3, the house in which Clarence Mangan was born, belonged for many generations to an ancient and well-known family of the name of Ussher. The Ussher coat-of-arms still remains graven on the front of the house. Eventually, however, it passed into other hands, at length becoming the property of a Miss Catherine Smith, who carried on a flourishing grocery business. Catherine Smith became acquainted with a teacher named James Mangan, a native of Limerick. The acquaintanceship soon ripened into something closer, and in 1801 they were married. Four children were born to them, of whom the eldest, our poet, as we have said, came into life in 1803. The elder Mangan was a man of fair education and refined taste. But as might be expected, having regard to his previous avocation, he was not a successful man of business. In 1811 he persuaded his wife's brother, Patrick Smith, at that time living in London, to undertake the management of the shop in Fishamble street. From that time Mangan's connection with the business may be said to have practically ceased.

According to all received accounts and the poet's own revelations, even if these are somewhat highly colored, his childhood seems to have been inexpressibly sad and joyless. A great French writer, describing the utter misery of his own early years, says: "*Je n'avais pas de jeunesse*," words of saddest import; so, too, may it be said of Mangan that he had no youth. Mangan's father seems to have been a nervous, irritable, tyrannical man, something of a coward, too, one cannot help thinking, for the objects of his tyranny were his helpless wife and children. To outsiders he was generosity itself. In reading of him we are forcibly reminded of the homely saying

which characterizes those of similar disposition as "house devils and street angels." Down to the latest years of his life Clarence seems to have retained bitter recollections of his father and to have regarded him as the cause of his misfortunes. Improvidence seems to have been the elder Mangan's besetting fault. To those who applied to him for money he invariably gave double the amount asked. Unfortunately, when he relinquished the grocery business he was persuaded to embark in trade again as a vintner. From that hour misfortunes dogged his footsteps. Several speculations upon which he had entered proved complete failures. Disaster followed disaster.

"My father," says the poet, "at length grew desperate. Within the lapse of a very limited period he had failed in eight successive establishments in different parts of Dublin, until finally nothing remained for him to do but to sit down and fold his arms in despair. Ruin and beggary stared him in the face; his spirit was broken." When the final crash came Michael Smith, another of his mother's brothers and a prosperous merchant, charged himself with Clarence's education. Previous to the final collapse of the family fortunes Clarence had attended a famous school existing at that time in Saul's Court, Dublin. It was while at this school that the poet, under the tuition of a master who had studied much abroad, made his acquaintance with the French, Spanish and Italian languages, in which he afterwards attained great proficiency. The thoughtful, studious child, so lonely and neglected at home, found his solace in books. "Books and solitude," he says, were his refuge when at home. "Days would pass during which my father seemed neither to know nor care whether I was living or dead. My brothers and sisters fared better; they indulged in habits of active exercise and strengthened their constitutions, morally and physically, to a degree that even enabled them to present a successful front of opposition to the tyranny exercised over them. But I shut myself up in a close room. I isolated myself in such a manner from my own nearest relations that with one voice they proclaimed me 'mad.' Perhaps I was; this much, at least, is certain, that it was precisely at that period (from my tenth to my fourteenth year) that the seeds of moral insanity were developed within me, which afterwards grew up into a tree of giant altitude."

His childhood was strangely neglected, dark and joyless. He had no companions, nor did he ever know what it was to join in the amusements of other boys. Naturally of a strongly marked nervous temperament, he himself, speaking of his childhood, says that even then his nerves were irretrievably shattered. It is cer-

tainly a weird and terrible picture that the poet paints for us of his early years. Whilst yet but little more than an infant a strange accident befell him. According to his own account, a girl who lodged in his father's house sent him out one day to buy a ballad. It was raining heavily at the time and his head was uncovered, but the girl told him the rain would make him grow. Believing her, he ran out, lost his way and wandered for a long time before he at last made his way home. He was then five years old, and from that time until he was thirteen, a period of eight years, he remained almost blind. Only when twilight came could he open his eyes, and then "he read." During the whole of this time he has left on record that he was perpetually haunted by the dread of some awful impending calamity, he knew not of what nature. He seemed to be ever in the vicinity of some tremendous catastrophe from which it was vain to flee. "Such was my condition," he says, "from my sixth to my sixteenth year." Strange destiny! Happy, light-hearted boyhood's years transformed into a period of cruel agonizing suffering! Mangan's uncle removed him from the school in Saul's Court and sent him to a cheaper one in what was known then as Derby Square, off Werburgh street. Here is the poet's description of his first day in the new school. "Twenty boys," he says, "were arranged in a class, and to me, as the latest comer, was allotted the lowest place, with which I was perfectly contented. The question propounded by the schoolmaster was 'What is a parenthesis?' But in vain did he test their philological capacities; one alone attempted some blundering explanation from the grammar, and finally to me, as the forlorn hope taat might possibly save the credit of the school, was the query referred. 'Sir,' said I, 'I have only come into the school to-day and have not had time to look into the grammar, but I should suppose a parenthesis to be something included in a sentence, but which might be omitted from the sentence without injury to the meaning of the sentence!' 'Go up, sir,' exclaimed the master, 'to the head of the class.' With an emotion of boyish pride I assumed the place allotted to me, but the next minute found me once more in my original position. 'Why do you go down again, sir?' asked the worthy pedagogue. 'Because, sir,' cried I boldly, 'I have not deserved the head place. Give it to this boy,' and I pointed to the lad who had all but succeeded. 'He merits it better, because, at least, he has tried to study his task.' The schoolmaster smiled; he and the usher whispered together and I was remanded to a seat apart. . . ."

Mangan then goes on to tell us that from his earliest years he loved declamation, not, as he is careful to record, for the sake of

his audience, but for his own pleasure. He loved to rhapsodize alone, and any intrusion at such moments made him miserable. Yet he assures us he was quite free from any of the ordinary shyness of boyhood. "I merely felt or fancied that between me and those who approached me no species of sympathy could exist, and I shrank from communion with them as from something alien from my nature. This feeling continued to acquire strength daily, until in after years it became one of the grand and terrible miseries of my existence." Then with the vividness born of his marvelous power of self-dissection he described for us the origin—the root, as it were, of this strange idiosyncrasy. "It was a morbid product of pride and presumption which, almost hidden from myself, constituted even from my childhood governing traits in my character and have so often rendered me repulsive in the eyes of others." But dark and unlovely as were these days, still darker ones were coming. His father's repeated failures had reduced the family to a state of almost absolute destitution. It was necessary that some one should earn bread for the rest. The lot fell on our poet. The elder Mangan decided to apprentice his son to the scrivenerly business, at that time a lucrative calling. Deep and bitter was the grief of Clarence when he learned his fate. His soul sickened within him. How one sympathizes with this lonely, highly strung, morbid boy, hitherto living in a world of dreams and shadows, shrinking, as he had told us, with a horror almost akin to physical pain from contact with uncongenial natures now forced to do daily battle with the world! He loathed the toil, the struggle to which he was condemned. "For ten long years," he says in an autobiographical fragment found after his death, "I toiled and moiled, all for my parents, my sister and my two brothers. I was obliged to work for seven years of the ten, from 5 in the morning, winter and summer, to 11 at night, and during the three remaining years nothing but a special Providence could have saved me from suicide. For the seven years I was in a scrivener's office, during the three in an attorney's. . . . The misery of my mind, my natural tendency to loneliness, poetry and self-analysis, the persecutions I was compelled to undergo and which I never avenged but by acts of kindness (which acts were always taken as evidence of weakness on my part and only provoked further aggression), added to these the close air of the room and the perpetual smoke of the chimney, all these destroyed my constitution. No, I am wrong. It was not even all these that destroyed me. In seeking to escape from this misery I laid the foundation of the evil habit which has since proved so ruinous to me."

One cannot but suspect Mangan of exaggeration with regard to the behavior of his fellow-clerks, but let us remember that he was a poet and a genius. Strange, indeed, are the ways of geniuses, and as a rule they must be unpleasant people to live with. Doubtless Mangan's sensitive shrinking nature and gloomy, brooding disposition, together with the intense repugnance he had for his work, caused whatever vexation he may have met with to assume giant proportions in his imagination. It was in 1818 that Mangan first began to appear in print. There are few or none of these early efforts worth mentioning, being mere feats of rhyming, mostly of a comic nature. They were nearly all written for the almanacs, which at that time took the place of magazines, there being scarcely anything worthy of the name of periodical published in Ireland. During all this time Mangan suffered almost continually from ill health. Probably it was his physical and mental sufferings which drove him to the use of opium, for that Mangan was an opium-eater cannot be denied. In 1831 a newspaper called the *Comet*, destined to become famous, was started with the object of supporting the anti-tithe movement. Thomas Browne, "Jonathan Buckthorn," was appointed editor, with John Sheehan as sub-editor. Mangan was one of the chief contributors to this paper. The founders and contributors were all members of the "Comet Club," already a considerable time in existence, when the newspaper was started. Mr. D. J. O'Donoghue, Mangan's best biographer, gives us a list of the leading members of the staff, all of whom achieved distinction in the path of literature. The editor, Thomas Browne, was originally a miller in the Queen's county, born in 1775. He has been called "the Irish Cobbett." John Sheehan, the son of a shopkeeper in Celbridge, he was educated at Clongowes-Wood College, where "Father Prout" was one of his teachers. He was a friend of Thackeray later in life and the undoubted original of Captain Shandon in "Pendennis;" Joseph Sterling Coyne (afterwards a contributor to *Punch*); Lover; John Cornelius O'Callaghan ("Carolan"), the historian of "The Irish Brigades in the Service of France;" Maurice O'Connell, son of the Liberator; Robert Knox, later editor of the *London Morning Herald*; Thomas Kennedy ("O'More"); Dominick Ronayne, afterwards M. P. for Cork, editor of the *Figaro* in Dublin; George Dunbar, and lastly, James Mangan ("Clarence"). Truly a brilliant galaxy. In 1833 the *Comet* came to an end. Browne and Sheehan were prosecuted by the Government and condemned to be fined and imprisoned. The sentence was, however, partly remitted. Mangan was doomed to meet with as little sympathy from the staff of the *Comet* as he did from the clerks

in the attorney's office. They did not understand the painfully sensitive nature, and his weakness and eccentricity provoked their laughter and ridicule. Hence he shunned their society, shrinking every day more and more into himself. Gradually he withdrew altogether from the companionship of his kind and went about alone, avoiding every one who knew him. Occasionally he would throw off the nightmare of gloom and melancholy which oppressed him, and then we are told never was there more delightful companion while these brief spells of a better mood lasted.

About 1833 (the date is somewhat uncertain) an overwhelming tragedy blighted forever the poet's life. He fell in love with a young lady named Miss Margaret Stackpoole. She was, it seems, a very beautiful, fascinating girl, "the most beautiful and fascinating," Mangan himself tells us, that he ever met. According to his own version of the story, she received his advances favorably and gave him every reason to hope. John Mitchell, who had every opportunity of knowing the truth, says: "By a rare accident he penetrated into a sphere of life higher and more refined than any his poor lot had before revealed to him. . . . He was on terms of visiting in a house where there were three sisters, one of them beautiful, spirituelle and a coquette. The old story was here once more reenacted in due order. Paradise opened before him; the imaginative and passionate soul of a devoted boy bended in homage before an enchantress. She received it, was pleased with it, even encouraged and stimulated it by various arts known to that class of persons, until she was fully and proudly conscious of her absolute power over one other gifted and noble nature—until she knew that she was the centre of the whole orbit of his being and the light of his life—then with cold surprise, as wondering that he could be guilty of such a foolish presumption, she exercised her undoubted prerogative and whistled him down the wind. His air-paradise was suddenly a darkness and a chaos. He never loved and hardly ever looked upon any woman forevermore." Mangan himself tells us that he introduced a friend to the lady and that it was for this friend he was so ignominiously rejected.

"I tried to summon a sufficient share of philosophy to assist me in sustaining the tremendous shock thus inflicted on me. In vain, in vain. The iron had found its way into my soul. I was condemned to be the miserable victim of my own confidingness and the treachery of others. I might live, might bear about with me the burden of my agony for long years to come, but my peace was everlastingly blasted." Mangan never recovered from this crushing sorrow. It was, as it were, his deathblow, morally and physically. Gloom and despair once more settled down upon him with tenfold

intensity, and then as before he sought oblivion from his woes. He does not seem even to have made an effort to save himself; perhaps he could not. His will, naturally weak, was rendered still weaker by his indulgence in opium, and so he sank deeper and deeper into the abyss. His friends tried every possible means to stop him in his downward course, but in vain. His answer to all their arguments was that it was too late; he could not break his awful bondage. In 1838 he obtained a situation as a copyist for the Ordnance Survey. His duties obliged him to spend much time in Marsh's Library, Trinity College, and there he spent enchanted hours in the old library amongst the old and curious books of which it was the storehouse. The closing of the Ordnance Survey Office left Mangan without any means of living, nor did he try ever again for permanent occupation. His parents were now dead, and he lived with his youngest brother, who, it seems, was an idle, good-for-nothing fellow. The poet's life was, indeed, a wretched one. Although during this time he wrote much and constantly, most of his finest work being produced when he was at his lowest ebb, still he does not appear to have derived much pecuniary benefit from it. He was very extravagant and careless about money matters. Money was gone from him as soon as he received it. No wonder that he was often in a state of actual destitution. His best and truest friend through all the misery and degradation of his latter years was the Rev. P. C. Meehan, a Catholic clergyman. From the time he became acquainted with him until the poet's death this good friend clung to him, doing all that lay in the power of man to do to wean the unhappy genius from his evil habit.

By degrees as his state grew worse his friends, all save very few, dropped away from him. He passed through the streets of Dublin a worn, wan, lonely figure, every line of which was stamped with disease and death. At last he was stricken by illness in May, 1848, and was taken to St. Vincent's Hospital, in Stephen's Green, which is under the care of the Sisters of Charity. One day there came another poet to St. Vincent's, to seek rest and healing with the poor and the illiterate. A pale, ghostlike creature, with snow-white hair tossed over his lordly forehead and falling lankly on either side of a face handsome in outline, bloodless and wrinkled, though not with age, James Clarence Mangan was carried up to St. Patrick's ward and laid on a nice fresh bed. His weird blue eyes, distraught with the opium-eater's dreams, closed beneath their heavy lids, and his head fell back in sleep, just as it is pictured fallen back in death by Frederick William Burton's magical pencil. The change from poor Mangan's wretched garret to the comforts of the hospital ward was fully appreciated by the sufferer, who, however, did not pour forth his gratitude in a tide of song. "Oh, the luxury of clean

sheets!" he exclaimed. Nor, indeed, did the Sisters recognize in their patient the charm of one who had drunk of Hippocrene. All they could discover of the poetic organization in this strange, sad man was the acutely sensitive and painfully restless temperament supposed to be a characteristic of genius. The author of the German and Irish anthologies was, in truth, a rather troublesome patient. One of the Sisters, willing to excuse his peculiarity, simply remarked, "These poets have nerves at every pore." The "restless temperament" did not allow him to remain long in the hospital. But partially recovered, he wandered forth to sink into even lower depths of misery than he had yet fathomed. The last year of his life was one of awful suffering. Homeless, starving, he disappeared from every one during the last few months before death mercifully came to release the tortured spirit. On the 13th of June, 1849, he was found dying in a cellar in Bride street, and thence removed to the Meath Hospital, where he was attended with the utmost devotion by the late Dr. Stokes until he died, seven days after his admission.

And so ends this saddest of stories. Every harsh criticism and severe judgment must be silenced by the awful sufferings of this wasted life. It is not for us to judge how far Mangan was morally responsible for his terrible weakness. It was the only blemish—great enough, it is true—on this most gifted being. His friends are unanimous on this point. He was pure-minded, gentle, incapable of unkindness to any one in word or act. "He never," says one who knew him well, "wrought sorrow and suffering to any human being but himself." In youth the poet possessed much personal beauty, having, we are told, finely chiseled features, blue eyes brilliant with the fire of genius and golden hair. One who first saw him at the time he obtained employment in Trinity College thus describes him: "Being in the college library . . . an acquaintance pointed out to me a man perched on the top of a ladder with the whispered information that he was Clarence Mangan. It was an unearthly and ghostly figure, in a brown garment, the same garment, to all appearance, which lasted until the day of his death. The blanched hair was totally unkempt, the corpse-like features still as marble; a large book was in his arms and all his soul was in the book. I had never heard of Clarence Mangan before and knew not for what he was celebrated, yet took a volume, not to read, but with the pretense of reading to gaze on the spectral creature before me." The Rev. P. C. Meehan's description of his appearance about the same time is worthy also of quotation: "He was five feet six or seven in height, slightly stooped and attenuated as one of Memling's monks. His head was large, and beautifully shaped, his eyes blue, his features exceedingly fine, and sicklied o'er with that diaphanous pallor which is said to distinguish those in whom the fire of genius

has burned too rapidly from childhood. And the dress of this spectral-looking man was singularly remarkable, taken down at hazard from some peg in an old-clothes shop—a baggy pantaloon that was never intended for him, a short coat closely buttoned, a blue cloth cloak still shorter. The hat was in keeping with his habiliment, broad-leafed and steeple-shaped, the model of which he must have found in some picture of Hudibras.” After death his features regained all their early beauty, every trace of suffering, physical and mental, being completely effaced. Dr. Stokes was so struck with the ineffable beauty of the dead face that he sent for his friend, Frederick Burton (afterwards Sir Frederick Burton), then a young man, that he might make a drawing of it. Sir Frederick afterwards presented his exquisitely beautiful drawing to the National Gallery in Dublin.

To enter upon anything like a detailed review of Clarence Mangan’s poems would be impossible within the limits of a magazine article. His *German Anthology*, published in June, 1845, is his best-known work. Undoubtedly few have ever equaled, certainly none surpassed him in his rendering of the German poets. As a translator he stands unrivaled. Indeed, the word translation is scarcely applicable to some of his work, so far does it exceed the original in beauty of diction and graceful imagination. He improved and beautified everything which he touched. Of all his translations from the German, the palm by common consent is given to his rendering of Jean Paul Richter’s prose, “The New Year’s Night of a Miserable Man,” beginning “In the lone stillness of the New Year’s Night.” In many of his poems Mangan resembles in the weird and gloomy magnificence of his style that other genius, Edgar Allan Poe, whose life-story is so similar to his own. His so-called translations from Arabic, Persian and Turkish are in reality original poems, owing their Oriental coloring to his own glowing imagination and to his intimate acquaintance with the German writers, many of whom were dominated by Eastern influence. Mangan dearly loved playing such pranks upon his readers. In reality he was not acquainted with any of the Oriental languages. The same may be said of his translations from the Irish, these being renderings from previous translations, the work of far inferior poets. Amongst some of the most beautiful of his translations from the German poets are “Mignon’s Song,” “In the Wind,” “The Last Words of Al-Hassan” and “The Dying Flower.” His so-called Oriental translations, but which are undoubtedly original, are very beautiful. “The Karamanian Exile,” “The Wail and Warning of the Three Kalendeers,” and above all, the lovely “Time of the Barmecides,” are exquisite specimens of his genius. Their glowing imagery is so true to Eastern nature that those not deeply versed in the Oriental

poets may easily be deceived and accept them as genuine translations.

By far the best of Mangan's poems were written for the *University Magazine* and the *Nation* newspapers. For the *Nation* especially his most brilliant work was done, notably during the famine year. This was the period when he had reached the lowest possible depths of suffering and degradation, and it was precisely the time when his genius soared highest. One of Mangan's most beautiful poems, which appeared in the *Nation* in 1846, is "Dark Rosaleen." In the original Irish this was entitled "Roisin Dubh"—"The Black-Haired Little Rose." The poem is supposed to have been written in the reign of Queen Elizabeth by one of the bards in the suite of Red Hugh O'Donnell. The chieftain addresses Ireland by the name of Dark Rosaleen, declaring his love for her and his willingness to die that she may regain her freedom. Mangan's version of Roisin Dubh (it had been rendered into English before) far exceeds in beauty the original, which, in fact, it so little resembles that it can scarcely be termed a translation. The "Vision of Connaught in the Thirteenth Century" is regarded as a masterpiece both of metrical structure and imaginative power. This poem is distinctly original. Exquisite, too, in its mournful cadence is the "Dirge for the O'Sullivan Beare." The finest perhaps of Mangan's religious poems is "St. Patrick's Hymn Before Tara." The original is written in the Bearla Feine, the most ancient Irish dialect, being that in which the Brehon laws were written. The manuscript is in Trinity College library, and is declared by Dr. Petrie on good authority to be nearly thirteen hundred years old. In quite another strain is the well-known "Woman of Three Cows," written for the *Irish Penny Journal*, which first appeared in 1840. The humor of this little gem is inimitable.

We must close this imperfect sketch of a most brilliant, yet most unfortunate Irishman. Great were his gifts and inexpressibly great were his misfortunes. Whilst we yield to the former the tribute of our admiration, let us accord to the latter our generous sympathy.

E. LEAHY.

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ANSGAR, THE APOSTLE OF THE NORTH—A. D. 801-865.

AFTER Charlemagne, in the beginning of the ninth century, had so quickly and gloriously consummated the great work which St. Boniface had begun for Germany, by subduing the Saxons and especially by establishing the Saxon Bishoprics of Paderborn, Münster, Osnabrück, Minden, Halberstadt, Hildesheim and Bremen, the boundary of the new empire reached northward to the country of the Danes. These heathen peoples, like the Saxons of old, proved a most dangerous enemy to the inhabitants of the empire. A century before Charlemagne, to secure the safety of the Frankish kingdom, had to subdue the Saxons with force and give them Christianity in the place of their former uncivilized and pirate life. It became necessary at this time to adopt a similar policy with the Danes and other Northmen, whose viking ships were a constant menace to the neighboring nations. These wild Northmen or Norsemen, as they are also called, set sail from their homes in the peninsula of Jutland, the islands of the Baltic and the shores of the Scandinavian continent, invaded the coast towns of Gaul and Germany, and with their long, narrow boats entered far up the rivers and inlets of these countries, plundering everywhere churches, monasteries and flourishing towns. Whatever the Christians built up by painstaking labor might crumble into ruins over night.

The sword in the hands of the quarrelsome successors of Charlemagne was small protection against these depredations of the Northmen. But "grace can where nature cannot." The gradual conversion of the North to Christianity was to subdue and finally destroy not its people, but their savage instincts and barbarian cruelty. Meanwhile Divine Providence was preparing for this mission one who was to become to the North what St. Boniface had been to Germany, that one was St. Ansgar, the Benedictine.

Ansgar was born of distinguished parents in Picardy, France, in the year 801. His mother, a lady of great piety, died when he was only five years old. But the fear of God which she had planted in the life of the tender child received fostering care even after her early death, for his father sent the boy of five to the monks of (old) Corbie, a monastery near Amiens, to be educated. There at first Ansgar began to act boyishly, giving himself more to pranks and vain words than to the discipline of education. One night about this time he had a vision, in which he seemed to be walking along a slippery path, fearful that at any moment he should fall into the quagmire. Alongside the path which he trod he could see a safe and beautiful road along which his mother was passing in

a choir of white-clad women led by a sublime and majestic figure. Ansgar labored to free himself from the mire and bring himself onto the safe path. He was struggling without success when the Mother of God, whom he recognized in the inspiring figure, addressed to him these words: "Do you wish to share our company? Then flee vanities and put away boyish pranks." After this vision Ansgar conducted himself more seriously. He shunned the society of his former friends and began to devote himself to reading, meditation and other useful practices. But gradually, through human frailty, his determination grew cold. Then came the news of the death of the Emperor Charlemagne and the thought of how the power and influence of this great ruler was but a shadow in the grave of Aachen impressed itself deeply on the mind of Ansgar. The meaning of death struck him so forcibly that he devoted himself henceforth entirely to the service of God by prayer, vigils and fasting.

His vocation to the monastic life was confirmed by another vision. He saw, as it seemed, his soul depart from his body, whence it was conducted by St. Peter and John the Baptist into a dark and suffocating place, which he knew to be Purgatory. He was led through this space into a brilliant brightness before the immense majesty of God. While celestial sweetness flooded his soul he heard a voice proceeding from the throne: "Go, and return with the martyr's crown." Some time after Ansgar had put on the Benedictine habit, God honored and consoled him by a third vision. As he was at prayer one day and just about to rise he beheld the Saviour, with the splendor of the Divinity in His eyes and radiant as a flame of fire, coming through the door of the church. The young monk ran forward and fell at His feet. Christ bade him rise and confess his sins. When he had finished his confession, the Lord absolved him with these words: "Look up to Me and behold Him who takes away the sins of the world: so I absolve you from all your sins, faults and imperfections!"

Ansgar was now made professor at the monastery school and shortly after was ordained to the holy priesthood. Later, when the daughter house of (new) Corvey was founded in Westphalia (Saxony), on the west bank of the Weser, Ansgar, with a little company of monks, was removed to the new monastic outpost. At Corvey he worked under the eye of the abbot Wala, one of the most illustrious lights of that monastery. The time was fast approaching for the young monk to become the apostle of the North. Divine Providence was also guiding events in another direction. Harold, the pagan king of the Danes, had come to the court of the Emperor Lewis the Pious on political matters, and there signifying his desire to become a Christian, he, with his retinue, was

baptized in the city of Metz. This was in the year 826. Harold promised then that if Lewis would protect him in his Danish kingdom he in turn would aid in the conversion of his entire nation to the faith. The abbot Wala decided that young Ansgar was the best man to accompany the king into Denmark, and nominated him as the fittest to preach the Gospel to the heathen Danes. Word of this appointment reached Ansgar, and immediately he discerned the call of God. But difficulties and obstacles lay in his path; yet, no matter how great in size or various in kind, his courage was grounded fast in the Lord. "It was more than daring; it was a supernaturally strong and an enduring, heroic courage imbedded in the character of Ansgar that was to enable him to fulfill his office as apostle of the North." After he had been strengthened for his apostolic mission by prayer and pious recollection, he and Autbert, the prior of (new) Corvey, journeyed with King Harold into the new missionary country.

The two monks had departed with King Harold from the banks of the Rhine, and now after a safe journey they entered Denmark. They stopped at Schleswig, in the southern part of the Scandinavian world, and made this place the seat of their first missionary activity. Here they labored with the blessings of God upon their efforts; they taught the faith, baptized the natives and founded a school for Christian education. About this time ambassadors from Sweden came to the Emperor, Lewis, asking that Christianity be preached in Sweden, where the nucleus of a church, consisting of Christian slaves and tradesmen, already existed. But the dangers of a mission to the barbaric Northmen of Sweden were far more perilous than those among the Danes had been. The Emperor, however, remembered Ansgar and summoned the missionary before him. The holy zeal of this young apostle, like that of the first Apostles, knew no terrors of land or sea where God's work was in question. Ansgar was chosen then to bring the Gospel to Sweden, and as soon as he had named a representative to carry on the work in Denmark, he and Witmar, a brother monk of (old) Corbie, in a company of tradespeople set out for Sweden. They arrived there in 829. But their journey was full of hardships and trials. While at sea between Denmark and Sweden they fell in with pirates. The vikings robbed them of all their possessions and they were fortunate to reach land with their lives. Most sorrowful of their losses was that of forty books which they had collected at great trouble for the mission. The story of their journey reads like St. Paul's to Rome, with its hardships and privations. In excessive misery they wandered through this unknown land, finding rest and harbor at last in the town of Birka, where the native king Björn "showed them no small courtesy," receiving them as

friends. Birka was a port town and the commercial centre of Sweden. It was situated on Lake Mälär, near the present city of Stockholm. Its inhabitants were largely rich merchants and Christian slaves, who hailed the news of the missionaries' arrival with great joy. Within a short time Ansgar had converted many of the natives, among them one of the most distinguished men of the kingdom, Heriger, who later built the first Christian church in Sweden.

After the mission in Sweden was well under way Ansgar returned to Germany to receive the coöperation of the good Emperor. He wished to extend the work and establish it on a firmer basis, but more missionaries and greater ecclesiastical jurisdiction for himself were needed for its success. The favorable account of the progress of the mission, which Ansgar gave at the Imperial Diet of Aachen, determined Lewis to establish a Bishopric in Northern Germany. Hamburg was excellently located to become the centre of the northern missions, so it was selected as the see of the new Bishopric, and Ansgar was consecrated its first incumbent. But before he assumed the duties of this office he journeyed to Rome, as St. Boniface had done before him, to receive further instructions and more special powers from the Pope. Gregory IV. received him graciously, imparted to him most timely advice, gave him the Archbishop's pallium and put into his hands the same power for the North that Gregory III. had given St. Boniface for Germany. Ansgar, now Archbishop of Hamburg and Papal Legate to the North, left Rome for his far-distant mission field. Hamburg, which was formerly only a little, unknown town, grew rapidly as the mother church of Denmark, Sweden and Norway into a city of considerable rank. This rapid growth is attributable to the extensive and ceaseless labors of Ansgar; his work merits for him the title of "Real Founder of the City of Hamburg."

The first care of the new Archbishop was the erection of a suitable church. By his untiring efforts, which were not unsupported by the Emperor, St. Peter's Cathedral was soon erected in Hamburg. He also received money from other friends, and by a wise use of this he was able to build a monastery and a seminary adjoining the Cathedral. He bought boys and young men from slavery, as Gregory the Great once had done, and educated them priests and missionaries, who later preached the Christian faith successfully in the heathen countries of the North. Though strangers and foreigners to these nations, they had become familiar during their captivity with the country and with national customs. In a short time Ansgar had the great joy to be able to send these fresh and zealous ambassadors of the faith to all parts of the North. The night of heathenism, which till then had darkened the country, was

being pierced everywhere by the light rays of the Gospel. Once this light had begun to illumine the North, Ansgar saw to it that it was not extinguished. He set out in person to minister to the isolated missions, founded new monasteries and churches and consecrated them, preached the saving doctrines of Christianity to the people, and before he left one mission to go to the next one he prepared all things for its future needs. His life as Bishop was an inspiration to all who saw him; it was a source of strength against the day of persecution that was soon to follow.

After the unwearied labors of thirteen years Ansgar could finally trust that his work at Hamburg had been firmly established. But there arose a storm of destruction, and quickly in 845 it had shattered all his hopes, if not his courage. Unwarned, the inhabitants of Hamburg were surprised when six hundred pirate ships of the Danes were seen ascending the Elbe and making against their city. None of the population, except Ansgar, was prepared to withstand an attack. In vain did Ansgar strive to stir the people to a bold resistance. The wild barbarians swept into Hamburg with overpowering force. With impetuous greed they filled their boats with the city's treasures, and what ever they could not carry off they reduced to ashes. Within two days the vikings had made Hamburg a desolation. Ansgar emerged from the ruins at the last moment, but with all his heroic work he could save only a few treasures. He was left unprotected. Lewis the Pious, from whom he might have expected some help, had died in 840, five years before the destruction of Hamburg. The successors of Lewis were too greatly occupied in internal strifes to offer him any aid. And the neighboring Bishop of Bremen, with whom Ansgar finally sought protection, was unwilling to help him because of an unchristian feeling of jealousy which he held towards the Archbishop of Hamburg. Still Ansgar did not lose courage. This fortitude was well rewarded when a noble lady, Ikia, made him a gift of the estate of Ramsloh, three miles south of Hamburg. Upon this land he built a new monastery and began to direct the reconstruction of the city of Hamburg and the missions of his diocese.

But God had another reward in store for this heroic apostle. Ludwig the German, the most favorably disposed of Lewis the Pious' sons, now took the Archbishop under his protection. In the same year the Bishop of Bremen died. Shortly after Pope Nicholas I. and the Emperor united the Diocese of Bremen to the Archdiocese of Hamburg, and Ansgar was given jurisdiction over both. This appointment put ampler means than before at his disposal. In Hamburg St. Peter's Cathedral was soon rebuilt, with a new monastery and school. It was not long before the town became as flourishing as it had ever been. But Ansgar kept his

permanent see at Bremen, because that city was less open to the piratical raids of the Northmen. From Bremen he could once more direct his purpose and energy to the reconstruction of the Northern missions, which had suffered heavily in the disasters of the previous year. He was also favored by Ludwig the German, who made him imperial envoy to Eric, King of the Danes. Ansgar made use of his ecclesiastical and recent secular power to prepare the King and his people to receive Christianity. Churches were erected throughout Denmark and priests were appointed to take charge of the fast growing numbers of Christians. But when King Eric fell in battle, and when a younger Eric, a zealot of paganism, ascended the throne, it seemed that an evil day had come for the Church in Denmark. Ansgar, however, made another journey to Denmark and pleaded his cause before the pagan King. By his word and venerable appearance he persuaded the King to grant Christians full liberty to practice their religion and come to church at the ringing of the church bells. It was a great triumph for Ansgar, since the heathen Danes were a superstitious lot and feared that church bells would cast a Christian spell over the people.

Urgent as was the need of Ansgar in Denmark, his absence was even more felt in Sweden. In Birka the pagans began an insurrection, destroyed the church of the Christians and drove Autbert, whom Ansgar had appointed Bishop of Birka, out of the country. Only noble Heriger, who had been one of Ansgar's first converts in Sweden, remained loyal. And he, now at death's door, had not seen a priest in seven years. This went deep to the heart of Ansgar. As soon as he could he sent the priest Arigar to Heriger, whom he prepared for a pious death. Arigar returned to Germany because of the unfavorable conditions in Sweden. As the difficulties mounted higher, Ansgar grew firmer in the execution of his work.

About this time, 853, Ludwig the German commissioned Ansgar to act as his envoy to Olaf, King of Sweden. The dignity in which Ansgar came as well as his personal character won him a friendly reception at the hands of the pagan King. His first desire was that the Christians of Sweden should enjoy full liberty before the law to practice their religion. Olaf called a general council of the people to decide the question. Due to the wise and prudent persuasion of Ansgar, the assembly adopted the following resolution of toleration: "The inhabitants of Sweden are free to become Christians or to remain pagans." This surprising ruling was most satisfactory to Christianity. Churches were rebuilt in Birka, pastors appointed to take charge of them, and the Christian faith preached to the people with astonishing results.

After the restoration of Birka, Ansgar journeyed forth with untiring zeal to care for the faithful who were scattered in every

part of his diocese. Through his efforts the Christian Church daily increased in numbers, new churches and monasteries were built, fresh missionaries were sent forth in every direction, and Ansgar everywhere followed after these sowers of the good seed to establish ecclesiastical order or renew the spirit of that order where it had weakened. Ansgar reported the happy results of his journeys to the Pope, Nicholas I., and to the Emperor. So great was Nicholas' joy and his confidence in the work of Ansgar that in 858 he ratified the action of the former Pope in giving the Archbishop united jurisdiction over Hamburg and Bremen and at the same time decreed that the two sees be united permanently. In a letter to Ansgar the Pope encouraged him to walk in the way of virtue: "Let your life be an example to those under your charge; let not your heart be lifted up to pride in success, nor let it be cast down in failure. The evil-minded should find in you an opponent, the good a benefactor. Never let strange cunning move you to destroy the innocent, no favor to protect the guilty. Be a consolation to oppressed widows and orphans. Behold, my dear brother, if you fulfill these duties you render yourself worthy of the priesthood."

These words of fatherly advice found their perfection in the life of Ansgar. From the day of his entrance into the Order of St. Benedict he had led the most rigorous life of a monk. Day and night he wore a hair shirt next to his skin. His ordinary food was bread and water. The few hours of sleep he allowed himself each night were spent on a hard bed; the remaining hours he passed in prayer and pious contemplation. Despite these austerities he was tirelessly active during the day in the many duties of his holy office and in every work of Christian love and charity. His zeal went out especially to the Christian slaves. He bought many of them from the woes of their bondage and many others were freed when he sternly rebuked their masters. In those days kidnaping and slave-trade was a favorite business of the Northmen. What wonder, then, that his services in this Christian work of charity should be considered truly remarkable? In Bremen he founded a hospital for the poor sick, whom he was happy to serve with his own hands, washing their feet, preparing the table for them and reaching them their food.

His most ardent wish was to die a martyr for Christ. But this desire was not to be granted him, and in his humility he laid the cause of his own sins. But his life was more pleasing to divine wisdom because thus he daily became a martyr for Christ.

On February 3, 865, Ansgar died. His last words were those touching lines of the Scriptures: "Lord, remember me in your great mercy and in your great goodness!" and "God be merciful to me a

sinner!" and "Lord, into Thy hands I commend my spirit." The story of St. Ansgar is like that of a "crowd of unknown saints whose names fill the calendars and live, some of them, only in the titles of our churches." The Church solemnizes the memory of St. Ansgar as saint and martyr on the date of his death, February the third.

G. D. S.

RELIGIOUS PROCESSIONS IN CATHOLIC LANDS.

ONE of the great features of life in Continental Europe most striking to travelers from the United States was the number and variety of religious processions in Catholic countries. The suggestive banners, the rich statues, the smoke of incense, the glittering vestments of the Bishop, priests and chanters—all combined to form a spectacle new to our colder and more practical temperament. Each country had its own peculiarities, its refined taste or deplorable want of taste; or even where taste prevailed in the cultivated classes, the less tutored mind of the lower orders demanded what pleased them. The era of these grand religious processions is passing rapidly away, due to the hostile civil laws, which boasts of its regard for the consciences of *all* its citizens—except the consciences of those who adhere to the faith of their fathers. France, Spain, Germany and finally Italy have prohibited or limited them so that they now belong rather to the domain of history than to that of actual life. Religious processions of the kind to which we have just referred are generally prompted by devotion to the Blessed Virgin, which always awakens great enthusiasm, or by faith in the Real Presence, and are always manifestations of belief and earnestness. Religious processions date back to a very remote period. The translation of the Ark among the Hebrews is an early instance of a procession. Here David “gathered together all the chosen men of Israel, thirty thousand . . . and went with them to fetch the Ark of God . . . and the tabernacle of the covenant, and all the vessels of the sanctuary.” (II. and III. Kings.) In the time of Julian the Apostate there was a solemn procession to transport the relics of Babylas the Martyr, as may be learned from the histories of that day. St. Ambrose and St. Augustine mention a famous procession in Milan at which they were present. St. Matthew in his Gospel describes Christ’s entry into Jerusalem, how “a very great multitude spread their garments in the way and others cut boughs from the trees and strewed them in His way. . . . Others took branches from the trees and went forth to meet Him.” May we not trace from this incident the custom of strewing flowers practiced to this day in processions of the Blessed Sacrament? To this day we have reminders of many processions of the Middle Ages in the performance of the Asperges at the parochial Mass and in the entrance to and departure of the clergy from the sanctuary. These, of course, are not formally recognized in liturgical books, but they are suggestive, nevertheless.

In Spanish America generally the processions have retained the

style of old Spain of arraying statues in robes, which to our taste would seem overloaded with gold embroidery and lace; and in some parts the Indians and the Negroes have introduced features of their own, which give the processions a strange commingling of the wild and barbaric with the mediæval. During the Christian persecutions of the first three centuries many were put to death for their faith, and when the persecutions were over the Christians sought out the remains of those who had suffered martyrdom and carried them in procession, singing hymns and psalms of thanksgiving, to their churches. The same was done when the relics were translated from one church to another. In more modern times when a Bishop officiated it was customary for his priests, deacons and subdeacons to go in procession to his house and escort him processionaly to the church, chanting the psalms, etc., prescribed for such occasions. In times of great public calamity processions were made to the tombs of the saints and martyrs and to other holy places; prayers were offered up, and these were called litanies or supplications. When princes arrived in any city of their dominions it was customary to take them in procession to the principal church, and this was also done and is still done with the dead before the obsequies were performed. Some of these processions made no stop on the way; others again made what are called stations, as we shall see further on.

Processions are ordered in times of great calamities to excite the people to appease divine wrath by prayers, repentance and works of mercy. There are in Catholic countries more processions during the Easter time than at other times. In some places it is customary to carry little bells, which are rung continuously, so that those who are to receive the procession may be prepared for it and also that those who did not start out with it may join the ranks as the procession moves along. These little bells also precede the priest when on his way to attend the sick and dying. With these few introductory remarks concerning the early history and objects used in processions we shall invite the reader to accompany us to different countries of Europe and watch the religious processions as they pass before us.

The feast of the Blessed Sacrament, or Corpus Christi, was instituted by Pope Urban IV. by a Bull dated September 8, 1262, and confirmed by Pope Clement V. in the General Council of Vienna. Its object was to counteract the effect of those who denied the Real Presence. Berengarius, Archdeacon of Angers, being the first who made this denial, the day is kept with special solemnity in that city, but it is everywhere observed with all the pomp and splendor the Church can command. Towns, villages and cities vie with one another in surrounding it with renewed circumstances of beauty and

magnificence, so that in all Catholic countries it is one of the most joyous festivals of the whole year.

Processions being the natural expression of the human heart on all occasions of public joy and triumph, the feast of Corpus Christi affords a grand opportunity for such an expression. The Blessed Sacrament is carried in procession, with music and the chanting of hymns and psalms and every other demonstration of joy, gladness and veneration. The priests are clad in their richest vestments, the Blessed Sacrament is enclosed in a monstrance of gold or silver, frequently adorned with precious stones, under a canopy of embroidered silk or cloth of gold, and borne by the chief officers of State or the magistrates of the city. (Gabriel Garcia Moreno, one-time President of Ecuador, regarded it as a great privilege to be permitted to be one of the bearers of this canopy, and the assassin's steel found its way to his heart just after one of these processions.) Young girls dressed in white go before the clergy, strewing the way with flowers, and acolytes swing their silver censers filled with smoking incense. The faithful follow in holiday attire, the males carrying lighted candles, symbolizing the light of faith; the fronts of the houses and balconies along the route of the procession are hung with drapery or covered with flags and banners bearing religious devices and occasionally with garlands of flowers and evergreens.

In Rome the procession consists of vast numbers of the regular and secular clergy, the students of theological seminaries, the canons and other dignitaries of the basilicas and principal churches (each community being preceded by its own cross-bearer and banner); next follows the usual train of mitred abbots, Bishops, Archbishops, Patriarchs and Cardinals—such as are wont to precede the Sovereign Pontiff on all state occasions. Last of all comes the Holy Father himself, vested in a white satin cope trimmed with gold. He is borne upon the shoulders of men, under a canopy which is supported alternately by certain public officers and the members of a few privileged colleges. The Pope is not sitting as in ordinary functions, nor is he arrayed with all the insignia of his dignity as Chief Bishop of the Church and dispensing blessings as he goes. Now he is bending forward in an attitude of the deepest reverence and engaged in prayer and thanksgiving to the Author and Giver of all blessings, whom he bears in his hands under the appearance of bread. As the procession moves along, the multitude fall upon their knees, every head is uncovered, and all remain in silent adoration until it has passed. The scene is one that can never be forgotten by those who have witnessed it and who can understand the feeling of those who participate in it.

The same procession is repeated in other lands, but under circumstances widely different. The town of Gmunden, in upper Austria, is situated upon a lake of the same name and is surrounded by lofty mountains. Here the procession, leaving the village church, moves down the lake, and the clergy and faithful embark in barges and boats of different shapes and sizes. Over the principal of these barges a grand canopy is erected, under which we catch a glimpse of the altar. Another barge, also canopied, is reserved for the clergy and civil officers of the district. The different societies from the vicinity come in their barges, with banners up, bearing the effigies of their patron saints, and thus the solemn procession is rowed around the lake, the clergy and people singing hymns in praise of God, and their voices echoing and reëchoing from mountain to mountain find a response in the heart of the sick and aged mountaineer, who, unable to take part in the procession, joins it in spirit, and devoutly crossing himself, falls upon his knees and turns his heart to God. Funeral processions are conducted in the same manner.

In the distant wilds of Paraguay the procession of Corpus Christi is also clothed with all the splendor and magnificence available. The procession passes along under a series of triumphal arches formed from the green wood of the forest and erected at given intervals along the road. These arches are adorned with festoons of flowers and fruits; with the finest fish the poor natives have been able to catch; with the skins of wild beasts slaughtered in the chase, and with living birds, having just enough freedom allowed them to display the brilliant hues of their plumage. The poor natives have "neither silver nor gold, but what they have they freely give." Private dwellings, too, are adorned in a similar manner; the whole way is strewn with aromatic herbs and flowers, and among the leafy boughs of the arches and along the fronts of the houses are arranged, in every variety of form, a profusion of cakes and dulces made expressly for the occasion. These, immediately after the procession, are distributed among the sick and poor. In our own large cities we find customs not unlike this practiced by the poor Italians on their patronal feast days.

In some parts of France it is customary to make the procession on some day within the octave and move out into the open fields or to some commanding eminence; and from this point the Benediction is given to the whole surrounding country, after the chanting of the prescribed hymns. Sometimes these processions take place in the evenings—say about an hour after sunset. Let us imagine ourselves among the Pyrenees. The procession starts from a little village in the valley and winds its way up a conical-shaped

hill of considerable height, which rises abruptly out of the centre of a narrow plain. The villages on the surrounding heights are all illuminated and bonfires blaze on every hill-top. From the eminence on which we stand, more than a mile away, we watch the procession as it winds around the hill, until at last it forms a crown upon its summit and then disappears for a little while within the chapel that stands there. Presently the lights reappear; a sky-rocket shoots up into the air and the voice of the parish priest rings out in solemn chant. The Benediction is given amid the discharge of cannon, announcing it to all the inhabitants far and near, and every knee is bent.

The feast of Corpus Christi is celebrated all over the world, but there are other feasts which are not universal. Every country has its own patronal feast, which is celebrated according to the peculiar customs of the place. In Belgium patronal feasts are celebrated with great pomp and magnificence. The city of Ghent has a feast which is celebrated once in a century. It is the feast of St. Macaire. It was last celebrated in 1867, and his intercession was implored to preserve Belgium from pestilence, the cholera and other diseases which had desolated the country the year before. The shrine of St. Macaire is in the ancient Cathedral of St. Bavon. The procession in honor of this saint is well worth seeing, as it is perhaps the grandest and most imposing procession in Belgium.

On this occasion the streets are adorned with flags, the houses covered with green branches and flowers, balconies with blue, crimson and yellow velvet hangings, glittering with gold; all of this will give us some idea of the uniquely beautiful spectacle. The seminarians, the cures in surplice and ermine hanging from the left arm, the deans in copes, the canons of the cathedral, the Bishops of Namur, Liege, Bruges, Tournai, Geneva, Hebron and Ghent in cope and mitre, preceding the shrine of St. Macaire, borne by priests and surrounded by lighted tapers; next came the Apostolic Nuncio and finally His Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop of Malines. All the Bishops give the episcopal benediction to the kneeling people, who reverently make the sign of the cross.

In Spain processions are very numerous. Every city, town or *aldea* has its patron saint, whose feast is celebrated with more or less splendor, according to the time, place and circumstances of the inhabitants. The feast of Corpus Christi is celebrated in the larger cities with all the pomp and display that characterizes the day in other countries, the only difference being the gorgeous and, to foreign eyes, very extravagant manner in which their saints and the Blessed Virgin, under her different titles, are arrayed. The romance

and imagination of Spain have rendered her ritual most poetic and picturesque. The Holy Week processions appear very strange to foreign eyes, but they are not intended to please the foreigner; they satisfy the people of the place because they express what the people want to express in their own way.

In one of these Holy Week processions we find a figure of Our Blessed Lord carrying His Cross and standing upon a platform borne upon the shoulders of a number of men. As we look upon it we are led to realize how the regal ideas which the Spaniard entertains regarding the King of Kings leads him, at the expense of good taste, in our eyes—and some of us might go so far as to say, at the expense of common sense—to carry his notions to extremes. We might forgive the angels that stand on either side of the Man of Sorrows, carrying their silver-mounted lanterns, but the dress of Our Redeemer on His way to Calvary, the roses that surround the aureola over His thorn-crowned head, and the Cross ornamented with silver, pearls and even precious stones, are things which the foreigner can scarcely pass over. But we must not forget that in the mind of the Spaniard that crown of thorns, that seamless garment and that Cross of death, which under the old régime were emblems of ignominy and shame, became through the sufferings of Christ the symbols of man's redemption. We make no objection to the cross on our chasubles being ornamented with silver and gold and precious stones, because we know they symbolize the triumph of the Cross. So the Spaniard loves to decorate his crosses even if his lack of good taste as we see it awakens in us emotions altogether different from those intended.

Another peculiarly Spanish procession occurs during the penitential season. At its head we see the *macero*, bearing the mace, the insignia of his office. Next come a number of ecclesiastics, wearing tall, pointed white head-dresses reaching down in front to the breast; two holes are made for the eyes, but the identity of the wearer is entirely concealed. (They remind us of the Roman confraternities for the burial of the dead.) These ecclesiastics carry banners bearing sacred devices. On either side of them marches a military guard of honor at "support arms," if not on the last three days of Holy Week; on these days all arms are "reversed." Between the double line of ecclesiastics, flanked by the guard of honor, comes the "Altar of the Crucifixion," borne on the heads of men who are concealed by the drapery surrounding the platform, and which hangs down to the ground. These are followed by the reverend clergy of various orders, the children of the parish strewing the way with flowers, the men of the parish societies

bearing long wax candles, and again more shrines, banners, etc. The balconies along the route of the procession are filled with reverent and dignified spectators reciting the prayers incident to the procession.

The ceremonies of Holy Week are exceedingly interesting in Spain, notwithstanding the to us dramatic manner in which they are carried out. In Sevilla, in the magnificent and world-renowned Cathedral, they are doubly so. On Wednesday of Holy Week the sacred edifice is crowded to witness the impressive ceremony of the "Rending of the White Veil," at the moment when the passage referring to the "rocks being rent" is chanted in the Gospel of the Passion. At Vespers the canons prostrate themselves before the altar and are covered with a black pall bearing the red cross. On this and the following days may be seen, both in the churches and in the streets, processions, representations of the awful and terrible events connected with the Passion. These representations, however strange they may appear to foreign eyes, are, nevertheless, when well performed, deeply impressive and solemn in the extreme. The processions are arranged in the most orderly manner, and men of the highest rank, of royal blood and of the noblest orders, do not hesitate to walk for hours through dusty, crowded streets, on three successive days, with the sole motive of doing honor to their Lord whose badge they wear.

The processions, after moving through the principal parts of the parish, almost always end by entering the cathedral and stopping for a few moments in the open space between the altar and the choir. The brilliant light shed by the innumerable wax candles has the effect of toning down what, in the sunshine, appeared too gaudy. Among the principal scenes represented on moving platforms may be mentioned "The Holy Infancy," the "Bearing of the Cross," the "Descent from the Cross," and finally the catafalque, upon which reposes a wax figure of the "Dead Christ." We shall have occasion to speak of this latter representation further on. There are not wanting those from English-speaking countries, especially, who are very ready to criticize these representations, but if they were better understood, in our own country, the writer of this article would never have been horrified as he was at our great Centennial Exhibition, in 1876. He was in the Belgian department looking at some beautifully carved figures in wood. While looking at a "Pieta," a group of well-dressed, prosperous-looking ladies and gentlemen stopped for a moment, and after looking at the "Pieta" one of the ladies, in a sort of mystified manner, exclaimed, pointing

to the Dead Christ: "Who is that Man?" This in an enlightened country. Had this been told us we could not have believed it.

The Holy Week processions and ceremonies at the venerable Cathedral of San Cristobal de la Habana, at the capital of the Cuban Republic, are not unlike those in the mother country. The same representations of the Passion of Our Blessed Redeemer are to be seen. On Holy Thursday, after the "Gloria in excelsis," the great and special period of mourning commences. No horse or vehicle is (or was) allowed in the street after 10 o'clock in the morning, unless used to convey a physician to some very sick patient, in bad weather. The Spaniard, before the Republic at least, in his full dress, with all the decorations and insignia of his position, went with his family to visit his parish church, on foot; the Cuban did the same thing, in full dress. Soldiers marched with reversed arms, to the tap of muffled drums; those performing guard duty likewise carry reversed arms while on duty. The musical instruments are heard in the home, the street or the church. In former days the Captain General and his staff *walked* to and from the church. On Good Friday a spirit of mourning pervades the city. Houses and balconies are draped in black, and black draperies cover altar and pulpit in the church. Ladies wear black or violet dresses, and their only ornaments, if any, are jets. It is one of the ceremonies of the day to perform part of the Passion. The high altar is concealed by drapery, and in its place three crosses are erected, and on them are attached life-sized figures of Our Saviour and the two thieves. The face of the penitent thief is generally turned toward the Master, as if asking forgiveness—the other face, upon which a look of despair is plainly discernible, is turned the other way. At the proper time the priest who is to preach the Passion sermon ascends the pulpit, and as he progresses in his sermon the nails are extracted from the sacred hands and feet, and the body is lowered from the Cross. At this moment the preacher calls out to his vast congregation: "Llorad lagrimas de sangre; por vos muria!" ("Weep tears of blood; for you He died.") The clergy now withdraw for a time, and the Hermanos de la Soledad come forward and take charge of the body, which is placed upon a magnificent canopied catafalque, which rests upon a trestle concealed by black velvet drapery, dotted with silver stars. The upper portion of this catafalque is decorated with white and violet flowers. The image of the Dead Christ is covered with a sort of silver cloth covering, leaving the head and feet exposed. Close by is another platform (or float) also draped with black velvet. Upon this are the figures of the Mater Dolorosa, sustained in the arms of St. John, the Beloved Disciple.

The bier, followed by the figures of the Mater Dolorosa and St. John, is carried in procession by the Hermanos de la Soledad. This is called "Le Procecion del Entierro" (Procession of the Interment). It is escorted by one or more regiments of soldiers in full uniform, with reversed arms and their hats thrown back and hanging on the back of their necks by a strap around the chin. Bands of music accompany the procession playing mournful strains, and thousands of people of every walk of life, nobles, citizens and slaves, participate in this solemn and impressive demonstration. Little girls walk along throwing rose-leaves and flowers along the street, while boys and men (among whom was once the writer of this article) carry long tapers in their hands. The houses along the route of the procession are draped in mourning; a solemn stillness pervades the entire city; the busy hum of business is suspended; the blacksmith's hammer lies idly on his anvil. The procession having made its usual course returns to the Cathedral, where the statues are solemnly returned to their places. The Dead Christ lies just inside the sanctuary gates, and thousands come during the remainder of the afternoon and evening to perform their acts of prayer and adoration.

Holy Saturday, called Sabado de Gloria, dawns upon the city, and soon the churches are again filled with worshippers. The new fire is lighted; the grains of incense are placed in the Paschal candle; the prophecies are read, and the usual procession of the clergy moves to the fonts to bless the "new water"—and now the celebrant and his assistants repair to the altar to begin the Mass of the day. Thus far no sound has been heard save the solemn chant of the priests as they performed the ceremonies of the day; but now the voice of the priest is heard intoning the "Gloria in excelsis," and immediately the veils fall from before paintings and statues; the doors of the cathedral burst open and admit a flood of light; the bells in the tower announce the glad tidings, and a response comes booming over the bay from the cannons in the Morro Castle; drums beat on every side, the soldiers' arms are no longer "reversed;" the blacksmith, who has been standing by his anvil, hammer in hand, waiting for the cathedral bell to announce the end of the penitential season, now lustily drives the sparks from the red-hot iron; the calesero and the cassetero, already mounted, at the first stroke of the bell, burst open the doors and rush into the now busy street, to the confusion of which the inevitable *enfant terrible* contributes his share by a discharge of firecrackers. Every face wears a look of joy and happiness. The Mass continues to the end, and after receiving the episcopal benediction the faithful return to their homes to prepare for the celebration of Easter. This

is the way Holy Week was celebrated in Havana years ago; the outdoor ceremonies are modified to-day.

Let us now visit Venice, that beautiful "City of the Sea." It contains many splendid churches, but the most magnificent of all is the Cathedral of San Marco, for many years the loved Cathedral of the late holy Pontiff, Pope Pius X. We come upon it on the morning of April 25, the feast of St. Mark the Evangelist, the patron saint of the city. The vast structure is thronged with worshipers. The Solemn Pontifical Mass is celebrated by the venerable Patriarch, and then follows the grand processions, moving from the vast basilica down through the Piazza di San Marco and along some of the principal streets. We take our place in a gondola on the opposite side, and thus gain an uninterrupted view of the procession as it passes along. Apart from the local emblems on the banners and the altars borne along, it does not differ materially from similar processions in other parts of Europe. The crossbearer is attended by the usual acolytes; the clergy of different orders move along with stately and reverent tread, bearing immense torches in their hands; others carry banners bearing the effigy of the saint whose feast is being celebrated and those of other saints held in special veneration by the Venetians. At last come the higher clergy in their gorgeous vestments, and finally the venerable Patriarch, surrounded by his vicars, chapter, canons, etc. His hand is raised in benediction over his people. The houses along the route of the procession are gayly decorated with flags and banners bearing crosses or other religious devices. Some of these are stretched across the canal or streets. From the position we occupy the scene before us is strikingly picturesque and impressive. On the opposite side of the canal the grand procession moves along chanting litanies and hymns; over us countless banners are waving in the sunlight; around us gondolas of every description, decorated with drapery and streamers, are filled with gayly dressed ladies and gentlemen, while far up the canal our eyes rest on the Rialto, the most magnificent bridge in Venice.

Besides the many grand processions of a general character, and participated in by clergy and laity of a certain parish, or of several parishes combined, there are in Catholic countries many processions of a more private nature, but none the less interesting and impressive. There is in Rome and in other cities also a confraternity of laymen who bury the dead who die in the hospital of the Fathers of the Santo Spirito. Every evening, just before sunset, they go from different parts of Rome, no matter how unfavorable the weather may be, to carry away the dead, and they go in pro-

cession from the hospital to the cemetery, which is at some distance away. They move with slow and solemn tread, preceded by a cross, and then follow the priest and the hearse or bier—more frequently the latter. They chant the “Miserere” and recite prayers for the dead as they march along. It is a most solemn sight to see such a procession winding around the Coliseum or ascending the Janiculum Hill as the shades of night begin to fall over the domes and towers of the grand old city of Rome. In that solemn procession are men of all classes of society—brethren whose identity is entirely concealed by long robes and pointed headdresses with two holes cut in them for the eyes. These brethren are the servants of the dead and crave no recognition from the living.

In most of the countries of Europe elaborate religious processions have been abandoned because of the opposition made against them by the civil authorities. Perhaps these processions contributed too much in keeping alive in the people a knowledge, to a certain extent at least, of events in the Christian life which are at variance with “modern” ideas. The fact remains that the religious procession is largely a thing of the past.

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THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE LIFE OF CHRIST ACCORDING TO CATHOLIC DOCTRINE.

(By the Author of "The Chronology of Christ.")

IN THE sixth century a learned and holy priest, Dionysius the Little, proposed the Christian era. At the time the chronology of the life of Christ had already become a very hard problem. Dionysius interpreted Christian tradition as asserting that the Incarnation of Christ took place on Friday, March 25, and that His death also occurred on March 25. By harmonizing the best he could these statements of Christian tradition with the evidence of the Jewish calendar, Dionysius fixed A. D. 1 as the supposed date of Christ's birth and he fixed the time of Christ's death as taking place in A. D. 34. In the eighth century Beda emphasized the fact that Jesus truly died on Friday, and that He certainly died on March 25. This doctor also made plain that in the year of A. D. 34 the 25th of March did not occur on Friday. Notwithstanding this conflicting evidence, Beda strongly maintained and even confirmed with new arguments the conclusions reached by Dionysius. The great learning, the prudence and the holiness of Beda are beyond doubt. And the Church adopted on the authority of Beda the theory of Dionysius. Of course the Church knew from Beda that this arrangement of the chronology of Christ's life carried with it an insurmountable difficulty and yet adopted these conclusions not as absolutely true, but as those which were pronounced by the best human effort. This chronology appeared afterwards to be a mistaken one. Therefore in the sixteenth century the Pope, Gregory XIII., charged Baronio, by the aid of study and research, to fix the true historical chronology of the life of Christ.

This highly celebrated historian, Baronio, on an historical ground fixed B. C. 2 as being the date of Christ's birth and A. D. 33 as being the date of His death. The Pope knew that he had appointed the most learned and most prudent historian of the time, and he had a right to accept the above said conclusions as being wise and prudent. To-day the Church knows that the conclusions of the said historian were mistaken. Every Christian scholar so affirms, and the Church cannot and does not reject the unanimous claims of the men of science. Yet all scholars know that something is still wrong with the chronology of the life of Christ, but the foremost scholars have proved unable to define in this chronology what is wrong and what is the historical truth. Consequently, the Church is powerless to replace

the mistaken dates dictated by the illustrious historian, Baronio, in the sixteenth century, and every year she cannot help repeating in our cathedrals that Jesus was born in the year of Rome 752. Hence we can see that the ignorance professed by scholars in this matter is a true cross to the Church. By acknowledging that Baronio gave mistaken conclusions, a real burden has been laid upon the Church, and by not making greater efforts to attain a satisfactory and definite solution of this problem the Church still continues to be annoyed by this uncertainty.

The Church is highly interested in the chronology of the life of Christ. This chronology is given in the Gospel. The mass of believers is not capable of well understanding that this chronology depends from profane history also. Believers want to know this chronology from the teaching Church, and they would be scandalized by hearing of a professed ignorance or of different opinions in this matter. This fact may explain why the Popes have selected the most trustworthy conclusions of Beda first and of Baronio afterwards and have imposed them to the Church. The "Roman Martyrologium" is published directly by order of the Popes. The actual editions are "Jussu Benedicti PP. XIV." The chronology of Christ given in the "Roman Martyrologium" is strictly obliging "per se." Because of the progress of historical researches, Catholic scholars have proved unable to defend any longer the conclusions of Baronio. The Popes have not complained, and this is the reason why we are free to hold different opinions.

THE INTERPRETATION OF THE GOSPEL.

In treating of the chronology of Christ's life Catholic scholars to-day seem to forget that chronological statements in the Gospel are inspired truths. These chronological statements are to be interpreted with the reverence and the carefulness due to the Word of God and according to the accepted rules of interpretation of the Holy Bible. St. Augustine¹ teaches that the words of the Holy Bible, unless they happen to appear absurd, must be interpreted according to their literal and obvious meaning. This is an accepted rule of Biblical interpretation and is urged by the authority of Pope Leo XIII. "A litterali et velut obvio sensu minime descendendum, nisi qua eum vel ratio tenere prohibeat vel necessitas cogat dimittere."² If the literal and obvious interpretation of a passage of the Holy Bible is even possible, it must be considered also true, and the Catholic interpreter should not

¹ De Gen. ad litt., Book VIII., chapter vii., 13.

² Enciclica Providentissimus Deus.

hesitate to pronounce it to be so. Especially when this literal interpretation is also the unanimous interpretation of the Fathers of the Church. It is claimed by some modern scholars that at the time of Christ's birth Cyrenius was possibly the captain of an army in Syria. But this is ridiculous and wrong. It is ridiculous, for mere possibilities in history cannot be taken for proof. But it is also against the account of the Gospel. We do not read the term of captain in the Gospel. St. Luke uses not a noun, but an active verb with its object. Cyrenius was "governing Syria." This can only be said of the real governor of Syria. A mere captain of the army in Syria cannot be said to have been governing the people of Syria.

Again, it is generally supposed to be impossible to interpret according to its obvious meaning the expression "Annas the high priest" in the Acts iv., 6. From this it is argued that we should not interpret according to its obvious meaning that expression of the Gospel, "Under the high priests Annas and Caiphas." But this inference is illogical and false. Also the two expressions are of a different nature. In the Acts St. Luke names Annas, together with several other Jews, as being the prominent men who were taking part in the council which opposed the Apostles. In the Gospel, however, Annas is only named in order to specify the time of the preaching of the Baptist. If it be supposed that Annas was not actually the high priest, then the Gospel's statement cannot be understood. While in the account given in the Acts the adding of the title of high priest is used by St. Luke to distinguish this Annas the Father from his homonymous son. Josephus does the same thing in the following passages: "But as for the (ex) high priest Anania . . . he cultivated the friendship of Albinus, and of the (actual) high priest (Jesus) by making them presents . . . Eleazar was the son of Ananus, the (ex) high priest."³ The only question in the Acts is why St. Luke names Annas as the ex-high priest, overlooking him who was actually high priest. This question, however, is of little importance. In a work like that written by Josephus we cannot expect the author to tell everything. It is possible that Annas was called to act as high priest during some interval between the deposing of Caiphas and the election of Jonathan. And if besides the works of Josephus any other document exist in regard to Jewish high priests, it would be well to prove correct this hypothesis. If no other document exists, the hypothesis does not hold. It would be ridiculous to substitute imagination for history.

³ Ant. Book XX., chapter ix., sections 2, 3.

What we can affirm to be probably or obviously understood in this passage of the Acts is that for one reason or another the actual high priest was not present, and Annas, on this occasion, was chosen to lead the council.

Some say that in the Gospel the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius is counted as being fifteen years from the time when he first received the administration of the provinces. This, however, is a mere hypothesis. If so, it is only good as a prompter of further research. But after further research has proved to be vain, to hold as a belief that which is merely an hypothesis is ludicrous. Besides, the hypothesis itself is singular. If accepted, it would require that an expression used in the Gospel would have a meaning that in no other document and in no other book would be attached to it. Then this expression, the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius, would mean one thing for the first three years and a different thing for the remaining twelve years. "This fifteenth year is most likely to be reckoned from the time when this prince (Tiberius) was associated with Augustus in the government of the Empire, and consequently it corresponds to the year 779 U. C. (A. D. 26.)"⁴ We quote from Rev. Father Gigot because we have his excellent book at hand. Other scholars have used similar expressions.

No doubt it would be less irreverent to the account of the Gospel to count the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius from the time when he was associated with Augustus in the government of the empire rather than from the time when Tiberius first received a partial administration of several provinces. But to-day historical data are at hand and certain chronological mistakes should not be repeated. Augustus of his own will and act associated with himself in the government of the empire and in the sharing of the title of Cæsar, Tiberius. This happened at the death of Agrippa, as early as 12 B. C. Augustus made the Roman Senate bestow upon Tiberius the "Proconsolare imperium" in B. C. 8 and the tribunician authority in B. C. 6, thereby compelling the Senate to acknowledge Tiberius as a colleague of Augustus and providing Tiberius with special means of exercising his authority. St. Luke states that "Jesus advanced in wisdom and age and grace with God and men in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius." (Luke ii., 52; iii., 1.) We are here obliged merely to hold as correct those copies of the third Gospel in which the disjunctive word "dè" is omitted.⁵ In our own pamphlet, entitled "*Chronology of the Life of Christ*," we have shown that these

⁴ Rev. F. E. Gigot, D. D., "*Outlines of New Testament History*."

words, "Jesus advanced in wisdom and age and grace with God and men," apply well (perhaps necessarily) to Christ's ministry. St. Luke affirms, then, in other words, that Jesus in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius advanced in His preaching and in His working miracles. History proves this to have been literally true. Our rendering then of this passage under consideration is proved to be literal and correct. By saying that Jesus "advanced" in His ministry in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius, St. Luke clearly and necessarily implies that Jesus had at a previous time begun that ministry. When one is said to be advancing in any work it is self-evident that he must already have commenced the work alluded to.

When using the above expression St. Luke neither asserts nor does he deny as to whether Jesus had preached many years before the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius. That Christ had already preached many years does not appear from this passage of St. Luke. But we find in the same Gospel (Luke iii., 23) the fact recorded that Jesus was thirty years of age at the beginning of His ministry. Furthermore, we find the beginning of our Lord's ministry to be connected with the preaching of the Baptist, which occurred at the time when Annas was high priest. Again, in the expression that Jesus "advanced" in His ministry in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius, St. Luke does not assert that Jesus advanced during the entire fifteenth year, nor does the Evangelist state whether after this year Jesus still continued to advance. If we translate with the Latin Vulgate that Jesus "was advancing" in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius, then the Evangelist does not state whether during this year Jesus also accomplished His ministry and died. However, the English translation that "Jesus advanced" in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius implies that Christ's ministry reached its apogee in this year, and consequently Christ's death and resurrection took place in the same year.

In our pamphlet, referred to above, we made a mistake when we affirmed that the very accomplishment of Christ's ministry should not be implied in the word "advancing." Of a student who is very near to get his diploma we do not say that he is still advancing in his studies. The reason is that towards the end a student is supposed to review his studies rather than to advance in the same. We do not say that an army is advancing towards a city when they have almost reached the place. The reason is that to advance towards a city is supposed to be at a distance

⁵ Browne, "*Ordo Saeculorum*," page 92.

Christ's ministry is still its advancing and its apogee. The death from it. In our case, however, the very accomplishment of our Lord is also a most effective teaching and a supreme act of grace. Moreover, the teaching of Christ and His acts of love continued until His glorious ascension into heaven. It may be objected here that our connecting the first verse of the third chapter with the fifty-second verse of the second chapter of St. Luke's Gospel is new and contrary to the interpretation of the Fathers of the Church, who connected this first verse of the third chapter with the other verses of the same chapter. Provided that Jesus was thirty years of age (Luke iii., 23) and provided (as was believed by the Fathers) that he was baptized during the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius, then the connecting of the first verse of the third chapter with the following verses of the same chapter is obvious and necessary. And this is exactly what the Fathers did. Scholars agree to-day, however, that the baptism of Jesus had taken place before the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius. Hence it becomes absurd to connect this date with the following verses in the third chapter of St. Luke's Gospel, which refer to the preaching of the Baptist and his baptism of Jesus. As a consequence of this state of affairs, some scholars have supposed that the expression, "the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar," when used by St. Luke, did not mean what the words obviously assert. This conclusion certainly is not one arrived at by the Fathers. It is against their teaching and their practice. We connect this first verse of the third chapter with the preceding verse, fifty-second, of the second chapter. It is true that this has not been done by the Fathers. But we are confronted with a new problem. And what we do is in obvious harmony with their teaching. By taking any other course we should reject the evident meaning of the words. Again, it may be objected that our interpretation is not an obvious one. This objection, however, is not well taken, unless, indeed, the objector proposes to furnish a more accurate and obvious rendition of the passage. The fact is that underlying this objection to our interpretation there is a genuine misunderstanding.

The doctrine of the Fathers is not that the sacred writer is requested to use what in his case we should consider to be the most obvious expression. If the Evangelist has used an expression which proves hard to our understanding we cannot change his expression. "*Commentatoris officium, non quid ipse velit, sed quid sentiat ille quem interpretetur, exponere.*"⁶ We are requested

⁶ Pope Leo XIII., *loc. cit.*

to interpret according to the literal and obvious meaning of the words actually used by the Evangelist. If the expression does not appear clear we cannot help. "Diffitendum non est religiosa quadam obscuritate sacros libros involvi."⁷ Yet we shall try to understand better what St. Luke means to say, "In locis quidem divinae scripturae qui expositionem certam et definitam adhuc desiderant, effici ita potest, ex suavi Dei providentis consilio, ut, quasi praeparato studio, iudicium Ecclesiae maturetur."⁸ It is a first attempt of the kind and we can only advance our modest opinion.

First, St. Luke says: "Herod added yet this above all, that he shut up John in prison. Now it came to pass when all the people were baptized that, Jesus also having been baptized and praying, heaven was opened." (Luke iii., 20, 21.) It cannot be meant here that the Baptist was in prison when Jesus was baptized by this same Baptist. Having referred to the high priests Annas and Caiphas in connection with the preaching of the Baptist, St. Luke did not intend to close the account of the preaching of John the Baptist until his account included the end of St. John's preaching and the time of Caiphas, the high priest. Second, it is understood that the baptism of Jesus, His forty days in the wilderness and His first fame (Luke iii., 21-38; iv., 1-15) were connected with the preaching of the Baptist. Now St. Luke abruptly speaks of Christ's ministry as if it were coincident with occurrences of a later period. The Evangelist writes: "He (Jesus) came to Nazareth . . . And all the synagogue were filled with rage . . . and dragged Him to the brow of the hill on which their city was built, that they might throw Him down headlong." (Luke iv., 16, 28, 29.) It was only toward the end of His ministry that Jesus would be likely to excite the rage of the people. And it looks as if St. Luke has given an actual sign that he starts to relate the last period of Christ's ministry. Third, according to the account given in the Gospel of St. Luke, Jesus does not appear to go on a preaching tour as far as Tyre and Sidon. From the fourteenth verse of the fourth chapter to the fiftieth verse of the ninth chapter St. Luke has used 275 verses in which to give an account of Christ's ministry in Galilee. From the fifty-first verse of the ninth chapter to the forty-fourth verse of the nineteenth chapter St. Luke tells the story of Christ's trip from Galilee to Jerusalem. He uses for this account 424 verses. Now the trip alluded to could not possibly have lasted for as long a period as

⁷ Pope Leo XIII., loc. cit.

⁸ Pope Leo XIII., loc. cit.

two months. Then St. Luke told the story of less than two months of Christ's ministry, and in doing so he gave the description in 424 verses, while the whole preceding account of Christ's ministry in Galilee occupied only 275 verses. In making this comparison we feel forced to conclude that St. Luke has described only several months of Christ's Galilean ministry. Since in the first verse of the third chapter St. Luke has expressly referred to Christ's ministry as advancing during the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius, he may have meant to say that he intended to describe only several months of Christ's ministry, namely, that part of Christ's ministry which took place in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius, from about September A. D. 28 to September A. D. 29, when Jesus died.

Fourth, St. Luke narrated facts, like the call of Levi (Luke v., 27-28), which certainly happened at the beginning of the ministry of Jesus. The manifest intention of referring to that part of Christ's ministry which occurred in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius does not prevent St. Luke from referring to events which in reality occurred at a much earlier period. It is with the Evangelist a matter of mental restriction. St. Luke does not really wish to record nothing of Christ's earlier ministry. He only intends to tell as much of Christ's ministry as our Lord was in the habit of accomplishing during several months. Fifth, we think that it is most logical to acknowledge this feature of St. Luke's Gospel. It was the best way and perhaps the only way of giving us a faithful picture of the manner in which Jesus used continuously to preach and work miracles, unless the sacred writer were to have related a full and minute account of Christ's full ministry. This latter method would have required the using of a book some fifty times as large as the present Gospel. Hence a less popular book. Sixth, this feature appears to be more or less common to all the four Gospels. When the fox had tried hard to reach some grapes and did not succeed, it concluded that the grapes were not good.

Provided profane history continued to force upon us the conclusion that Christ's ministry was of a short duration, we would be well excused in saying that we know this to be true from the Gospel itself. Conditions, however, have changed. The progress of the studies in profane history are destined to revenge the truthfulness of those very statements of the Gospel which had been misrepresented by that same history. And we can freely say that the argument from the Gospel of St. John to define the duration of Christ's ministry is at least a shame. The statement

of St. John that Jesus "would not go about in Judea because the Jews were seeking to kill Him" (John vii., 1) cannot mean that Jesus would not go to Jerusalem. In fact, St. John says immediately that Jesus went to the feast of the tabernacles, and even to the feast of the dedication, which He was not obliged to attend. If Jesus preached two entire years and the Gospel of St. John is exhaustive, then of six feasts of obligation in two years, Pass-over, Pentecost and Tabernacles, Jesus has missed three. The absence of Jesus from Jerusalem at a feast of obligation would be certainly noticed. The necessary consequence is that three times in two years Jesus has given scandal to His whole nation. *Abhorrent aures*. Hence it cannot be said that the Gospel of St. John is exhaustive. A better attention than usually given is deserved by the following passage of St. John: "The Jews therefore said to Him: 'Thou art not yet fifty years old. And hast Thou seen Abraham?'" (John viii., 57.) The Evangelist refers this expression to all those Jews that were present. Many individuals cannot conceive at the same time spontaneously the same foolishness. The expression is therefore truthful.

One may make the objection that there are evident contradictions in the Gospels, and many things are said by the Evangelists which appear to be obscure and enigmatic. If chronological statements in the Gospels were enigmatic, this should not after all prove new or hard. But if many things were enigmatic in the Gospels, it would not be our duty to multiply them. That impression, however, which conceives the Gospels to be enigmatic is false. Many contradictions are said to be in the Gospel which actually exist only in the minds of certain interpreters. It is commonly supposed that according to the account of Matthew and Mark, on the day of Christ's death darkness began at the sixth hour, while according to the Gospel of St. Luke the same darkness began "about" the sixth hour. Let us quote the Evangelists.

"From the sixth hour darkness fell upon all the land until the ninth hour." (Matthew xxvii., 45.) "When the sixth hour was come, darkness fell upon the whole land until the ninth hour." (Mark xv., 33.) "It was now about the sixth hour, and darkness came over the whole land, until the ninth hour." (Luke xxiii., 44.)

Now one can see that no inaccuracy can be proved here. In the Gospel of St. Luke the expression, "It was now (or by this time) about the sixth hour" is connected with the preceding promise of Paradise granted by Jesus to the repented criminal rather than with the beginning of the darkness which spread over the whole land. An interval occurring between these two events

has caused St. Luke to say that it was now about the sixth hour. An actual apparent contradiction between the accounts of the different Gospels is that regarding the time of the so-called Last Supper of our Lord. According to St. John, "Before the feast of the Passover . . . during supper" (John xiii., 1, 2) Jesus washed His disciples' feet. According to St. Matthew, "On the first day of unleavened bread . . . He was sitting at table with the twelve disciples" (Matthew xxvi., 17, 20) and instituted the Holy Eucharist. In all this there is not the least contradiction. We suppose Jesus to have been at supper every night.

St. John connects the supper of Nisan 12th with the account of Judas being pointed out as traitor. The Evangelist relates that on this occasion the Apostles thought that Jesus had said to Judas, "Buy those things which we have need of, for the festival day." (John xiii., 29.) This circumstance shows that the pointing out of Judas took place before the feast of the Passover. St. Matthew connects this same event with the supper of Nisan 14th, and he purposely overlooks the above suspicion of the Apostles, which would not be compatible with the day of the feast.

How shall we explain this liberty assumed by St. Matthew in his narrative? We shall not attempt to explain it. We are satisfied to respect what St. Matthew has done. Historical circumstances of no consequence should not hamper the higher purposes, ideals and feelings of an author. The writer himself is the best and only possible judge of how far he can use such liberties without betraying the historical interest. It would be perfidious to be scandalized at such differences in the accounts of the Evangelists. The duty of the Catholic student is not to obscure such apparent contradictions and to study them in order to better understand the nature of the narrative contained in the Gospel. Apparent inconsistencies in the sacred books are never without a reason.

THE FATHERS OF THE CHURCH.

The common sentiment of the Church has always been that the chronological statements of the Evangelists should be understood to mean what the words do properly and obviously assert. In fact, the Fathers as interpreters of the Gospel and as witnesses to the sentiment of the Church have always understood that Cyrenius was in truth the Governor of Syria, that Annas was actually high priest, that the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius is truly and obviously asserted in the Gospel. Against these actual interpretations it may be claimed that the Fathers have understood that the number of Passovers named in the fourth Gospel is

exhaustive. But this is not expressly stated in the Gospel, and it might only be guessed. One should be worse than blind to reject the authority of the Fathers in those truths in which they have actually interpreted the very words of the Gospel, in order to respect their authority when they have ventured to guess anything from the Gospel. However, we must note that the Fathers never meant to guess from the Gospel, and they have never asserted that the number of Passovers in the Gospel of St. John is exhausted. Those Fathers who have appealed to the number of Passovers named in the Gospel were objecting to the view of a shorter duration of the ministry of our Lord. But the sentiment of the Church and the testimony of the Fathers in this matter can be no longer appealed to when we enter upon the specified dates of chronology as testified to by profane history. To imagine otherwise would show ignorance or a confused idea of the nature of the sentiment of the Church. In philosophy we repeat with Cicero that "*Quod omnium natura consentit, id verum esse necesse est.*" We can apply the same expression to the sentiment of the Church, saying that "*Quod credentium Gratia consentit, id verum esse necesse est.*"

The grace of God influences and saves from error the sentiment of the Church and the testimony of the Fathers. But the grace of God is expected to help in spiritual matters only. Christians do not refer to the influence of the grace of God any knowledge of theirs in matters of profane history. Consequently the actual dates of the life of Christ as testified to by the Jewish calendar, and by Jewish and Roman history, are not in any degree the expressions of the sentiment of the Church. And this is what we care for. The Fathers have proved bad scholars of profane history, and we cannot deny this fact, nor is there any serious interest to deny it. We do not object to the respect due to the Fathers even when they refer to historical data. We only object to an excessive and blind respect in this matter. Scholars should understand and acknowledge, not in words only, but in fact, that the chief concern of the Fathers in this chronology is the right interpretation of the Gospel. In this the Fathers have much better authority than in matters of profane history. The Fathers are interpreters of the Gospel by vocation and profession; they have occasionally given any attention to matters of profane history. That the Fathers have mistaken the dates of the life of Christ as harmonizing with profane history is a fact acknowledged by every scholar. It is only a question of difference. The example of the Fathers is against modern scholars. The Fathers have ac-

cepted, not without reserve, literal historical data, and have mistaken the chronology of Christ's life in order to maintain the literal meaning of the words of the Gospel. Modern scholars have overlooked the positive evidence of history and have abused the statements of the Gospels in order to maintain that the Fathers have mistaken of a few years only. But since it is acknowledged that the Fathers have certainly mistaken this chronology, what does it matter if the mistake was greater or smaller? The Fathers reject such a blind respect to them when this is against the interest of the Gospel.

CHRISTIAN TRADITION.

There can be no serious doubt that Christian tradition knew at first the true and genuine chronology of the life of Christ. In harmonizing the statements of the Gospel with historical data the Fathers have actually mistaken this same chronology. This fact proves that the Fathers have overlooked Christian tradition. It seems at first that the greater the mistake of the Fathers in this matter the greater their want of faithfulness to Christian tradition. It is not so. The Fathers were misled by a false evidence of historical data, against which every attempt proved vain. There was no great and no little want of interest and faithfulness to Christian tradition. It is a poor and false respect to the Fathers to refer to them any lack of faithfulness to Christian tradition. It cannot be so. Oral Christian tradition proved powerless against the written documents of history. To uphold Christian tradition it was necessary to place the Gospel out of history and against history. This would have been the worst evil. Hence the Fathers ignored Christian tradition. Their mistake was necessarily such as required and imposed by mistaken historical data. Besides, we must look to ancient Christian history for any notice of Christian tradition. We do so, and we find that Christian tradition referred Christ's birth to twenty-eight years after the beginning of the Roman Empire; Christ's baptism to the time of Augustus; His death to the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius; His age as being that of fifty years. All these statements were equally incompatible with the date of the census under Cyrenius in A. D. 6—A. D. 7, and we can clearly see how it was that Christian tradition in this matter did not hold.

First: If Jesus was born in A. D. 7, He died at the time not of Tiberius Claudius Nero, but of Nero Claudius in A. D. 56. Second: But Jesus was born fifteen years before the death of Augustus, and He died at the time of Claudius. Third: Jesus

was born at an earlier time and died under Tiberius. Fourth: Jesus was born fifteen years before the death of Augustus and died under Tiberius, and He was a boy when He began to preach. These different attempts to save Christian tradition show again that all the trouble came from the mistaken date of the census.

In matters spiritual, suppose some leading doctor of the Church should indulge in a mistaken reasoning, the mass of the believers would remain firm in faith and make impossible to doctors to remain blind for a space of time. Not so in matters of history. A common mistake of the Fathers of the Church had to become sooner or later a mistake of the whole Church. The mass of believers had no means to oppose the teaching of the Fathers in matters of profane history for any length of time. They might object once and again to a conclusion which was different from what their fathers had told them, but they could not hold. We have at hand a dissertation on the year of the birth of Christ, published in A. D. 1886. The author of this dissertation cannot hold his peace at the thought that any scholars had dared prefer the authority of Josephus to that of the Fathers in determining the date of the death of Herod. Each one of the Fathers of the Church as an honest and intelligent man stands equal to Josephus. Now, the Fathers of the Church are very many. Josephus is one. How can it be given more credit to one author than to many authors together? Yet since A. D. 1886 things have changed. Uncatholic scholars were glad to show their learning and reasoning. Catholic scholars have been ashamed at last, and have acknowledged a truth, no matter what it cost. The fact is that history cannot be invented. Josephus is an historian and should know what he is talking about. The Fathers affirm at later times what they cannot know. And Catholic scholars themselves have now universally accepted the authority of Josephus against the guessing of a thousand Fathers. Now, the testimony of St. Irenæus as to the age of Christ at His death is identical to the testimony of Josephus as regarding the date of the death of Herod. St. Irenæus expressly affirms that he gives witness to Christian tradition. He is in condition to know, and he should know what he is talking about. Later Fathers affirm what they cannot know.

Scholars have opened their eyes and have acknowledged that the testimony of Josephus holds good against the guessing of all the Fathers of the Church; they should now apply the same judgment to the testimony of St. Irenæus if they only want to be consistent. And it should prove easy to do so. The Rubicon has been already crossed. We have already acknowledged that

the Fathers have made a mistaken conclusion. A second mistaken conclusion is just as probable. Both mistakes are due to the same cause; that is, to the fact that the Fathers have mistaken the date of the census referred to by St. Luke. We have rejected a universal opinion of the Fathers for the testimony of Josephus; it should prove more easy to reject a less universal and less consistent opinion of the Fathers for the sacred testimony of St. Irenæus.

According to St. Irenæus, Jesus preached until He was fifty years of age:

(Sicut Evangelium)	et omnes seniores testantur	
	<i>kai pantes hoi presbuteroi marturousin</i>	
(As the Gospel)	and all the Elders testify.	
	qui in Asia	
	<i>hoi kata ten Asian</i>	
	these (Elders) in Asia.	
	apud Joannem discipulum Domini	
	<i>Ioanne to tou kuriou mathete</i>	
	in the presence of	} John the disciple of the
	or	
	with regard to	
		Lord.
	convenerunt (idipsum) tradidisse eis Joannem	
	<i>sumbeblekotes paradedokenai ton Ioannen</i>	
	agreed that John had conveyed to them (the	
	same information).	

The Greek words are from Eusebius, "Ecclesiastical History," Book III., chap. 23; Migne "Gr. Patr.," Vol. XX., p. 257.

CATHOLIC DOCTRINE AND PROFANE HISTORY.

Students of profane history have been first to revenge the testimony of Josephus as regarding the date of the death of Herod, and Catholic scholars have honestly acknowledged this right claim. The said testimony of Josephus has been revenged even against the Gospel. Catholic scholars should now be first to revenge the testimony of St. Irenæus for the sake of the Gospel. We expect students of profane history to be consistent and to acknowledge our right claim. Should we ask students of profane history to admit with the Fathers of the Church that Cyrenius was Governor of Syria in the forty-second year of the reign of Augustus or that Annas was high priest in the fifteenth year of the reign of

Tiberius they will laugh at us. And have they not a right to do so? Let us claim with the Church that the Fathers are the proper interpreters of the Gospel, and students of profane history cannot object. They can have more or less respect for an actual interpretation given by the Fathers to an historical passage of the Gospel, but they can say nothing against the authority of the Fathers in this respect. Most important, however, is Catholic doctrine as regarding the literal interpretation of the Gospel. In this matter Catholic doctrine is identical with the rules and methods of interpreting any book of profane history. When we ask students of history to respect this doctrine of the Church we ask nothing. We are merely asking them to be true to their own principles and to their own method of studying and understanding history. This doctrine of the Church is of special importance in our case and of great interest. Historical statements in the Gospel are not only an object of faith. These statements are also interesting as an argument of faith. And unless they be interpreted according to the proper meaning of the words they would prove ineffective. In this question we only need to distinguish what is from the Gospel and what is from profane history. Then every difficulty disappears.

We have granted that the Fathers made mistakes in matters of profane history. But we only meant to say that they accepted literal facts from profane history. A mistake in matters of profane history belongs to the professed students of history. The Jews first and the heretics afterwards opposed historical data to the statements of the Gospel. We believe that they did so in good faith, since history could easily be misunderstood in the case of the census and of Cyrenius. But even so, this mistake was made in good faith by the students of history. The Fathers knew how to read a book of history, but they were not historians. The Fathers and the whole Church could not help accepting data of profane history from the students of this science. Students eagerly advanced and maintained as right such dates of the census and of Cyrenius, Governor of Syria, as to make the date of the birth of Christ grossly mistaken. The Fathers and the whole Church could not help sooner or later to accept such mistaken dates dictated by the professed students of history. And we owe it to profane history, if we can vindicate to-day the right chronology of the life of Christ. We receive from Theodore Mommsen that inscription engraved in a stone which revenges the time of Cyrenius and which is not a first-class document, but a treasure of history. To reject the illustrations by Mommsen is necessary to history

to reject a real treasure, which cannot be rejected without sufficient reason. Through Mommsen we have learned of other historians, who previously to Mommsen himself and from a different argument had concluded that Cyrenius was Governor of Syria when he fought against the Homonades. And through the same historian we have learned of the testimonies of Strabo and Dio as regarding Cyrenius. If we are striving to vindicate the triumph of the Gospel in this question, we owe it to the historian Mommsen. Without the help of profane history all our efforts to uphold the literal statements of the Gospel would prove vain and we would not dare attempt it. After sixteen centuries the Gospels appear to have been read and revered and kept intact against all the difficulties created by a misunderstanding of matters of history. And after sixteen centuries profane history has disinterred at opportune time a document which gives a new light to other historical statements which have hitherto remained unobserved.

CHRISTIAN APOLOGETICS.

To claim a privileged interpretation of express historical statements given in the Gospels is practically to place the same Gospels out of history. This would certainly be against the most vital interest of Christian apologetics. A true chronology of the life of Christ forms the sacred interest of those prophecies which refer to the said chronology. These are of the greatest importance to Christian apologetics. The most important of these prophecies is that of Daniel announcing seventy weeks until the coming of Christ. Our interpretation that seventy weeks mean five hundred years is based on the literal meaning of the Holy Bible. Any contrary view of the Fathers in this case does not and cannot weaken our interpretation. No teaching is valuable to a blind intellect. The authority of the Fathers holds good to confirm the Bible; it cannot hold against the Bible. When it is not question of a definite Catholic doctrine and the Fathers interpret any passage of the Bible against the literal meaning of the words, it always means that the obvious interpretation has appeared absurd to them. But as soon as the literal interpretation appears right it becomes also the only lawful interpretation, and no contrary view of the Fathers can give even a shadow of doubt to any statement of the Bible.

Our interpretation that seventy weeks should be counted from the first year of Darius, that is from the very date of the vision of Daniel, is also evident. When the angel merely announces at verse 25 that seventy weeks are decreed until the Saint of Saints, Daniel as well as the reader can only understand that seventy weeks

are meant from the time of the prophecy. If at verse 26 the angel be supposed to say that these very seventy weeks shall be counted from a future date, this supposition implies a true disappointment to Daniel as well as to the reader. The twenty-fifth verse is not simply true any more. To say that seventy weeks shall be counted from a future date is the same as to tell Daniel that seventy weeks are not sufficient. It does not become the prophecy first to announce better tidings and afterwards to correct the announcement, making it less pleasant and disappointing.

"*Et laetaberis, et invenies praecepta ut respondeatur.*" (Daniel, *juxta lxx.*) This translation shows that the angel warns Daniel that he shall search and find out the decree of Cyrus concerning the rebuilding of the Temple, and that this decree would be of use to Darius to give a favorable answer to the Jews of Jerusalem, as related in the First Book of Esdra, chapters v., vi.

We beg pardon for wishing to submit to the kind consideration of our readers another interest in the true chronology of Christ's life. There is preserved at Andria (Province of Bari, Italy) one of the holy thorns of the crown of Jesus. Some spots of His blood still remain upon it. Some changes of a wonderful nature take place in this relic whenever Good Friday falls on March 25. This miracle has been investigated and has been testified to each time when its changes have taken place. As recently as A. D. 1910 the local Bishop had a most competent and a most illustrious commission to investigate and to testify in a public affidavit to said changes. Authentic copies of said affidavit can be obtained by anybody. One has only to pay the expense of a few dollars. If it be denied that Christ died on Nisan 20, and consequently on March 25, such a denial will necessarily give a discredit to the above said miracle. The discredit of one well proved miracle will mean a shadow and a kind of discredit to all modern miracles. Many a student will perhaps smile with contempt at the thought that in the twentieth century one should give importance to such a matter. But we are convinced that miracles are a powerful argument for faith. We have no reason to be afraid of the contempt of the freethinker. An account of modern miracles is the most convincing sermon a priest can preach. A good book on modern miracles is the best book to help the faith of our common people. All the sarcasm of freethinkers will leave the story of the miracle untouched. The argument from the great fact of the Church itself is more or less effective, according to the more or less educated mind of a faithful. The argument from miracles is effective to every people of good will. The argument from the

great fact of the Church can be addressed to Christians only. The argument from miracles is powerful to call to faith those who have entirely lost it or never had any. The first argument is more speculative and apt to confirm the faith of a believer and to keep him faithful to the Church. The second argument is also apt to revive faith and to increase it. But especially we hold that God does not work miracles without purpose, and that it is our sacred duty to God to treasure miracles earnestly.

Concluding, the sentiment of the Church and its express teaching, the interest of Christian faith and the honor of the Gospel require us to interpret according to the literal and obvious meaning of the words the chronological statements made by the Evangelists. The question in this matter is, Shall we be guided by history or shall we follow vain imagination? Shall we accept truth or a lie? Shall we decide according to the interest of faith or the obstinacy of men?

FRANCIS VALITUTTI.

IMPORTANCE OF IRRIGATION TO NEW MEXICO AND ARIZONA.

THE completion of the vast Carlsbad and Elephant Butte Dams in New Mexico and the Roosevelt Dam in Arizona again brings into prominence a section of our nation that was under the sway of the white man at least two generations before the Eastern coast felt the developing hand of Caucasian civilization, for it is recorded that Coronado, Castenada, Penalosa and other Spanish adventurers made their way out of Mexico as far back as 1540; and it is also a matter of record that a Spanish priest, Fray Marcos de Niza, with a few attendants, came northward in 1539 and established his mission at the pueblo of Zuni, giving the vast territory of New Mexico and Arizona the high-sounding title of "The New Kingdom of St. Francis." Nobel prizes and Carnegie medals were not distributed to men of valor in the "dark ages" of American history; but there cannot be the slightest doubt that the dauntless Franciscan outranked all competitors in the field of intrepid adventure, for even to-day vast stretches of territory—mountains and vales and plains—are suffused with the ancient spirit of "sun, silence and adobe" that met the gaze of the trail-blazers two hundred and forty years before the aristocratic Cornwallis handed his sword to the democratic Washington on the battlefield at Yorktown.

It may wound the patriotic sensibilities of a modern American to be told that our forebears of the distant long ago put into tangible form those peculiar and monstrous architectural ideas which we associate with up-to-the-minute centres of activity like New York, Chicago and San Francisco and call "skyscrapers." But the statement is nevertheless true, for Americans of ancient lineage were occupying their pueblos, or communal abodes, countless generations ere the Santa Maria pointed her prow towards the shores of Nueva Hispaniola. The material used in pueblo construction is called adobe, a substance similar to clay, which after being moulded into large black bricks is dried in the sun for two or three days. These useful articles become as solid as stone and support vast communal residences five, six and seven stories high; the recipe was evidently given to the Indians by the Spanish adventurers, and is said to be of Moorish origin. Pueblos are scattered all over the Southwest and frequently accommodate the entire Indian tribe of the district. Many of these vast habitations are accessible to tourists, and perhaps one of the most interesting is Acoma—City

of the Rock Marvelous—perched on a massive rock some 350 feet above the level of the barren plain, about fifteen miles south of Laguna, a station on the Santa Fé Railway. Acoma's birth is not enscrolled on the pages of American history, but the progenitors of the present Pueblos were evidently fervent in their faith, for in 1629 they carried up the steep trail all the materials necessary for the erection of St. Stephen's Church, at that time conducted by the Franciscans.

Zuni is also on the main line of the Santa Fé, and besides the celebrity conferred upon it by Friar de Niza in establishing the first Christian mission in what is now the United States, the citizens quite pompously assure the tourist that Zuni was one of the seven renowned "cities" of the ancient Kingdom of Cibola. It is mere speculation as to whether or not Cibola flourished in the "good old days," but one thing is an absolute surety—there is no place beneath the widespreading reaches of the cerulean dome that enjoys a more salubrious atmosphere than does "The New Kingdom of St. Francis." Of course, the higher altitudes of this high country (4,000 to 8,000 feet) are not conducive to the well-being of the weak-hearted, but the air is pure and dry, for it rarely rains, and the cool, crisp winter days bring many broken-down Easterners to recuperate from the turmoil and strife of modern "civilization." Oppressive heat is unknown during the summer solstice, and a light blanket is a welcome acquisition when the nocturnal shades have mantled all in darkness.

The sightseer finds it difficult to flash the limelight on any one particular section of this charming amphitheatre of Andalusian romance; but many westbound tourists leave the main line at Lamy station and board the "local" for the ancient yet modern capital the Castilian cartographers were wont to call La Villa Real de Santa Fé de San Francisco de Asis—the Royal City of Saint Francis of Assisi's Holy Faith. This mellifluous cognomen perturbed the equanimity of the "modernists," so they abridged it to Santa Fé, a town of 9,000 inhabitants, half of whom speak what passes for Spanish and the other half what passes for English. We are now 7,000 feet above the level of the earth, and the air is so rarefied that rapid walking is never attempted by the natives, so everybody ambles along the streets in the most carefree manner imaginable. The Plaza is the common meeting ground of the multitude, and the benches are always well filled with men, women and children whose vocabulary was not acquired in an English school of learning.

On Sunday the town turns out en masse to promenade and enjoy

the soothing and discordant notes of the band. Don Juan de Onate, who conquered New Mexico in 1598, is said to have "rested arms" on the site of the Plaza in 1605, when the capital was transferred from San Gabriel. It was also on the Plaza that General Stephen Kearny hoisted the American ensign in 1846; and the famous Santa Fé Trail had its terminus there. Immediately opposite stands Palacio Real (the Governor's Palace), one-storied and adobe. Here the Spanish Viceroy, Mexican and American Governors resided for 300 years, and General Lew Wallace, while Governor of the Territory, wrote much of his well-known book, "Ben Hur." The unfinished Cathedral, of modern design, stands upon the site of a church that was built in 1622; the Church of San Miguel was originally erected in 1607, and claims to be the oldest edifice in continuous use in the United States. There are many churches, Indian schools and institutions in this lofty and hill-surrounded archiepiscopal See, whose rule extends over nearly all the Commonwealth and fully three-fourths of the church-going population. But all Santa Fé is by no means of mediæval mould, for there are first-class shops, substantial office buildings and attractive homes of the well-to-do; and far up in the translucent blue we descry the snow-capped Sangre de Cristo, or the Mountains of the Blood of Christ.

It is a roundabout road that runs to "Towss," as the natives have dubbed Taos, perhaps the oldest settlement in this division of the earth and a great trading post in the days of yore; but the two-day automobile trip is a revelation to the traveler obsessed with a desire to view the adobe habitations familiar to Kit Carson and the other frontiersmen so prominent in the days of the Santa Fé Trail. There is nothing left to indicate its one-time conspicuity in the world of commerce, for the belching locomotive dimmed the old town's prestige, and now we find the "first families of America" dwelling placidly in their seven-storied pyramidal pueblo. Little plantations abound on every hand, and the Pueblos seem to be perfectly satisfied with conditions now prevailing. The grave of rough Kit Carson is over yonder at Fernandez de Taos, and it would be superfluous to add that the gentle Sisters of Loretto are instructing the rising generation in the local schoolroom. Sisters of various orders are here, there and everywhere, even in sections far removed from the roaring siren of the rails; and the same is true of the religious communities of men. These pious sons and daughters of the Christian cause have consecrated their lives to uplifting inferior races, and when we contemplate the tremendous task of transforming a savage pagan into a docile, virtuous Chris-

tian, our admiration for these unselfish preceptors cannot be expressed in English phrase.

Snug and placid Las Vegas is also a seat of antiquity, and in this good-sized town of ten thousand souls, half of whom read as their right of birth the Spanish nomenclature emblazoned on windows and signs in the older quarter of the city, there may be seen scores of comfortable homes whose owners have sought and found an ideal abode for man. Local hotels offer fair accommodations for tourists of ordinary means, but St. Anthony's Sanitarium, conducted by the kindly Sisters of Charity, renders excellent service to those who wish to regain their health in a climate unsurpassed in any land beneath the crystalline vault. Gallinas Canyon, a short distance away, is unique among the gorges of the earth, for upwards of 30,000 tons of ice are yearly gathered from its surface and distributed far and wide along the railway. It will be recalled that Las Vegas lies 6,000 feet above the level, and the ice that forms during the night is shielded by the canyon's walls from the melting rays of the sun during the sunlit hours. A "lightning calculator" might find it difficult to tabulate the cattle, sheep and goats that browse on the hills about us, and the high cost of living elsewhere has enabled many of the residents to roll around in automobiles of universal make.

The main line of the Santa Fé Railway skirts the curving banks of the Rio Grande to Albuquerque, metropolis of the State and one of the busiest little cities of 18,000 souls in existence; but it should not be forgotten that the Commonwealth is somewhat larger than the British Islands, that billions of tons of coal, iron and other ores are locked within its subterranean chambers, and these industries are in the main regulated from the "jobbing office" of the State. Central avenue is a miniature Broadway, the streets are wide, the stores are of superior rank, and the bungalows of the proletarians are generally surrounded by rose bushes that thrive the year round; and of course the regal manors of lumber and coal barons, sheep and cattle kings, oil and other potentates would embellish the boulevards of a larger community. There are several sanitariums here, and St. Joseph's, just above us on the hill, is directed by the Sisters of Charity. St. Felipe de Neri's Church, in the old Mexican quarter, has been in continuous use for nearly one hundred and fifty years. The Santa Fé Railway restaurants and hotels are operated by "Fred Harvey," and it must be admitted Fred has performed marvels in catering to the wants of the peregrinating public; his eating houses all bear patronymics of ancient Spaniards, and at reasonable fees for the service rendered.

The Harvey collection of Indian handicraft at the Alvarado Hotel in Albuquerque exemplifies the innate artistry of our aboriginal neighbors, and here are displayed some fine specimens of the potter's art, wicker baskets of the highest grade, walking sticks of fantastic design and blankets unsurpassed by the weavers of far-famed Persia.

The possibilities of New Mexico are unlimited; the principal drawback at the present time being lack of proper railroad facilities and the scarcity of water. The census figures for 1920 will probably reach the half-million mark, but this is a mere picayune compared with the sustaining power of the State. All things being equal, this great province could support as many human beings as now dwell in the ancient land of the Alhambra. However, the vast Carlsbad and Elephant Butte Dams, just a few miles north of the Texas line, are impounding millions of tons of water, and in a few years four hundred thousand acres will be nourished by the aquatic flow. These great enterprises are under the control of the United States Reclamation Service, and Federal engineers are driving irrigation ditches for miles in the southern section and also in the Panhandle of Texas. Land in this neighborhood formerly sold for a song, but water has enhanced things to such a degree that \$25, \$50 and even \$100 an acre is not considered abnormal. El Paso, the pass to Mexico, was formerly the rendezvous of traders, "greasers," rowdies and festive saturnians who neither toiled nor spun; but times change, and the episcopal seat of the Right Rev. Bishop Anthony J. Schuler, an able son of Loyola, is now the great entrepot of the Southwest. St. Patrick's Cathedral is also an added attraction to the architectural symmetry of the Lone Star city. The country west of the "Pan" is sparsely settled, the Southern Pacific's "Sunset Limited" requiring the better part of a day to reach Tucson, which divides with Phoenix the metropolitan honors of Arizona. It is very hot in summer down around the border, and Yuma's envious critics are emphatic in saying that the place is even more torrid than the Avernian bourne itself; but the lack of humidity makes the climate bearable. Moreover, continuous sunshine and irrigation have brought hither many intelligent and energetic fruit growers, and their endeavors are exemplified in tangible form in the Phoenix district, where some peach orchards are valued at \$1,000 per acre. This section was a barren wilderness a generation ago, but irrigation has brought about a marvelous transformation. Arizona has a great asset in its mineral deposits, and it would seem that the Mazatzal Range is one big block of copper, lead, silver, gold and coal. Things industrial were quite

sombre a few years back, but the European fracas has sent copper soaring to the zenith, and the downtrodden masses must now rest content with a mere dollar an hour for their toil.

The tourist going to Phoenix leaves the train at Bowie and "locals" it on to Globe and Miami, a couple of big mining towns unknown to mapmakers a decade or so ago. Easterners supply the funds for the development of the copper lands and the four points of the compass supply the brawn, for every nationality beneath the eternal stars is represented here. Bohemianism, however, perished from malnutrition when the aquatic avalanche shattered its banks and consigned to perdition the "Tall High Hat," the "Miners' Roost" and the "Three Buckets of Blood" so dear to the heart of the timorous Jesse James and the other Bacchanalian actors who shot things up before the "bone-dry" régime claimed its own.

Arizona is "dry" in more ways than one, for it rarely rains up around the Ash Fork section, and this is why agriculture and population fail to grow. "Dry farming" has been attempted, but an inexorable law of nature demands nutrition, and that means water and an abundance of it. The Italian peninsula could be ensconced within the borders of the State, though Rome's population is at least twice as great; but everybody is optimistic regarding the Federal irrigation plans for the development of the Western farm lands when democracy rules the councils of the nations. Water can be impounded from the Colorado and Green rivers in sufficient quantities to irrigate enormous tracts; moreover, scientists assert that fifteen per cent. of ocean water can be mixed with fresh without destroying the effectiveness of the latter as a germinator of the cereals of life. The project of building dams and piping the Pacific's flood across the Rockies will run to tens of millions; but these tens of millions would be well expended, as a vast territory would become a tremendous asset to the nation.

Another industry rapidly forging to the front is the production of asbestos, a commodity heretofore imported from Canada, Italy and South Africa. Most of the asbestos has generally come from the Dominion, but the Arizona product is said to be vastly superior to the Canadian article, which averages about \$50 a ton, while that of the local fibre runs well above the \$300 mark. The use of asbestos is much larger than is commonly known, owing to the increased use of gas mantles, electrical insulation, steam pipes and refrigerators.

Large automobile stages run daily from Globe to Phoenix via the Roosevelt Dam, and the two-day trip, especially in winter, is captivating in the extreme. The car follows the old Apache Trail

for a considerable part of the route, and in the escarpments aloft we view the peculiar habitations our Aztec friends hewed out of solid rock in order to avoid the death-dealing arrows of marauders. The dam is now in working order, and preparations are under way to irrigate a quarter of a million acres from the waters of Roosevelt Lake, just as giant dynamos will eventually illuminate streets and trolleys in far-distant centres. A pleasant little chateau, "The Lodge," overlooks the lake, and lethargic tourists stop over to fish, swim and sail on the waters of this hill-enclosed miniature ocean, about four miles wide and perhaps thirty in length. Going west we skirt the Salt River for many miles, but of course the sightseer must understand that some rivers are longer, deeper and wider than others; and every bend of the Trail brings to view a series of sunken chasms and buttes that enrapture the most phlegmatic soul. A vast panorama known as the Painted Cliffs is a younger brother of the great Grand Canyon itself, and the enchanted traveler allows his unbridled fancy to roam back to an epoch when Nineveh was young and Carthage was yet to be numbered among the great principalities of the earth.

Phoenix is a modern capital of 20,000 people, and its most important eating house is operated by a heathen Celestial, as Bret Harte facetiously phrased it; but the children of old Cathay also conduct first-class restaurants throughout the Southwest. Streets are wide and fairly well paved, some buildings are metropolitan-like, the trolley system gives good service, and those who have employment receive fair compensation; however, "Eastern lungers" are numerous, and this makes it bad for the man looking for work. The atmosphere is dry and warm—sometimes very hot in summer—but the winters cannot be surpassed, and this is why scores of handsome homes and apartment houses are barred and bolted from early May to late September. The city boasts several fine sanitariums, and St. Joseph's Hospital, one of the best in the State, is conducted by the Sisters of Charity. This up-to-date city was a frontier trading post a generation ago, and perhaps the dissolute conditions caused President Buchanan to say to Congress "Murder and other crimes are committed with impunity" when he recommended in 1858 that a Territorial form of government be established. A branch of the Santa Fé runs up to Prescott and Ash Fork, and for twenty miles we behold the magic power of water to transform sandy wastes into fragrant terraces that delight the eye of the artist and whet the appetite of the gourmet.

Prescott boasts a population of 12,000, and depends almost exclusively upon copper mining for its sustenance. There are several

smelters of large capacity in the vicinity, and the great world-war came propitiously for the whole region, as copper was a drug on the market four years ago and scarcely paid for the smelting; but our old friend, *Tempus Fugit*, has waved his magic hand, and lo! quite a number of embryo millionaires now roll around the avenues of thriving Prescott City. We alluded to New Mexico as the land of "sun, silence and adobe," and in the same vein let us dub the section lying between Prescott and Ash Fork as the land of "sun, silence and stone," for the rocky road to Dublin is a pigmy compared with the stony landscape greeting the gaze at every bend of the snakelike railroad division that splits the State and connects the south with the main line of the railroad; and the "limited" covers the distance at the heart-racking speed of twenty miles an hour. Schedules have quite evidently been arranged to please the "night owl" branch of the human race, for the northbound "flyer" leaves Prescott at midnight and the southbound "express" at 3.30 A. M. However, it is only fair to say that there is another train each way during the daylight hours, and this gives an opportunity to view the countryside and also the score of towns announced on the time-table. But as nothing more important than a modest platform looms to view at each stop, we conclude that the people are coming from or going to Montezuma's Castle, which is reached from Jerome and then on to Camp Verde by auto for thirty miles or more. It is recorded that the famous Aztec chief performed many valorous deeds during his tempestuous life on earth, but he never scaled—and probably never even beheld—the elaborate cliffs sightseers must needs ascend, with the aid of ladders, to reach the goal, perhaps eighty feet or more above the placid waters of Beaver Creek, which at times is as dry as the "bone-dry" law itself.

The architect who planned the alleged habitation for the ancient warrior should have transmitted his cognomen to posterity, as he possessed a wonderful eye for the picturesque as well as lofty and substantial in the building line, the walls of rough masonry being as solid to-day as in the far-flung days of yore. It is necessary to climb a ladder to reach the base of the cliff above the creek and then pick our way until we reach another ladder, and so on until we have ascended the fourth ladder—then we are permitted to climb around and about the five stories that comprise the height of the castle. The walls within and without are bare and rough, and very much unlike the high degree of artistry we find in the work of the ancient architects of Mitla in Mexico or Uxmal in Yucatan. However, the trip is worth while in more

ways than one—and from the top of the cliff the binoculars bring home a vast amphitheatre of pueblos and cave dwellings, cliffs and hills in great abundance, and all the world seems wrapt in sun and silence. Archæologists who have trod the ghastly aisles of Mizraim, scanned the fallen forums of the Incas or roamed through the moss-strewn chambers of Chichen-Itza grow exultant in portrayal of this dead and buried empire that was hoary ere Abraham wed with Sarai.

Chronologists do not ally that doughty old pioneer, Adam Hanna, with the disobedient father of the human race, but his name is favorably known to legions of geologists and embryo archæologists who stop over at Adamana to spin across the treeless expanse of desert commonly alluded to as the Petrified Forest of Arizona; in fact, there is no reason for thinking that a forest ever existed, except perchance in the chimerical soul of some scrivener of the Vernean trend of thought. However, there can be no doubt that the myriads of agatized tree trunks dotting the floor of the First Forest came from somewhere during the dim and darkened cycle our grave and learned cosmographers nonchanantly term the Triassic Age of the world; and it is regrettable that the archives of this interesting epoch were long ago erased from the entablature of Time. One ossified giant is known as the Natural Bridge, because it lies across a chasm forty-five feet from bank to bank; smaller fragments dot the barren waste in great abundance. The Aztecs used this stone-wood when building their habitations, and also fashioned it into household utensils, hammers, spears and all the rest of the bellicose implements modern strategists are now hurling at each other there in France. Then there are the Second Forest, the North Forest, and finally the variegated and sandy plain known as the Painted Desert.

A few miles farther on Williams is reached, and here our sleeper is switched onto the branch leading to El Tovar, named in honor of another adventurer from the land of Vallombrosa and said to be the first white man who espied the Grand Canyon of the Colorado in 1540. The big log-like caravansary is also styled "El Tovar," and when we recall that even the water has to be brought to the Canyon's rim, we begin to realize that the maintenance of this first-class hotel out here in the wilderness is indeed one of the wonders of the age. Of course, the Grand Canyon is the greatest wonder to be found anywhere beneath the subastral dome, and it is regrettable that airships have to be used for the purpose of locating the enemy instead of giving the American people an opportunity to view this terrific grave dug by a god for

the interment of the world. Thrice have we flashed the glass on this gorgeous cyclorama of lofty mounds and bottomless depths, titanic pyramids and fallen colonnades, baseless gorges and embellished spires—but only a Miltonian pen could attempt its true portrayal.

The silence there was what most haunted me.
Long, speechless streets, whose stepping stones invite
Feet which shall never come; to the left and right
Gay colonnades and courts—beyond, the glee,
Heartless, of that forgetful Pagan sea;
On roofless homes and waiting streets the light
Lies with a pathos sorrowfuller than night!

WILLIAM S. LONG.

Camden, N. J.

DID THE OLDER ECCLESIASTICAL WRITERS DENY THE SPHERICITY OF THE EARTH?

THIS question is most frequently answered in the affirmative, not only by Protestants, but by Catholics as well. We are referred in particular to St. Augustine, perhaps the greatest among the fathers of the Church, who says in his work, "The City of God:" "Quod vero et antipodas esse fabulantur, id est, homines a contraria parte terrae, ubi sol oritur quando occidit nobis, adversa nostris calcare vestigia, nulla ratione credendum est."¹ "If people talk of antipodes (maintaining) that on the opposite side of the earth, where the sun rises when it sets for us, men are walking with their feet turned against ours, this must by no means be credited." Hence it is concluded that St. Augustine rejects the teaching of the ancient Greek philosophers and geographers concerning the shape of the earth. Whatever the later Middle Ages knew on this point, we are told, had been delivered to them by the Mohammedan scientists of Spain.

The fact, however, is that the knowledge of the sphericity of the earth never died out among the Christian nations, and that it was preserved entirely without the help of Mohammedan scholarship. To prove this, we shall first examine into the opinion of St. Augustine, and then adduce one other witness in favor of our contention.

If the reader will attentively inspect the sentence quoted above, he will find that the great doctor distinguishes between two questions, namely, whether the earth is a globe and whether the other half of it is inhabited. The latter question he denies emphatically. But he implicitly supposes the rotundity of our planet. He clearly indicates that there is "an opposite side of the earth, where the sun rises when it sets for us."

Several of the preceding chapters of "The City of God" St. Augustine devotes to discussing the various kinds of descendants of Adam. In chapter 8 he inquires whether there might not be whole races of "monstra," that is of men whose bodies are formed anomalously; men, for instance, with several heads or more than two hands or feet. He considers possible the existence of human beings formed differently from the shape which is the rule among us. But he concludes: "Either the reports concerning such fabulous races are false; or, if these beings are really men, they descend from Adam; or they are no men."

¹ Book XVI., chapter 9.

He next asks the question whether there are not, perhaps, antipodes. His reasons against their existence may be thus summed up: First, the advocates of this view have merely *a priori* proofs for it. Since there are men on this side of the earth, they say, there must be men on the other side also. But they have no direct knowledge, no "historica cognitio." Second, if there were any men there, they must have come from the children of Adam (from the seventy-two Biblical nations which the saint mentions shortly before in chapter 6). But according to the firm conviction of the educated of ancient times, men were absolutely unable to cross the immense ocean which surrounds the inhabited land.² Had St. Augustine lived to see the discoveries of later ages, he would not have hesitated a moment to give up his opposition. They furnished just what was absolutely lacking in his time: proofs *a posteriori*, or the "historica cognitio."

Thus, however, he arrives at the conclusion that he may safely confine his studies to the seventy-two nations of the Bible.³

But underlying these considerations and even expressed in so many words is the conviction that the earth is round. St. Augustine treats this as a matter known to his readers, or at least in no way new or surprising. He even states that there are reasons for believing that the dwelling place of mankind is a globe.

"The City of God," the book in which these passages occur, is a kind of philosophy of history, tracing in bold outlines the dealings of God with the human race. On account of its lofty character, the extensive learning embodied in it and the deep piety which ennobles all its parts, it remained for centuries one of the most widely read books of Christian literature. Cassiodorus, the founder of the famous monastery of Vivarium, to whom is due in a very high degree the literary activity of the monasteries of the Middle Ages, died a century and a half after St. Augustine. He recommended to his monks most seriously the study of "The City of God," and we have reasons to believe that this advice was heeded. Two hundred years later we again find it to be the favorite reading of Charlemagne. *But as long as this work was read and pondered over with reverence and earnestness, the belief in the rotundity of the earth could neither perish entirely nor be looked upon as a dangerous and half-heretical doctrine.*

To show more clearly the continuity of this belief during the

² This general conviction is alluded to by Horace in Ode 3 of Book I, line 22.

³ He grants that there are in reality more races (end of chapter 6). Surprising is the readiness with which St. Augustine admits every kind of true evidence, profane or Biblical.

centuries after St. Augustine and at the same time its dependence of any Saracen influence, we now turn to a man who both held that the earth is a globe and was not in a position to receive this knowledge from Arab scholars, namely, St. Bede the Venerable. Our information concerning him and his cosmological view is taken from "Lingard's Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church."⁴

St. Bede the Venerable died in 735 after spending all his life in the monastery of Jarrow, in Northumbria (Northern England). He is one of the great lights of the Church and the glory of his country. His learning was, no doubt, largely due to direct and indirect intercourse with the monks of Ireland. On a pilgrimage to Rome his abbot had secured a rich collection of books, chiefly, if not exclusively, works of the fathers of the Church.

In far-off Northumbria, then, St. Bede explained to his disciples the system of Ptolemy, the renowned Greek geographer of the second century after Christ. Ptolemy puts the earth, a sphere of course, in the centre of the universe, surrounded by the various "orbs" which then were thought necessary to account for the phenomena of the heavens.⁵ This alone leaves no doubt as to St. Bede's attitude. He believed that the earth is round.

But to make assurance doubly sure, Lingard quotes a sentence from the learned monk's book, "*De Natura Rerum*," which expressly enunciates the sphericity of the earth. Bede wishes to obviate the objections of those who either might find it difficult to agree with him on account of the mountains, or who, on the contrary, might place the rotundity of the earth in the elevations and depressions of hill and dale. He says: "*Orbem terrae dicimus, non quod absolute orbis sit forma in tanta montium camporumque disparitate, sed cujus amplexus, sis cuncta linearum comprehendantur ambitu, figuram absoluti orbis efficiat.*"⁶ We call the earth a sphere, not as if the shape of a perfect sphere showed itself in the inequality of the surfaces of plains and mountains, but because its (the earth's) circumference does not represent the shape of a perfect globe if all things (terrestrial) are included in the outline.

It is therefore certain that Venerable Bede in the first half of the eighth century knew and taught the sphericity of the earth. Nor was this knowledge in any way dependent on Mohammedan

⁴ (American edition), pp. 197ff.

⁵ St. Bede as a rule simply adopted what had been taught before him. But he was by no means a slavish compiler. He used his own judgment. He found, for instance, that the tides, though evidently influenced by the moon, do not occur in all places at the same time, as had been supposed by his forerunners.

⁶ Caput 44.

learning. It is simply impossible that up to that particular time he or any other of his contemporaries should have received it from Arab scientists. Mohammedanism, founded in 622, was then hardly a century old. Its adherents were still completely engrossed in extending their religion by force of arms. They had just conquered Spain (711) and dreamed of a conquest of all Europe, until in 732, that is three years before the death of the Northumbrian saint, they met their decisive defeat by Charles Martel in the battle of Tours. It was after this battle only that they settled down and engaged in scientific pursuits and that their Spanish schools acquired the renown for scholarship which made them famous during the Middle Ages. St. Bede the Venerable could not have been benefited by them. This would have been impossible, had he been living in what is now Southern France, but much the more so, as his convent home stood far away in Northern England. The learning displayed in his school and deposited in his books was simply part and parcel of the old Greek and Christian inheritance, and every item of it had been transmitted to him and his contemporaries by Christian minds and hands.

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Book Reviews

RELIGIOUS PROFESSION: A Commentary on a Chapter of the New Code of Canon Law. By *Hector Papé, S. J.* 12mo., pp. 87. New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons.

Speaking of the New Code of Canon Law and its importance in bringing about the declared purpose of Pius X. "to restore all things in Christ," the author briefly reviews the history of ecclesiastical legislation before the Codification, points out the difficulties in the way of the student, and truthfully says "laws cannot be observed unless they are known." He might have gone a step further and added they cannot be known unless they are explained. It is universally true that all laws present difficulties to the human mind and that in every field of law experts are required to explain its meaning. Hence the endless legal disputes that distract men and divide them into warring elements; hence counsel for the plaintiff and counsel for the defendant, who strive to prove opposite conclusions from the same law; hence courts of various degree, ranging from the lowest through courts of appeal to the highest or supreme court, all presided over by learned judges, who render contradictory decisions on the same question, and sometimes decide it finally by a majority of one after giving three conflicting opinions concerning it.

This is true to some extent in regard to ecclesiastical law, which also has its lawyers or canonists, its various tribunals and its court of last resort, with this very important difference, that the final decision of the highest tribunal in the Church concerning matters of faith and morals is infallibly true and settles the question beyond the possibility of doubt. But until that final decision is given we are dealing with human affairs with human means and we must be prepared for human differences.

His Excellency Archbishop Bonzano, congratulating the author on the wisdom of his choice of subject and on his eminent fitness for the task, says: "The Code will form the basis of libraries of explanation and commentary in due time. What is needed promptly is precisely what you have begun—a brief and clear explanation of its more important and practical contents."

The author truly remarks that the chapter on Religious Profession is one of the most important chapters of that part of the Code which deals with the religious life: "The explanation of the enactments contained in it will be useful to every institute in which the three religious vows of poverty, chastity and obedience are taken." While it is true that the Code does not revoke the privileges granted by the Holy See to an institute directly, it is also true that it expressly abrogates all the rules and particular constitutions of each religious institute which are contrary to the canons or articles of the Code.

The book begins with an explanation of the definition and main divisions of religious profession. Then follows the commentary on the various sections of the chapter under review in this order: The Latin text, the English translation, the explanation. This work is a model. We wish that Dr. Papi would do for the whole Code what he has done for this chapter. He would make the whole ecclesiastical body his debtor. Such a work would spread a knowledge of the Code most quickly and would bring about its observance most perfectly. It would contribute very much to the end which the saintly Pius X. had in mind when he began the codification, and the hope which the learned Benedict XV. had in his heart when he promulgated it, the restoration of all things in Christ.

THE FUTURE LIFE: By *Rev. Joseph Sasta, S. J.* According to the Authority of Divine Revelation, the Dictates of Sound Reason and the General Consent of Mankind. 8vo., cloth, 560 pages; net, \$2.50. New York: Benziger Brothers.

"This work is the fruit of several years' patient research and strenuous labor. The views expressed in it are the result of convictions begotten by faith, strengthened by reason and confirmed by human testimony. It is the author's purpose to make his readers realize more and more vividly the great truth that there are studies higher than those of external nature; that there are investigations nobler than those of the composition of the stars and the geological depths of the earth; that there are open to men studies more inspiring than mining, railroading, wireless telegraphy, and aerial navigation. This work is intended to remind the reader that he

has a soul destined by its Maker to flourish in immortal youth amidst the war of elements, the wreck of matter and the crash of worlds. Many books have been written in different languages on the present subject, but few, if any, cover the same ground."

This may be said in all truth to be a full, clear, exhaustive and satisfying treatise on the most important of all questions, "What doth it profit a man if he gain the world and suffer the loss of his own soul?" Its publication required courage, for it preaches a doctrine that is not popular and that may expose its author to the sarcasm, criticism and ridicule of men who are accustomed to condemn and denounce everything that disturbs their conscience and upsets their cherished views. It will not be acceptable to those who deny a future life and the immortality of the soul, but it will offend most those who do not believe in future punishment, and especially future eternal punishment. Many of them do not want to know if this is a revealed truth; indeed, they fear most that they might be convinced that it is. Therefore they deny the possibility of it and close their eyes to it, like the little boy who closes his eyes in the dark and thinks no danger is near because he cannot see it.

The author approaches the question fearlessly, as every man should approach it. The question is, has Almighty God revealed the doctrine of future retribution? Of everlasting reward to the just and everlasting punishment to the wicked? There is not much difficulty about the first part of the question, because outside of atheists and materialists no opposition is made to endless happiness for the just. The trouble comes when we take up the second part, but to this as well as to the former the author gives an emphatic affirmative answer and proves it no less clearly.

It would be a mistake to think, however, that the author devotes more attention to the question of eternal punishment than to the other questions that pertain to eternal life. On the contrary, there is throughout the whole work that nice balance and logical sequence which gives it true value and permanence. The reader will not have to seek further for the truth.

JOHN CARDINAL MCCLOSKEY (1810-1885). By *His Eminence John Cardinal Farley*. 8vo., pp. 400. Illustrated. New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

"It is now almost twenty years since I published the initial chapters of this 'Life of John Cardinal McCloskey.' Shortly after his death, in 1885, I began a biography of America's first Prince of the Church, but it was not until 1899 that a brief account of

his life, up to his return from Rome in 1837, appeared in the 'Historical Records and Studies.' . . . When I wrote the article on Cardinal McCloskey for the Catholic Encyclopedia I then determined to complete the biography. From 1872 to 1884 I was Cardinal McCloskey's secretary. During those twelve years it was my custom to write down with as little delay as possible all our conversations regarding his own personal history. Much that has entered into this biography has been taken from my diaries of that time. Cardinal McCloskey's own letters and diaries have also been used. The ecclesiastical archives of Baltimore, Albany, Rochester, Buffalo and Newark and the official archives of the Archdiocese of New York have all been diligently searched for documents that would illustrate the Cardinal's long life of seventy-five years."

This extract from the Preface sets before us the biographer with his exceptional ability and equipment, the scope of the work which he proposes to do and the means which he intends to use to accomplish it. The result is admirable. We have not only a splendid specimen of biographical literature, but we have the biography of a man who was most intimately connected with the growth of the Church in this country throughout the most important period of her history. During the span of his life, from 1810 to 1885, she not only sowed, but she reaped abundantly, and Cardinal McCloskey was both a zealous sower and reaper.

The story of the growth of the Church in this country during his life is truly the story of the mustard seed, as the Cardinal himself said at the time of his golden jubilee celebration. While reading his life as here recorded, we are introduced to the educational institutions of the country, we meet the leading churchmen of the times, both here and in Europe, we assist at the councils of the Church, provincial, plenary and general, and we partake in the conflicts, internal and external, which are to follow the institution that Christ founded on St. Peter until the end of time.

The eminent biographer could hardly have erected a more becoming and honorable monument to himself, as well as to his illustrious predecessor, than this delightful and instructive book.

A SOLDIER'S CONFIDENCES WITH GOD: Spiritual Colloquies of Giosue Borsl. Authorized translation by Rev. Pasquale Maltese. 12mo., pp. 362. New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons.

These colloquies or meditations are written in the form of prayer by the author not for publication, but because he believed that God wished him to make his meditations in that way. He was not an

anchorite nor a cloistered mystic, but a young man of the world, poet, scholar, amateur actor, dramatic critic, commentator of Dante, darling of the salons of the gay world of Rome and Florence. His father was a clever journalist who made a political platform of his hatred for the Catholic Church and who brought up his son in an atmosphere of hostility to religion. Out of deference to the wishes of a pious mother the boy was baptized and made his first Communion, but this was also the last for many years. The loss of three near relatives in a short time brought him in friendly relations with Franciscan monks, and later, under the influence of Father Alfari, the famous astronomer, physicist and seismologist. In 1915 he received confirmation and took up the study of the Holy Scriptures and the writings of the Fathers. Italy had just entered the war, and he was one of the first officers to go to the front. He began to keep this diary of his talks with God in May: he was in the trenches in June. The first thirty-five colloquies were written at home and the last eighteen at the front in moments of inspiration amid the crash of shrapnel and the thunder of guns. One critic says of him: "He writes with vigor, naturalness and ease, with a beauty of form unrivaled, perhaps, in the annals of modern church literature." These colloquies have been called by the most exacting of Italian critics the "finest religious literature since the Confessions of St. Augustine." In places they are comparable to the Psalms of David, in others to the Lamentations of Jeremiah.

The author foresaw death, predicted it, and met it with a bullet through his heart in one of his first battles, while leading his men in a desperate charge on Monte Cucco. These colloquies contain an eloquent lesson for those contemplating a return to their former faith. They pay a magnificent tribute to the mercy of God and give a safe guidance to those who struggle to attain the Christian ideal of life. They are filled with fervor, thanksgiving, love, and will quicken the faith of even the most casual reader.

EPISTEMOLOGY, OR THE THEORY OF KNOWLEDGE: An Introduction to General Metaphysics. By *P. Coffey, Ph. D.*, Professor of Logic and Metaphysics, Maynooth College, Ireland. 2 vols., pp. 374 and 376. New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

REALITY AND TRUTH: A Critical and Constructive Essay Concerning Knowledge, Certainty and Truth. By *John G. Vance, M. A., Ph. D.*, Member of British Psychological Society, Professor of Philosophy at Old Hall, 8vo., pp. 344. New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

It is a pleasing coincidence that after many years of anxious waiting by students for authoritative and adequate treatment of the

theory of knowledge two such admirable books on the subject should appear at the same time without any previous arrangement. And now that they have appeared and are recognized at once as truly valuable additions to English philosophical literature, the wonder grows that we should have had to wait so long for them. This is the more surprising when we consider the industry of the enemy, and under this head we include all those incompetent, ignorant, partly educated and badly educated, so-called professors of philosophy and writers on the subject, who occupy chairs in the higher schools and universities, and ignoring Neo-Scholastic philosophy, presume to enlighten the multitude. The brief manuals of Catholic philosophy and the briefer sections in standard text books which treat this part of the subject have been painfully inadequate, and the Catholic student has often found himself but illy armed for the combat.

What a relief then and what a triumph when two champions go forth at once to fight the battle of truth: both fully equipped, both highly trained, both bearing credentials and commissions from the fountain heads of authority. They both follow the general plan of works of this kind, both reach the same conclusions and they differ only in accidentals—terminology, definitions, style.

It has been said that Dr. Coffey has written a text book for university students, while Dr. Vance addresses himself to the "plain man." This expression may explain as well as any the difference in style. Dr. Coffey's treatise is fuller though not more complete. In this instance a comparison would be more than odious. Either one will satisfy the earnest searcher after truth, and the possessor of both is to be envied.

VERY REV. CHARLES HYACINTH, McKENNA, O. P., P. G.: *Missionary and Apostle of the Holy Name Society*. By *Very Rev. V. F. O'Daniel, O. P., S. T. M.* 8vo., pp. 409. Illustrated. New York: Holy Name Bureau.

Two years before the death of Father McKenna, the provincial of the Eastern province of Dominicans in the United States appointed Father O'Daniel to prepare the biography of the great missionary. The author had known the subject of the biography for many years and was already familiar in a general way with the principal events of his life in the ministry. But during those two years of intimate association he had exceptional opportunities for verifying at first hand and in detail what was already a matter of general record, and of learning from the lips of the subject himself facts in regard to his early history and struggles that could not be

gotten in any other way. This work was done more successfully because Father McKenna never knew that he was speaking for publication, and most completely because other members of the community also gathered first-class information from time to time, and from the union of all these streams as well as from other sources came forth the complete biography.

It is most interesting, instructive and edifying. Father McKenna was an active, able churchman in this country for almost fifty years, and his activity kept pace with the growth of the Church during that time, contributing much to it. The story of his struggles and accomplishments is full of instruction not only for every priest, but for every layman. What the poor Irish boy and laboring man accomplished in fighting his way into the priesthood should encourage every poor boy who is called by God to go on courageously, and the wonders wrought by the zealous missionary who rose from such humble beginnings should spur every priest on to greater zeal.

His life may safely be held up for imitation. He was always the zealous, earnest, pious priest. His heart resembled the Sacred Heart of his Divine Master in its burning love for souls. He desired with a great desire to see that fire enkindled which Christ came to cast on earth. He was eaten up by his zeal for God's house.

GOD AND MAN: Lectures on Dogmatic Theology, from the French of the Rev. L. Labanque, S. S. Two volumes, 8vo., pp. 376 and 340. New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons.

"Since the beginning of the nineteenth century Rationalists have set about attacking Catholic dogma with altogether new tactics. They have striven to show that our most fundamental dogmas, at no matter what period of their history we consider them, whether upon their first appearance in Holy Writ, or at the time of their conciliar definition, are an altogether human product. Such criticism, confined for a time within certain intellectual circles, has gradually worked its way into the different classes of society and has given rise to that Modernism denounced and condemned by Pope Pius X. in the Encyclical '*Pascendi gregis domnici*.' Now, this is just the objection that we are most desirous of combating. We have undertaken to show that Catholic dogma, on the contrary, at whatever period of its history we examine it, remains absolutely inexplicable so far as contingent causes are concerned, and that it requires always, now under one form, now under another, the intervention of the Holy Spirit."

In this way the author states what he calls the master idea that guides his work.

The first volume is divided into three parts: "The Most Holy Trinity," "The Incarnate Word" and "Christ the Redeemer." The second volume is divided into four parts: "The State of Original Innocence," "Original Sin," "Grace" and "Man and His Future State." The book, though comparatively brief, is remarkably complete and clear. St. Thomas is the guiding theologian throughout. The statement of the doctrine of the Church, the quotations from the Sacred Scriptures, the declarations of the councils and teachings of the Fathers are all set forth with due appreciation of their relative values, and in such logical order as to lead to the conclusion in the most convincing manner. The translation is excellently well done, and there is scarcely any evidence of the book's foreign origin.

THE NEW TESTAMENT AND CATHOLIC PRAYER BOOK. Large, very legible type. Printed on thin India paper. Pocket shape. Strong, flexible binding. Contains card of identification. Bound in khaki or black cloth; net, 85 cents. New York: Benziger Brothers.

Though there are many editions of the New Testament, this is the first time it has been combined with a prayer book and issued in a very legible type, in convenient pocket size. Bulk has been eliminated by using the thin India paper. This paper, though so thin, is very tough and stands more wear than ordinary paper. To have the New Testament and the most necessary and useful prayers combined in one volume is certainly a great advantage that will be appreciated by Catholic soldiers and sailors who have gathered to the colors in such large numbers.

THE EXTERNALS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH: Her Government, Ceremonies, Festivals, Sacraments and Devotions. By *Rev. John F. Sullivan*. 12mo., 385. Second edition revised. New York: J. P. Kenedy & Sons.

This book is intended to give a clear, brief account of the principal ceremonies and devotions of the Catholic Church, sufficient and necessary for the Catholic public in general, without pretending to be exhaustive or complete. While it includes over five hundred subjects within its pages, a larger number than can be found in any other volume of its size, it must necessarily exclude some. It is not likely, however, that the general reader will look in vain for information.

Glancing at the table of contents we notice chapters on the Gov-

ernment of the Church, the Religious State, the Sacraments, Mass, Sacramentals, Liturgical Books, the Ecclesiastical Year, Devotions and Miscellaneous.

The explanations are very simple and clear, as explanations should be—otherwise they do not explain. It is gratifying to know that the book has been appreciated, which is shown by the call for a second edition. It should have a continuous sale, because Catholics should all and always be prepared to explain the history, doctrine and ceremonies of their religion. They cannot do so unless they are instructed, and experience shows only too convincingly that knowledge must come by the eye as well as the ear in order to be complete and lasting. This book is an excellent eye teacher.

THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW

"Contributors to the *QUARTERLY* will be allowed all proper freedom in the expression of their thoughts outside the domain of defined doctrines, the *REVIEW* not holding itself responsible for the individual opinions of its contributors."

(Extract from *Salutatory*, July, 1890.)

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STATES OF OUR UNION SETTLED BY CATHOLICS.

THE history of the Catholic Church in America dates back to the first attempts at exploration of our coast and to the first steps towards the settlement of our continent. The first act of worship, the first religious ceremonies ever performed on the Western Continent were performed by Catholics, and fifteen of our States owe their origin to Catholic enterprise. We have, then, the oldest history, and no Christian organization can compare with us in this respect. The labors of the Catholic explorer, the Catholic pioneer and the Catholic colonist are full of thrilling incident. We say this on the evidence of non-Catholic authorities. "In their toils, their sufferings, their conflicts," says Parkman, "momentous questions were at stake and issues vital to the future world."

Bancroft (*U. S.*, Vol. III., p. 119) says: "Religious zeal, not less than commercial ambition, had influenced France to recover Canada, and Champlain, its Governor, whose imperishable name will rival with posterity, the fame of Smith and Hudson, ever disinterested and compassionate, full of honor and probity, of ardent devotion and burning zeal, esteemed 'the salvation of a single soul worth more than the conquest of an empire.'"

In the same volume (p. 121) he adds: "It was neither commercial enterprise nor royal ambition which carried the power of France into the heart of our continent; the motive was religion. Religious enthusiasm colonized New England, and religious enthusiasm founded Montreal, made a conquest of the wilderness on the

upper lakes and explored the Mississippi. Puritanism gave New England its worship and its schools, but the Roman (Catholic) Church created for Canada its altars, its hospitals and its seminaries."

It is well known and Mr. Bancroft adds his testimony to the fact that "the first permanent effort of French enterprise in colonizing America preceded any permanent English settlement north of the Potomac. Years before the Pilgrims anchored within Cape Cod, the Roman (Catholic) Church had been planted by missionaries from France, in the eastern moiety of Maine, and Le Caron, an unambitious Franciscan, had penetrated the land of the Mohawks and passed to the north into the hunting grounds of the Wyandottes and, bound by his vows to the life of a mendicant, had, on foot or paddling a bark canoe, gone onward and still onward, taking alms of the savages, till he reached the rivers of Lake Huron. While Quebec contained scarcely fifty inhabitants, priests of the Franciscan Order—Le Caron, Vial, Sagord—had labored for years as missionaries in Upper Canada or made their way to the neutral Huron tribe that dwelt in the wilds of Niagara." The glory of having discovered America, of having established the first colonies, the first missions, the first colleges and the first charitable institutions in North America belongs entirely to Catholic effort. And when the work of exploration was accomplished and the settlement of the new lands became a necessity, Catholic effort was not wanting, as no less than fifteen States of our great American Union were settled by Catholics.

Very few of our readers apparently know how many of our States were first settled by Catholics or who were the founders, and we might say, *en passant*, that it is a matter of reproach to us that so few Catholics seem to feel an interest in the early history of our country. It is a fact that we can claim at least seventeen, and it will certainly be some service to present the names of their founders in a series and help to make their names and their fame illustrious. As we have endeavored to show in this and in former articles, Catholics have had so much to do in the discovery, exploration and settlement of this land that the Catholics of to-day should cherish their memory as household names. It is our purpose in this paper to give a series of brief sketches of those who established permanent settlements, omitting those whose attempts at colonization were not successfully followed up.

Pedro Menendez, the founder of Florida (1565), was a native of Avilés, Spain, and a descendant from one of the most ancient of the noble families of Asturias. His father, Don Juan Alonzo de Avilés, a brave soldier in the wars against the Moors of Granada,

died while his son, Pedro, was a child, and his widow, burdened with a family of nineteen children, placed Pedro with a relative. The boy was not only bright, but daring, and when only eight years of age ran away from his relative's home, and it was six months before he was discovered at Valladolid. He manifested such a roving disposition that at a very early age a marriage was arranged for him. But this did not have the desired effect, for, hearing that a vessel was being fitted out to chastise the French pirates who were preying upon Spanish commerce, he volunteered, and in a two-years' cruise became so expert in navigation that he resolved to sail a vessel of his own. He sold part of his inheritance and, heedless to the appeals of wife and kindred, fitted out a ship. It was no ordinary peril that he resolved to face, for the French cruisers gave no quarter to Spaniards, and put all prisoners to death except such men of rank whose ransom tempted them. Menendez showed great skill and courage, and on one occasion, alone, attacked three French vessels, captured two of them and rescued some Spanish ships that were threatened by the pirates. His fame was increased by similar acts of daring, so that the Spanish Government sent him against the famous Jean Alphonse, who had captured some ten or more Spanish vessels. He recaptured five of their vessels and in a severe engagement wounded Alphonse mortally. Successes like these merited great honors for Menendez, and Charles V. rewarded him with a general commission to cruise against all piratical craft, and he made his campaign so effective that Philip II. appointed him Captain General of the Indian fleets and a member of his Council.

Menendez commanded the fleet which took Philip to England on the occasion of his marriage to Queen Mary Tudor. Upon orders to return to Spain to take command of the fleet at Seville, he embarked on the first vessel ready to sail, was attacked by pirates, whom he defeated, and sailed from Sevilla with a convoy of seventy merchant vessels, which he guided safely to their destination, and returned with a fleet of rich galleons. He patrolled the Spanish coast, and while convoying a wool fleet to the Low Countries, engaged a famous French corsair called by the Spanish "Pie de Palo," and supposed by many to be no other than Giovanni da Verazzano. His services were in almost constant demand, and he displayed admirable seamanship, daring courage and infinite resource in the hour of danger.

In 1559 the King, then at Brussels, appointed him admiral of the fleet and sent him to Spain. Menendez crossed France by land, collected and equipped a fleet and set out to bring the King back to Spain. In this he was successful in spite of the storms he encountered on the way. On reaching Laredo, he accompanied the King

to the church, where a Mass of thanksgiving was celebrated for their safe arrival. Philip II. wished to reward Menendez for his valuable services, but in those days, as in our own, envy and jealousy existed among counsellors and the King's desires were delayed. The brave navigator only asked leave to return to his own estates, but this was denied him. Though ill, he was ordered to take command of a fleet bound for America. On his return voyage to Spain, in 1561, he offended some of the grandees on his vessel—who were only too anxious to be offended that they might find the means of bringing disgrace upon a brave man. Menendez, on their complaint, was thrown into prison and condemned to pay a heavy fine. After some months of imprisonment the King released him and remitted half his fine. Menendez was also ordered to resume the command of his fleet. The old seaman, however, informed his sovereign that his only son had been lost in a vessel wrecked on the coast of Florida, and that during the two long years of his incarceration he had not lost all hope of rescuing him if he were still alive. He therefore besought the King to permit him to return to Florida in search of his son and then to return to Spain and retire from active service. King Philip was full of sympathy and gave the solicited permission, but required Menendez to make a thorough survey of the coast. This led to his appointment as Adelantado and the obligation to reduce and settle Florida within three years.

Menendez appealed to his kindred and friends to take part in his new enterprise. In spite of the failures of Garay, Narvaez, De Soto and Tristan de Luna, men rallied to the standard of the old commander who never knew defeat. But while the ports of Northern Spain were busy with preparation the news came that French corsairs who had so long plundered Spanish vessels and butchered their crews were actually settled in Florida, and that vessels were fitting out with men and supplies to hold that port against all opposition. This intelligence caused an entire change in all plans arranged up to this point. Vessels, soldiers, arms and ammunition were placed at the command of Menendez, and he received orders to sail at once and rout out the French post, which was a perpetual menace to Spanish commerce. It was now a summons to arms, and men enlisted to fight under the veteran commander against the old and relentless foe. Many a friend of his youth had fallen in battle against the French corsairs or been put to the sword when the battle was ended. When all was ready Menendez sailed from the port of Cadiz with a fleet of thirty-four vessels and some 2,646 men in all, but they were hardly out of port when a storm overtook them and they were obliged to put back. Off the Canary Islands a hurricane broke over the fleet and scattered it; some of the ships were too

much disabled to proceed and others put back to Spain. Barely one-third of the forces reached St. Domingo and Puerto Rico, when Menendez learned that Ribault with a French fleet had outsailed him and had already captured a Spanish ship in West Indian waters, putting all to the sword. Menendez called a council of war and advocated pushing on to Florida before his real condition was known. Some of his officers objected, but he was finally sustained, and his little fleet, avoiding the usual course, headed for Florida. On August 28 they discovered land and chanted the *Te Deum* as an act of thanksgiving. Menendez soon discovered a fine harbor, to which he gave the name of St. Augustine, because he reached the coast on the feast of the great Bishop of Hippo.

The great object of the explorers now was to ascertain the position and strength of the French. Cautiously following the coast, Menendez soon sighted four large vessels at the mouth of the St. John's River. On his side Ribault recognized the Spaniards, and, sending three vessels up the river, prepared for an attack. Again did Menendez convene his officers, the majority of whom were in favor of returning to the West Indies and await the arrival of the rest of their fleet before venturing to attack the enemy, who far outnumbered his forces. Menendez with his few vessels, only one of them of any use, found that, if pursued by Ribault, he could not escape. He resolved upon a bold attack, and he at once pushed on upon the enemy, who soon opened fire upon him. When hailed by the French, Menendez informed them that he was sent by the King of Spain to hang and put to the sword every Lutheran he found on land or sea, and that his orders were peremptory. The French immediately slipped their cables and put to sea, pursued by the Spaniards until they saw the chase was useless. Menendez now sailed back to St. Augustine harbor, and late on September 7 landed a detachment of men to select a site for a fort on the next morning. Menendez landed towards noon and on that morning, September 8, 1565, the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, an altar was erected in the open, upon which were placed a tabernacle, Crucifix, candles and wild flowers gathered from the virgin soil. One of the fathers accompanying the explorers. Father Lopez de Mendoza, celebrated the Mass, the first celebrated in the Land of Flowers—while grouped about the foot of the altar were the soldiers of the expedition in armor and on bended knees. At one side knelt Menendez with the standard of Spain raised aloft and behind him others of the Castilian chivalry. In the bay the ships of the Spaniards, gorgeously decorated with bunting for the occasion, lay at anchor.

After the celebration of the Holy Sacrifice, the official act of taking possession in the name of the King was solemnly read, and

the Adelantado received the oath of his officers to serve him faithfully. Food was now distributed to all on shore, including the Indians who had looked upon the proceedings of that morning with no little amazement. Menendez's next care was to land provisions, implements, arms and ammunition, and to get his vessels in proper condition to meet a contest which was inevitable.

Ribault, on his side, acted rashly and against the advice of his associates. Instead of strengthening his fort and awaiting an attack, he divided his force leaving Laudonnère with part of his men at Fort Caroline and sailing with his four vessels to engage Menendez, who had sent off by night his two larger vessels. On the 10th Ribault appeared and nearly ran into Menendez, who with his ships was at the mouth of the river. The French, unable to enter until the tide rose, stood off. Menendez, who knew the coast and its dangers, scanned the sky, and his practiced eye saw the approach of a storm that he knew would test all Ribault's seamanship and give the Spaniards some days of respite. He was prompt to plan and to act, and he resolved to attack Charlesfort by land and crush it before Ribault could ride out the storm and regain the roadstead there. It was a desperate resolve, and many a protest arose from his officers, but Menendez, selecting his bravest men, prepared for the work he had resolved upon. After a march through swamps and in a pouring rain he came in sight of Charlesfort. The only sentinel that appeared was overpowered. The gates of the fort being open, the Spaniards dashed in, cutting down all who came in their way. About sixty escaped to the small craft in the harbor and to the woods; women and children under fifteen were spared, the rest were put to the sword, the same fate that would have been meted out to the Spaniards had they been surprised by the French. Charlesfort became San Mateo.

Leaving a garrison here, Menendez hastened back to St. Augustine to Resist Ribault. That commander had been wrecked on the coast, and with the survivors of his fleet was making every effort to reach Charlesfort. Two parties successively surrendered to Menendez and were all put to the sword. It was a terrible work of blood, but, revolting as it is to us of to-day, it was the usual system adopted by both sides, and had the fates of war been reversed Menendez and his men would have met the same fate as did their countrymen at Havana a few years before.

Relieved of all fear from French attack, Menendez organized the government of Florida, and as his vessels arrived houses were built and churches soon erected, both at St. Augustine and at San Mateo. Menendez now visited different parts of the country from the capes of Florida and made treaties with the Indians, but to his great

sorrow, could get no tidings of his son. He surveyed the coast as far as the Chesapeake Bay, erected a fort at St. Helena, on Port Royal Sound, and sent some Jesuit missionaries to found a mission on the Rappahannock.

Dominic Gourgues, a French cruiser who carried a large body of slaves to San Domingo, heard of the fate of his countrymen in Florida, and to avenge it he attacked and captured Fort San Marco and put all to the sword. Indian hostilities now broke out against the Spanish settlers, but San Marco was restored and retained. Menendez was constantly in motion, visiting different posts and tribes or going to the West Indies for supplies. In 1567 he sailed for Spain and presented some Florida Indians to the King. On his return to Florida, finding that the Jesuit Fathers on the Rappahannock had been put to death by the treachery of a converted Indian who had accompanied them as their guide and interpreter, he sailed to the Chesapeake, captured several of the murderers and hung them at the yardarm of his vessel as she lay on the Potomac.

In 1574 Menendez was summoned to Spain by the King. He obeyed the call, leaving his nephew, Pedro Menendez Marques, as Governor of Florida. The King appointed him to the command of a large fleet then fitting out for England and the Low Countries. Menendez assumed the command with his old energy and power, but his long and hard years of service began to tell upon his sinewy frame; he was now broken down by disease and feeling that his end was near prepared to meet it in a Christian manner, and died at Santander on September 17, 1774, at the age of fifty-five, and was buried in the Church of San Nicolas de Avilés.

The character of Menendez has been described by different historians from their various points of view. John Fiske admits that he was "an admirable soldier," but at the same time calls him "a matchless liar." The Catholic Encyclopedia styles the massacre of Ribault and his companions by Menendez as "an indelible stain on a singularly noble record," while Lowery in his "Spanish Settlements" (II., 178) describes the story of the inscriptions placed by Menendez over the heads of the men he hanged, saying that they had been executed not as Frenchmen, but as pirates and heretics—as apocryphal. The Spanish settlers of Florida are entitled to the credit of having brought to our shores useful and necessary domestic animals. The bronchos, the mustangs of the Western plains, are descended from runaway domestic animals. Cattle also ran wild after being brought across the sea, and we are indebted to De Soto for bringing over the useful pig. The Cathedral of St. Augustine, Florida, with its Spanish architecture, remains to this day to tell us that Florida was settled by Catholics.

California, the Golden State, owes its foundation to Gaspar de Portola, a Spanish captain of dragoons, who in 1768 was appointed Governor of Upper California and sent to occupy that province. He was to establish presidios or military posts, and the missionaries to begin the work of converting the native population and pave the way for the future colonization of the country. The first detachment of the expedition under his command reached the port of San Diego on May 14, 1769, and was soon followed by a second detachment bringing horses and cattle with which to stock the new settlement. On May 14 formal possession of the provinces was taken by the Governor, and on that memorable Whitsunday San Diego was founded. This was the beginning of the wonderful Franciscan missions of Upper California, founded and guided for many years by the saintly and heroic Father Junipero de Serra. San Carlos de Monterey, San Antonio, San Gabriel, San Luis Obispo, San Juan Capistrano, Santa Clara and San Francisco were all begun within the ten years of the occupation. Other missions followed, so that before the close of the century there were no less than eighteen. In these missions the Indians were gathered together, instructed in the doctrines of Christianity, trained to agriculture and the various trades, and in time each mission became a thriving community, with cultivated fields, herds of cattle, vineyards and shipping annually its products to commercial centres and to receive in return the manufactured articles needed by the Indians.

New England compilers of American history give the "friars" credit for this great work, but intimate—with characteristic charity—that the Indians did the work and the missionaries pocketed the profits. These writers find it convenient to forget that the main thing the English-speaking settlers and missionaries did was to settle the land and show the natives the shortest way to the happy hunting grounds and help them to get there with the least possible delay. Near each mission was a presidio, or military post, with a small military force, for the protection of the settlements against hostile Indians. As the soldiers of the presidios were discharged from time to time as their period of service expired they married and settled down in the region and became the first settlers in the country, and thus the little villages grew up—Nuestra Señora Reina de los Angeles, near San Gabriel, San José being among the most prominent. Los Angeles prospered most and rose under Spanish and Mexican rule to be a place of fifteen hundred inhabitants, so that apart from missions and presidios it may be regarded as the cradle of California civilization. The foundation of the San Gabriel mission dates from the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, September, 8, 1771.

The town of *Nuestra Señora Reina de los Angeles* (Our Lady Queen of Angels) was itself founded in a formal manner on August 26, 1781, by Lara, Navarro, Rosas and nine other discharged soldiers, and began with a population of forty-six souls, twenty being children. It was founded by authority of Philip de Nove, then Governor of California. The little town grew and progressed and had become an important place at the time that California was acquired by the United States. It is now an episcopal city. We might add that at the time when the Society of Jesus was suppressed in the Spanish dominions by Charles III., the royal mandate did not reach America until the latter part of the year 1767. It was brought to California by the new Governor, Don Gaspar Portolá, mentioned above, and by him firmly though courteously executed. Summoning before him, at Loretto, the Father Superior, Portolá read to him the contents of the decree and directed that all the Jesuit establishments in the province, with the property and lands, should be delivered over to the Franciscans immediately on their arrival. In the meantime the Jesuit Fathers were prohibited from the exercise of their ordinary functions. On February 3, 1768, after taking a solemn farewell of the people they had done so much to evangelize, the good fathers departed from the port of Loretto, virtually prisoners, followed by the tears and lamentations of their devoted neophytes. They had spent seventy years on the peninsula of California and had converted and civilized its inhabitants from Cape San Lucas to the mouth of the Colorado, and they left behind them fourteen flourishing missions. The story of the California missions has been told so often, so fully and so touchingly that a mere reference to them here will answer the purpose of this article.

Arkansas—Among the Catholic founders of States we find Spanish, English and French names, and we rarely find an Italian, but in this case we are enabled to give a few notes of a native of Italy. Henri de Tonti was the son of Lorenzo Tonti, Governor of Gaeta, and a friend of the French, and on the fall of that city into the hands of the invader he was forced into exile. He possessed financial skill and was the first to propose the system of insurance called after him, the Tontine, and in which the last survivor of a group insured receives the whole amount. His son Henri served in the army of Italy and lost a hand, which was carried off by a grenade. In the French army he served under the Prince de Conté, and rising to the rank of captain took part in the capture of Fort Crevecoeur. He was introduced to Robert Cavalier, commonly known as La Salle, in 1678, and from that time adhered to La Salle's fortune with unswerving fidelity. He accompanied him to Canada and proceeded to Fort Frontenac. At Niagara he completed the

Griffon, a little vessel which La Salle began. La Salle sent him in a canoe to Mackinac to look after some of his men dispatched to the West to trade, and he subsequently proceeded to Sault Ste. Marie. He joined La Salle with a small party at the mouth of St. Joseph's River. La Salle then crossed to the Illinois River and began a stockade called Fort Crevecoeur. Hearing no tidings of the Griffon, La Salle resolved to return to Canada to ascertain its fate. He left Tonti at this fort with fifteen men, who were to finish the construction of a smaller vessel for descending the Mississippi. Two Franciscan priests, the aged Gabriel de la Ribourde and Zenobius Membré, remained with Tonti. It was not long, however, before the Illinois were attacked by a force of Iroquois from the colony of New York, and Tonti going to meet them with a wampum belt was stabbed by a young brave and seriously wounded. The Illinois fled and Tonti found it impossible to hold on at Crevecoeur until the return of La Salle. Then, too, some of the few men of his command had deserted. Tonti and his missionaries escaped narrowly, and seeing nothing else to do, set out to reach Green Bay in a wretched bark canoe and with no provisions. After untold hardships the party reached Green Bay.

In 1685 Fathers Joliet de Montigny, Davion and de Saint Cosme were sent out to found new missions. On the 5th of December they entered the Mississippi River, and guarded by Tonti they sailed down the great river to the villages of the Arkansas, planting the cross at several points. In 1706 Father Nicholas Foucoult took up his residence among the Arkansas Indians and began his missionary labors. His advanced age interfered with his work and he was succeeded by Father Jean Dumas. The chaplain sent out by Spain to minister to the settlers he had planted on his grant upon the Arkansas died just as the vessel reached the mouth of the Mississippi, and Father du Poison found not only Indians, but French settlers who required his services. These French settlers were of French Canadian origin, among them the descendants of the settlers who came with the Chevalier de Tonti, when, in 1685, he proceeded up to the villages of the Arkansas. We might add that the name Arkansas was that of a tribe of Indians also known as the Quapaws or Ozarks. Tradition has many fantastic tales to tell about poor Tonti. We are told that crosses, beads, old iron implements and countless remains of La Salle's time turn up everywhere in the valley soil that stretches out from the Rock of St. Louis now known as Starred Rock. Pits are dug down to the rock by men seeking for Tonti's money, and yet local tradition tells us positively that he died poor and that he came back to the Rock to die in 1718.

Iowa—The chief city in Iowa is named in honor of the founder

of the State of Iowa, Julien Dubuque. He was born at Pierre-les-Buquets, in Canada, on January 10, 1762. He was a descendant of Jean Dubuque, who had settled in the colony in 1788. Like many of his young countrymen he "struck West," and in 1788 was a trader at Prairie-du-Chien. He was a man of character and soon acquired great influence over the Indians, who imagined that he possessed a charm against the bite of the rattlesnake. Frequently called upon to act as umpire in the Indian quarrels, the shrewdness of "Little Night," as he was called, enabled him to increase his fame and influence. At a great Indian council, held in 1788, Dubuque induced the Indians to cede to him a tract of land in which a rich lead mine had been discovered. This grant was confirmed to Dubuque in 1796 by Baron de Carondelet, the Spanish Governor of the Province of Louisiana, and the strip of land became known as the Mines of Spain. It was, later on, sold by him to Augustus Chouteau, of St. Louis. For a time Dubuque carried on his trade and worked his mine successfully. He died suddenly in the spring of 1810. His devoted Indian friends buried him on a beautiful bluff jutting out into the river and just below the present limits of the city. A large stone, surmounted by a wooden structure with a cross and inscription, was added later on. The Indians jealously guarded his tomb and his mine, permitting no other white man to work it until the United States Government acquired all the Indian lands. Then the settlement revived, and Dubuque became, in 1833, a thriving town.

In 1837 Dubuque became an episcopal see, with the Right Rev. Mathias Loras, D. D., as its first Bishop. In 1893 it became a metropolitan see, with the Most Rev. John Hennessy, D. D., as its first Archbishop. The suffragan sees forming the province of Dubuque are Cheyenne, Davenport, Des Moines, Kearney, Lincoln, Omaha and Sioux City, Iowa, with an estimated Catholic population (exclusive of Dubuque) of 273,244. The city of Dubuque has to-day some ten or twelve Catholic churches, each with its Catholic school, with numerous colleges, academies and private schools, with a Catholic population in the diocese of about 133,000. Many interesting anecdotes are told about old Julien Dubuque, among others the following: On one occasion two Indians, who had been indulging too freely in "fire-water," mounted a stray horse and rode headlong over the prairie until the horse fell, crushing one of the luckless riders. The family of the dead man endeavored to kill the survivor, but the case, like many others, was referred to Dubuque. His decision was characteristic. It was to the effect that the survivor and one of the opposite party should mount the same horse and ride over the prairie till one of them died. This threw the re-

sponsibility for the accident on the horse and put an end to the litigation. An Englishman visiting Dubuque, and mindful of the manner in which many of his people had treated the Indians, said to him: "I hope you trade fairly and do not cheat the Indians." "Cheat the Indians," said Dubuque; "I have been trying it all my life and never succeeded." In conclusion we may say that Dubuque was one of the few who in early times succeeded in getting the Indians to do manual labor, and he made many of them miners and farmers. His little settlement was a scene of prosperous industry, and, as we have shown above, developed into a great industrial centre.

Oregon is said to derive its name from the Spanish *Oregano* (*Origanum vulgare*), wild marjoram, abundant on its coast, and Dr. John McLaughlin if not the first actual settler is regarded by common consent as the "Father of Oregon." The valley of the Columbia River made known by the expedition of Lewis and Clarke attracted the attention of the great fur companies. John Jacob Astor planted a trading house in Oregon, but the threatening war with England induced him to transfer his establishment to the British Northwest and Hudson Bay Companies. No one seemed inclined to plant settlements; the chief desire was to induce the Indians to slaughter the great food supply which nature had provided to the native tribes, so as to sell the skins to the trading companies. The associations employed many French Canadians, light-hearted, cheerful, enduring men, who have left their impress on all our western country. When Dr. McLaughlin became a superintendent he took a quiet interest in these people, and about the year 1826 induced several, whose services were only occasionally required, to settle down in the lovely valley of the Willamette.

Doctor John McLaughlin was born in the parish of La Revière du Loup, Canada, on October 19, 1784. His father's people were originally from Ireland. His father came to Canada and married a lady of that country, and here was born their son John, who was trained for the medical profession, which he followed only for a short time. He associated himself first with the Northwest Company, and when that company merged with the Hudson Bay Company, in 1821, as stated above, he took the management of the chief depot and factory at Fort William, and in a short time moved the headquarters of the company to Fort Vancouver, on the Columbia River. While here his strong character and uprightness of purpose were felt throughout the whole region then known as the Oregon country. He became practically the supreme ruler of that region, but he ruled with kindness and consideration. So great was his influence for good that in a short time it became possible for parties

to travel through the country without fear of Indian attacks, until after he had resigned from the Hudson Bay Company.

During Dr. McLaughlin's administration of affairs in the Oregon country lands were laid off and cultivated; the industry of the settlers was well repaid, and in peace and comfort the first white settlements were begun. Among the settlers the names of Joseph Gervais, Stephen Lucier and Pierre Beleque have come down to us. Their settlement was firmly established and prosperous when the Methodist mission from the United States arrived in 1834 and began their labors, out of which American settlements grew some years later, at least ten years after the French Canadian foundation on the Willamette. Here the first chapel for Christian worship was built, in anticipation of the arrival of a priest for whom they had appealed to the Right Rev. Dr. Provencher, Bishop of Juliopolis and Coadjutor-Bishop of Quebec (and first Bishop of St. Boniface). It was not, indeed, till 1839 that the Rev. François Norbert Blanchet, from Canada—the future Archbishop of Oregon City—began to offer up the Holy Sacrifice in the rustic chapel of St. Paul, in the valley of the Willamette. These humble pioneer settlers have been almost ignored in the annals of Oregon, but to them belongs the honor of establishing the first white settlement in Oregon. Dr. McLaughlin, if not the first actual settler, must be regarded as the father of the settlement of Oregon. In the early days of his career he manifested the most liberal feeling to all religious denominations. Methodist, Presbyterian and Catholic missionaries received equal aid and protection at his hands, although he did not become a Catholic until 1842. So great was his devotion to the Catholic Church after his conversion that in 1846 Pope Pius IX. made him a Knight of St. Gregory. Notwithstanding the good doctor's charity and liberality his last days were embittered by the ingratitude of those he had befriended in their day of need. It was forgotten that when, in 1843, the first of the Oregon home-building immigrants arrived in the country, it was through Dr. McLaughlin's sympathy and generosity that they were fed and clothed and their sick cared for; it was forgotten that he supplied them with seed and farming implements and domestic animals, and he did the same for the immigrants of 1844-45. But all this did not prevent a movement to question his right to the title of certain lands he had taken up, in the early days, on the ground that he was at that time a British subject. Some of the Methodist missionaries and their adherents, who had been probated and encouraged when they came to Oregon, started the action against him. The case hung on for some time, and the property was finally restored to his heirs five years after the doctor's death. By the action of his enemies Dr.

McLaughlin lost nearly all of the fortune he had acquired by honest toil, and he died a broken-hearted and disappointed man, the victim of ingratitude and misrepresentation. His remains were deposited with pious care in the burial ground attached to St. John's Church, Oregon City.

Washington—The history of the early Catholic settlements in the State of Washington has been told, in part, in the account given of the Oregon settlements. On March 2, 1853, Washington Territory was formed out of the northern half of Oregon. There appears to be no question about the Spaniards having been the first white people to visit the Oregon country, notwithstanding the doubts expressed on this subject by certain (or rather uncertain writers). The evidence in favor of the Spanish explorers is to be found not only in official documents, but the traditions of the aborigines concur in making this opinion incontestable. We learn from these that a Spanish vessel appeared south of the Columbia River before 1792. We may add that our early American missionaries found crucifixes among the Kalamuks which had come down to them from their ancestors. We learn, further, that on the Island of Vancouver there may still be seen the ruins of colonial habitations; that the strait which separates it from the mainland bears the name of *Juan de Fuca*,¹ and that the country itself is contiguous to California, where the Spanish missionaries had labored two hundred years before. These facts would seem to justify the opinion that the Spaniards were the first discoverers of Oregon.

A peculiar interest attaches itself to the birth and growth of Catholicity in the State of Washington. As in Oregon, French Canadians, trappers and *coureurs des bois* were among the first white people to inhabit the country, and, unlike other places, the first missionaries were seculars and not members of religious orders. Simon Plamondon, of Coblitz, and his fellow-Catholics longed for the presence of a priest in their settlement, and in 1833 and again in 1835 they drew up a petition to the Bishop of Quebec, asking for missionaries. This may be regarded as one of the first steps taken in the northwest for the establishment of Catholicity. We have already referred to the work done in the Oregon country by Dr. McLaughlin to maintain a religious spirit even before he became a Catholic. We have seen how he welcomed all denominations, and we have seen, too, how the leaders of some of them repaid him with ingratitude. We have seen, too, how he appeals to Monseigneur Joseph Norbert Provencher, D. D., Coadjutor of Quebec.

¹ Juan de Fuca was a Greek navigator, born at Cephalonia. His real name was Apostolos Valerianos. He served for more than thirty-five years in the Spanish navy, and he claims to have discovered the Strait that bears his name. He also served in the English navy.

and how he had the happiness of having his application granted by the arrival of two apostolic men, the Rev. Francis Norbert Blanchet (later on first Archbishop of Oregon City), and the Rev. Modeste Demers (later on Bishop of Vancouver Island), who came from Quebec. They reached Vancouver on November 24, 1838, and offered up the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass for the first time in that region. Father Blanchet, with four Canadian families for his parish, established himself at Coblitz. In the following year he finished the construction of his church, a log structure of 20 by 30 feet, which had to perform the double duty of church and rectory. It was dedicated to the great Jesuit missionary, St. Francis Xavier. The congregation suddenly grew into unexpected proportions by the arrival of a large number of Nesqually Indians, asking to see the Blackgown and to be instructed by him. The poor missionary, while rejoicing in the opportunity at hand to begin the work he had come so far to undertake, felt greatly handicapped, as he did not understand the language of this tribe. Finally he resorted to what Father Bolduc describes as a "Ladder." On a long flat stick Father Blanchet made a number of lines running in different directions and a number of dots. These marks represented certain events in the life of Our Blessed Lord. They were explained to the Indians, who soon learned the lesson the "stick" or "Ladder" was intended to teach; they made reproductions of this "Ladder" and carried them back into their own country that they might, through its aid, teach the truths of Christianity to their brethren who had not seen the Blackgown.

Father Demers visited the interior of the country and his labors and privations were rewarded with the most abundant fruits. The great Jesuit missionary, Father P. J. de Smet, visited the Rocky Mountains in 1840 and the result of his toils and sufferings is told in his "Oregon Missions," a most interesting work. In September, 1842, two Canadian priests, Father A. Langlois and Father J. B. Z. Bolduc, reached Oregon to assist their well-nigh exhausted brethren. As an instance of their labor and its fruits the following item, one of many sent to Quebec in these days, will suffice: "From March, 1840, to March, 1841, were performed: Baptisms, 510; marriages, 12; burials, 11; Communion, 60; one abjuration at St. Paul. . . . Of the 510 baptisms there were about 410 Indians, 100 whites and 40 adults." We cannot follow the progress of Catholicity in Oregon and Washington; it speaks for itself. Of its pioneer missionaries the Rev. Francis Norbert Blanchet became first Archbishop of Oregon City; his brother, Augustin Magloire Blanchet, became first Bishop of Nesqually, or Walla Walla, and Father Modeste Demers became Bishop of Van-

couver. By 1847 the ecclesiastical province of Oregon had three Bishops, fourteen Jesuit Fathers, four Oblates of Mary Immaculate, thirteen secular priests, thirteen Sisters and two educational establishments.

What has been said of the French Canadian settlers in Oregon and Washington may be repeated about the settlers of Idaho, Montana and Wyoming. The first settlements in New Mexico, Arizona and Colorado have been described with some detail in the *AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW* of January, 1916. Perhaps a word about Oñate, the colonizer of New Mexico and founder of the second town within the limits of the United States, may not be out of place here. Juan de Oñate was the only native American among the early Spanish colonizers. He was born at Zacatecas, Mexico, and was connected with the families of Cortez and Montezuma. His immediate family came from the Basque provinces of Spain, and soon after their arrival in Mexico became the owners of some of the richest mines in the world—those of Zacatecas. Notwithstanding the great wealth that fell to his lot, Oñate's sole ambition was to be an explorer. The Spanish sovereigns refused to provide for further expeditions into the disappointing north, and about 1595 Oñate made a contract with the viceroy of New Spain to colonize New Mexico at his own expense. He made all necessary preparations and fitted out a costly expedition, but just as his most ardent desires were about to be realized a new viceroy was appointed, who kept him and all his men waiting in Mexico for over two years before giving the necessary permission to start. At last, early in 1597, Oñate set out with his expedition, which had cost him near a million dollars before it stirred a step. He took with him four hundred colonists, including two hundred soldiers, with women and children, and herds of sheep and cattle, seeds and agricultural implements. Needless to add he was also accompanied by a band of Franciscan missionaries.

The expedition reached the Rio Grande del Norte during the last days of April, and on the feast of the Ascension, 1598, after the celebration of the Holy Sacrifice and an appropriate sermon, possession was formally taken of New Mexico in the name of the King of Spain. To show the religious spirit that animated Oñate on this occasion, Captain Villagr  in his account of the conquest of New Mexico gives us the following prayer uttered in a loud tone on this occasion by Oñate:

"O Holy Cross, who art the divine gate of heaven, altar of the only and essential Sacrifice of the Body and Blood of the Son of God, pasch of the saints and possessions of His glory, open the gate of heaven to these unbelievers; found the church and altars

on which the Body and Blood of the Son of God may be offered; open to us the way of security and peace for their conversion as well as our own conversion, and give our King and me, in his royal name, peaceful possession of these kingdoms and provinces for His holy glory. Amen."

We cannot follow Oñate in all his progress through this country, as we have referred to him in a former article. Enough to add that he was a man of middle age when he made this striking record. Born on the frontier, familiar with the deserts, endowed with great tenacity, coolness and knowledge of frontier life, he was the very man to succeed in planting the first considerable colonies in the United States at their most dangerous and difficult points.

In Colorado the first settlements were made at Conejos and Trinidad by settlers from New Mexico, and their history is to be found recorded briefly in a former article in this *REVIEW* (January, 1916). The history of the Missouri settlements would require a book rather than a few magazine pages. From their humble beginnings they may proudly claim to have given the American Church some of its most distinguished names. To the hierarchy they contributed such saintly heroes and indefatigable workers as De Neckere, Timon, Lefevre, Odin, Feehan, Hennessy, Hogan, Rosatti, Kenrick and P. J. Ryan, and we may add the saintly Felix de Andreis, the first superior of the Lazarists in the United States. In 1733 two brothers, François Valle and Jean Baptiste Valle, and several of their friends, with their families, established a post which in time developed into the town of St. Genevieve. Its site, however, was three miles distant from the present town of that name. These people may be considered as the first settlers in Missouri; their names, so far as we have been able to ascertain, were: François Valle, commandant of the post; Jean Baptiste Valle, his brother; Joseph Loiselle, Jean Baptiste Maurice, Francis Coleman, Jacques Boyer, Henri Maurice, Parfant Dufours, Louis Boilduc, B. N. James and J. B. T. Prat.

In 1764 Pierre Laclède Liguist and Pierre Chouteau,² with a handful of followers, landed upon the shore of the Mississippi where the city of St. Louis now stands. The Catholic missionary soon followed; Father Meurin, crossing in a canoe from Kahokia, offered up the Holy Sacrifice in the open forest, blessing the little band of Catholics and their work. In 1766 we learn that a "baptism was administered in a tent for want of a church."

² A descendant of Pierre Chouteau, in the 40's, was a college mate of the writer of this article at West Chester, Pa., in the building now known as Villa Maria.

From that time until 1772 St. Louis was visited by Father Meurin and the well-known Father Gibault, who in 1770 "blessed the church built of wood." Father Valentine, a Capuchin friar, was the first priest who resided permanently at St. Louis. Other humble churches, or rather chapels, were erected at different times and as necessities arose and priests could be obtained to attend them. In 1818 the Right Rev. Louis William Dubourg, Bishop of the Diocese of Louisiana, arrived at St. Louis, and there established his episcopal see. He was accompanied by the saintly and Very Rev. Felix de Andreis, who came as first visitor and superior of the first band of Lazarist Fathers who settled in the United States. With him were his distinguished confrères, Father Rosatti, afterwards Bishop of St. Louis; Rev. John Baptist Acqueroni and Fathers Ferrati and Carretti. These good fathers, after many trials and sufferings, finally settled at the Barrens, a Catholic settlement about eighty miles from St. Louis. Here they established the first seminary. There were also missions at Florissant and at St. Genevieve (1735), some sixty miles below St. Louis. These were attended by the Jesuit Fathers. The French pioneers of Missouri were a merry and law-abiding people. The Indians regarded them as their friends and trusted them fully. The French policy towards them was so fair that Missouri did not suffer from the desolating Indian wars which so frequently ravaged the English colonies. In the treatment of slaves also the French were so kind and considerate that a writer of the time tells us that "the world has never seen a more contented and happy people than the Negro slaves of the early French of Upper Louisiana." Of course, all this was due to the benign influence of the missionaries. The temptation to linger among these missions, to follow their development, to record the great work in the field of education accomplished by the Jesuit and Lazarist Fathers and by the other religious communities that came in the course of time—yes, the temptation is very great, but it would take volumes, and we are limited to pages, and our task in this article covers a vast field.

In a former article in this REVIEW, already referred to, we showed that far back, before Plymouth Rock or Jamestown, when the site of the great American metropolis of New York was still the hunting ground of the savage, the Cross of Christ had been planted on the banks of the Rio Grande.

We know that the first offices of the Church in Texas were performed by French missionaries, both regular and secular, who accompanied La Salle in his unfortunate expedition to take possession of the Spanish mining country, but a series of mishaps has

deprived us of detailed information as to their work. A glance at the map of Texas will show us the names drawn from the calendar and given to towns and headlands and rivers, all of which prove that the early missionaries who followed La Salle's attempted settlement must come from Mexico. The Franciscan Fathers soon established mission stations, and conversions followed to the great joy of the missionaries.

In 1728 Spain spent some \$75,000 in bringing over from the Canary Islands thirteen families "of pure Spanish blood and marked religious fervor." These people and others from Mexico settled about the Plaza de la Constitucion, which is still to be seen in San Antonio. Long before this, however, back in 1585, the Spanish Franciscan "padres" had gained a foothold in San Antonio, which they named in honor of the Spanish Viceroy, the Duke de Bexar, but Spanish Franciscans had labored in New Mexico and Texas for fifty years prior to their arrival at San Antonio. For nearly three hundred years had the Franciscan labored hereabouts. The aborigine was converted and civilized; he was taught the useful trades of the white man; villages grew up with their churches, and where possible their schools, and the Indian was taught to read and write. The ruins of some of these missions may still be seen; others have been restored and bear evidence to the work done by the early missionaries. In the course of time the Catholic settlements increased until in our own day we read of good Father Dubuis (later on Bishop of Galveston) "visiting a colony of Alsations who had settled at Castroville, on the Medina River, some twenty-six miles from San Antonio." It may not be out of place to mention the fact that the good priest encouraged these people to build better habitations for themselves and set them a forcible example by building a little chapel (18 by 30 feet) with his own hands. He drew the plans, brought sand and stone from a distance of half a mile in a wheelbarrow, and did the work of carpenter and mason." After a life of labor and privation of forty years as priest and Bishop, Monsignor Dubuis resigned his see and returned to France to die. I remember parting with him, a worn-out soldier of the Cross going home to his last caserne. Later on we find a settlement of Irish Catholics at San Patricio, on the Nueces River, some twenty miles northwest of Corpus Christi.

Indiana, it is well known, was originally peopled by French Canadians. The names of such missionaries and pioneers as Hennepin, Zenobe, Membré, Gabriel, Ribourde, Marquette and La Salle bear witness to this fact. In 1702 Vincennes was settled by the French (Shea says 1735), and the people were attended by the

Recollet, Father Pacôme Legrand. It is supposed that it was he "who baptized at Fort Quiatanon, on July 22 of the preceding year, Anthony, son of Jean Baptiste Foucher, who became in time the first priest ordained in the West." Here again we are confronted with a mass of interesting matter, and strongly tempted to follow the development of Catholic progress down to the present time. But we must content ourselves with one or two facts. About the middle of the eighteenth century there were several Jesuit stations in Indiana, with a church at Vincennes. The Jesuits, however, were withdrawn, and for many years the only priest in the territory now constituting Indiana and Illinois was Father Gibault, who was vicar general for that region under the Bishop of Quebec. His residence was at Kaskaskia, in the southwestern part of Illinois. The Catholic priest of those days was the same American patriot he is to-day. In 1778 Father Gibault not only induced the French inhabitants of Vincennes to declare in favor of the United States against Great Britain, but he actually administered the oath of allegiance to them in the church. He also had great influence in keeping the Indians in his vicinity friendly to the American cause.

The city of Vincennes takes its name from an officer who in the early part of the eighteenth century was known in history under the name of "M. de Vincennes." He was commander of the troops of the King of France and of a military post on the Wabash River, in the country of the Illinois, said post "supposed to have occupied the site of the present city of Vincennes." This officer was burned alive in May, 1736, by the Chickasaws, with Major d'Artaguet, the Jesuit Father Senat and a number of other officers and soldiers in that part of Louisiana now comprised within the limits of the State of Mississippi. So far all authorities agree, but the question now arises: "Who was this M. de Vincennes?" My old friend, Major Edmond Mallet, of Washington, D. C., a short time before his death published in French a pamphlet entitled "*Le Sieur de Vincennes, fondateur de l'Indiana*," and in the copy he was kind enough to send me I find between thirty and forty "notes" dating from 1648 to 1892, all endeavoring to give a satisfactory answer to the question: Who was M. de Vincennes? Major Mallet says that this question is not an idle one when we consider the "valiant and eminent services rendered by him as military commander in New France, and as founder of one of the great States of the American Union, and because of the many contradictory opinions expressed by both Canadian and American historians." Among these numerous "notes" I will quote but one or two:

"1883 . . . Father Senat . . . accompanied Vincennes, commandante of the fort and probably its founder (in whose honor this fort was called Vincennes), in his expedition against the Chickasaws in 1736. . . . François Morgan de Vincennes, supposed by Monsignor Hailandiere (second Bishop of Vincennes) to have been of Irish descent."³

Major Mallet says: "My theory is that the *Sieur de Vincennes*, who was so prominent in the administration of Indian affairs from 1702 to 1712, was Jean Baptiste Bissot, second *Sieur de Vincennes*, and that the one who was at Vincennes in 1733 was François Morgane de la Valtrie, third *Sieur de Vincennes*."

Interesting and profitable as the research may be, we have not space here to follow up all the notes quoted by Major Mallet. Archbishop Spalding, of Baltimore, and Dr. Alerding, on the authority of Bishops Bruté and Hailandiere, of the Diocese of Vincennes, consider Vincennes as of Irish descent.⁴ All our researches "force upon us the conviction that Vincennes was by birth a Canadian of French origin." Major Mallet sums up the discussion by asking: "Could it be that M. de Vincennes, whose identity we have tried to establish, was not born in Canada after all, but in the country of the Illinois, or in Louisiana?" Whatever may have been his name or his origin, the great State of Indiana owes him a monument.

The history of the settlement of Maryland, Louisiana and Michigan is too well known to be repeated here, and besides, it is easily accessible. There are other States in which attempts at settlements were undertaken and were thwarted by wars and religious prejudice. Among these may be mentioned the State of Maine. In 1609, eleven years before the Puritans went to Massachusetts, while the Franciscan friar was converting the savages of Florida to Christianity, De Monts, a Frenchman, who had obtained a grant from Henry IV., established a colony on Neutral Island, in Scoodic River, and here a Catholic priest reared the first chapel in New England. Another clergyman, Father Nicholas d'Aubri, a young priest from Paris, was nearly lost on the neighboring coast of Nova Scotia. The colony was soon afterward removed to Port Royal, where the Jesuit Fathers Biard and Massé began their labors. Meeting with interference on the part of the colonists, they resolved to begin a new establishment. Madame de Guercheville, a pious French lady, gave means to found a mission colony, and in 1613 Biard and Massé, with a small party under

³ Alerding's "History Catholic Churches, Diocese of Vincennes," p. 54.

⁴ See Cawthorn in his "Brief Sketch of Vincennes," p. 25.

De la Saussaye, began the settlement of St. Saviour's, on Mount Desert Island. But before the buildings were erected a body of English from Virginia, under Argall, attacked the place, killed Brother Gilbert du Thet, S. J., who fell at the foot of the mission cross, and carried off all the fathers and their colonists. Later on came the French fishing colonies with Capuchin Fathers, while back in the woods the Jesuits began to teach the Indians the truths of Christianity.

It may seem strange to associate the name of the great Cardinal Richelieu with the early colonization of Maine, but the fact remains that the friends and relatives of the famous Cardinal were the first to attempt seriously to colonize what is now known as Maine and Nova Scotia. The Capuchin Fathers were always favorites with His Eminence. They had stood by him in times of trial, and it was doubtless at his suggestion that they undertook and for a long time directed missions on that coast. Some fifty years ago or more a farmer, while ploughing a field near Castine, turned up a leaden plate, and having no immediate use for it, threw it aside. One day, needing a bit of lead with which to repair his boat, he thought of the plate and hunted it up. As he was about to cut it he noticed some letters on it, and fortunately took it to a historical student in the neighborhood. The inscription was soon deciphered:

"1648, Jun, F. Leo, Parisin, Capuc. Miss., Posvi, Hoc Fund. Eum in Honorem Nzæ Dm-æ Sanctæ Spei." (On the 8th of June, 1648, I, Friar Leo, of Paris, Capuchin missionary, laid this cornerstone in honor of Our Lady of Holy Hope.") We know that they had hospices and chapels at the mouth of the Kennebec and Penobscot at that early day; but here we have a relic of the chapel, found doubtless near the spot where the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass was offered up by the Capuchin Fathers two centuries ago. What became of these missions? Perhaps the people that drove the simple Acadians into exile may be able to answer this question.

With regard to New York, it is well known that there were very few Catholics in New Amsterdam during the time of the Dutch occupation, but it is to the credit of the Dutch colonists that far from persecuting those few Catholics, they were treated with common decency, as a rule. Their kindness to Father Jogues and Father Bressani will always be remembered by Catholics with the deepest gratitude. In 1664 the British took possession of New Amsterdam, changed the name to New York, and the Dutch were deprived of their colony. The English Governors, Nicols and Lovelace, seemed to have ruled with some consideration. As to

Andross, little can be said to his credit. It was reserved for the Irish Catholic Governor, Thomas Dongan, to give evidence of wisdom and justice. In 1683 he called together the first Assembly of the Province of New York, and on October 17 the seventeen delegates of the first "New York Colonial Assembly" met the new Governor and Council, at Fort James, the English fort between Bowling Green and the bay, and the "first and grandest of acts," says the great historian, Dr. John Gilmary Shea, "was the Charter of Liberties and Privileges securing the rights of British subjects and establishing entire freedom of conscience and religion to all peaceable persons who profess faith in God by Jesus Christ." Thus the name of New York's first Catholic Governor is associated with a day and an event memorable in the history of the city. Not only did this charter guarantee to every man within its jurisdiction the right to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, but it was the original and the basis of all subsequent charters providing that sources of immediate income become vested in the corporation, and declared that the city of New York should thenceforward comprise the entire island of Manhattan. It made New York a city, and Governor Dongan was anxious that it should have all the rights and privileges of a city.

When King James was dethroned and William became King of England, the "policy of complete toleration for all Protestant sects and the exclusion of Catholics" was established, and in 1790 an act was passed through the exertions of the Governor, Lord Bellamont, which declared that every Catholic priest found in the Province should be liable to perpetual imprisonment. If he broke jail and were retaken he should suffer death. The penalty for harboring a priest was a fine of £200 and three days in the pillory. In 1701 Catholics were declared incapable of voting or holding office. The contrast between the "liberal" policy pursued by non-Catholics and that followed by the "bigoted Papists" is not hard to perceive. Maryland Catholics who had given non-Catholics an asylum when persecuted by their own people were rewarded in the same ungrateful manner as their Catholic co-religionists in New York.

The first English colony in New Jersey and Long Island was established there by Sir Edmund Plowden, a Catholic gentleman to whom Charles I. in 1634 granted a charter of the territory of New Albion and the Isle of Plowden (now Long Island). The first colonists were Catholics, and the settlement, in fact, was for the purpose of affording a refuge to Catholics from Protestant

persecution, at the same time offering religious freedom to Protestants themselves. The colony did not prove a success, but Mulry in his "History of New Jersey" (p. 73) says: "Plowden may not have advanced to the same point (as Roger Williams and Calvert); he retained the shadow of a State religion, but he offered the fullest protection to all and gave his voice in favor of mildness, charity and love. Though his designs were not successful, though the work he projected fell short of completion, yet he deserves to be ranked with the benefactors of our race, and New Albion is entitled to a higher place in the history of human progress than is often allotted to older and greater and more fortunate States."

Wisconsin deserves far more notice than we can give it in these pages. Suffice it to say that in 1634 Jean Nicolet, a *courreur des bois*, was sent by Champlain, then Governor of New France, to make treaties with the Indians. The new white explorers were Radisson and Groseilliers, two fur traders, who probably arrived in 1648-50. They built a stockade near the present site of Ashland. On the same spot the Jesuit Allouez in 1665 founded the La Pointe mission, the first in Wisconsin. Subsequently, in 1669, he founded the mission of St. Francis Xavier at the Rapides des Pères, on the Fox River, on the site of the city of De Père. Here was built the first church in Wisconsin, and it was the means of establishing the first white settlement of any permanence.

After the middle of the eighteenth century the De Langlade family established themselves at Green Bay, and were soon followed by other French families. In 1792 and the following years the settlement was increased by the arrival of some French-Canadian families. Later on this region was served by missionaries of various orders, Jesuits, Redemptorists, Dominicans, etc., and in 1848 the first settlement of Catholic Hollanders was established in Wisconsin. Green Bay grew rapidly, and in 1868 it became an episcopal see. The Diocese of Green Bay has a Catholic population estimated at over 150,000, and the priests are obliged to preach to their people not only in English, but in French, Polish, German and Hollandish.

The history of the Catholic settlement of Wisconsin is full of the deepest interest to the Catholic student, but we cannot dwell upon it further at this time. Our aim in this article was simply to show our people that Catholics had a prominent part in the settlement of our Union, since she can point with pride to twenty-two States settled by their co-religionists, a magnificent record of Catholic foundations on American soil. It is a matter of pardonable pride to the Catholics of our day to be able to look

back through the history of our country and to realize that there never was a Benedict Arnold among them. In spite of the fact that they suffered from unjust legislation in colonial days, when the Revolutionary War broke out the Church gave none but patriots to their country in her days of trial. It is gratifying to know that the services of her sons were appreciated.

In 1775 the Continental Congress in an address to the Irish people said: "We acknowledge with pleasure and with gratitude that your nation has produced patriots who have nobly distinguished themselves in the cause of humanity and America."

Of France, the immortal Washington says: "In the midst of a war the nature and difficulties of which are peculiar and uncommon, I cannot flatter myself in any way to recompense the sacrifice France has made. To call her brave were to pronounce but common praise. Wonderful nation! Ages to come will read with astonishment the history of your brilliant exploits."

In his address to the Catholic people, after the Revolution, Washington expresses himself as follows: "I hope ever to see America among the foremost nations in examples of justice and liberality, and I presume that your fellow-citizens will not forget the patriotic part which you took in the accomplishment of their Revolution and the establishment of their government or the important assistance they received from a nation in which the Roman Catholic faith is professed. . . . May the members of your society in America, animated alone by the pure spirit of Christianity, and still conducting themselves as the faithful subjects of our free Government, enjoy every temporal and spiritual felicity."

The same spirit that animated the Catholic patriots in the "days that tried men's souls" lives to-day, and when the call of the country for defenders came it met with a prompt and hearty response. It is at the altar of Religion that Patriotism feeds her fires; it is there she draws her highest and holiest inspirations, and it is there, too, that the Catholic soldier will ever find his greatest consolation and his greatest incentive to serve his country and die for it if necessary.

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THE SYMBOLISM OF THE SANCGREAL.

INSPIRATION ever lingers in literature about the tales of King Arthur and his knights of the Round Table, into the beautiful texture of which is woven the story of the quest of the Sancgreal. As James A. B. Scherer has pointed out, the story "has had a deeper influence upon literature than any other legend in the world." It has made a constant appeal to the poet and the artist and must ever especially appeal to the Catholic mind and heart, inasmuch as it is a Catholic inheritance. The legend of the Holy Grail made its impress on the Middle Ages and is a part of their monumental glories expressed in castles and cathedrals and universities, as likewise in legendary lore, historical romances and tales of chivalry. As it was Christian in its origin, so it belongs to those ages that were distinctly Catholic. Although mediæval in spirit, it belongs to all ages wherein men have lived and sinned and suffered. Its sensualism as exhibited in a *Launcelot du Lake* denotes the existence of those evil passions in the soul against which weak humanity must ever struggle, while its asceticism as typified in *Galahad* calls for the abjuration of the world, the flesh and the devil, and thus points its moral to-day as well as through the centuries that evolved it.

It is with pleasure, therefore, that one reviews Sir Thomas Malory's "*Morte d'Arthur*" in an endeavor to point out the spiritual significance of that portion of the poetic narrative that bears upon the quest of the Holy Grail. Figuring as Malory does among the writers of the last half of the fourteenth century, the "*Morte d'Arthur*," written at a time when Wycliffe could be hailed as the "Morning Star of the Reformation," an unfortunate epithet, belongs to the still Catholic period of England's history. "Familiar," as Scherer says, "to the people of Western Britain before their conversion to Christianity, it was seized upon by the religious romancers of the twelfth century and transformed into a Christian legend." And so it belongs in its spirit and subject-matter to the early chroniclers and cloistered annalists and conjures up such names as William of Malmesbury, Layamon, Geoffrey of Monmouth and Walter Map or Mapes. Traceable in the romance of other countries, the story of the "*Morte d'Arthur*" makes its first appearance in Britain in the shape of a Welsh bardic epic, Wace's "*Mabinogion*," sung to the music of the harp in the castle halls and on the battlefields of old Wales. It appears in the romance history of Geoffrey, and the legends that this scholarly monk wrote in Latin were translated into French verse and embellished by

Norman trouvères until they finally formed one of the great cycles of romance of the thirteenth century. Walter Map next added the story of the "Quest of the Grail," and thereby added to the Arthurian romance a spiritual element and religious significance which fully Christianized the prose-poem.

Thus, with a new glory surrounding it, the Arthurian epic returned to France, where poetry and romance gave it a fresh splendor. It was from the French versions that Sir Thomas Malory compiled his "Morte d'Arthur." And since the day when the publisher Caxton struck off the first copy of Malory's English translation interest in the book has never waned and the spell it weaves remains unbroken. Milton gave up reluctantly its theme for "Paradise Lost," and Spenser's genius under its potent influence blossomed forth in the "Faerie Queen." After its epic strength, its lyric beauty would not be confined, but budded forth into the fairer flower of the idyllic. And so in Tennyson we have the nineteenth century's presentation of the wonderful tales of Arthur. In our own land, too, we have Lowell's "Vision of Sir Launfal." Nor was its influence less in painting, as the canvases of Rosseti, Burne-Jones, G. F. Watts, Millais and Abbey attest. So, too, in music its sweet suasion was paramount in Richard Wagner. For man's search for rest in the Ideal is ever the same. Says Dr. Maurice Francis Egan: "Theocritus, Sir Thomas Malory, Tennyson! How near and yet how far apart! And comparatively how many allied shades they recall! You mention 'The Holy Grail,' and up rise Spenser, Milton, Lowell—the Lowell of 'Sir Launfal'—and then Wagner's 'Parsifal,' and spirit of beauty after spirit of beauty, until the earliest of them seems to touch the very seraphim." The Sancgreal, or Saint Graal, was said to be the dish upon which the paschal lamb was served at the Last Supper and in which Joseph of Arimathea afterwards received the blood from the wounds of Jesus at the Crucifixion. It was then, according to the legend, brought by Joseph to England. The vessel is said now to rest in the Cathedral of Genoa, an emerald dish of hexagonal shape.

Dr. Ferris Greenslet in his work on "The Quest of the Holy Grail" says the Sanc-graal is ultimately derived from the Low Latin term *gradalis*, signifying a mixing-cup or chalice. "The derivation, Sanc-real," he adds, "royal blood, or real blood, is specious, but purely whimsical, with no philological authority." To the Catholic way of thinking, however, this definition is intelligible; for as "The Grail," as Dr. Greenslet elsewhere points out, "became indissolubly linked to the Eucharistic mystery of the Mass," it is highly appropriate, for the chalice contains the wine which is mystically changed

to the real blood of our Lord. Greenslet further tells us, "The Grail is fabled to have been the wine cup used at the Last Supper, with which, later on Calvary, one of the Sanhedrin, Joseph of Arimathea, caught the blood flowing from the wounded side and pierced hands and feet of Christ."

The Grail was also considered to be the cup or chalice which contained the wine that Christ blessed and gave to His disciples, saying, "Take and drink ye all of this, for this is the chalice of My blood." In "Parsifal" the priest-knight raises the cup on high and a dove is seen to descend from heaven and rest over it, while the wine sparkles blood-red. It is the action of the priest at the daily Mass who, at the elevation, raises the chalice, and faith teaches us that the wine is changed into the blood of Him who shed it for our sins on Calvary's height. As the paten at the Mass and the chalice bear a close relation to each other, the Grail may have been at different times considered either a dish or a cup, though this is purely a matter of conjecture. Tennyson regards the Grail as being

"The cup, the cup itself, from which our Lord
Drank at the last sad supper with His own.
This, from the blessed land of Aromat—
After the day of darkness, when the dead
Went wandering o'er Moriah—the good saint,
Arimathæan Joseph, journeying brought
To Glastonbury, where the winter thorn
Blossoms at Christmas, mindful of our Lord.
And there awhile it bode; and if a man
Could touch or see it, he was heal'd at once,
By faith, of all his ills. But then the times
Grew to such evil that the holy cup
Was caught away to heaven, and disappear'd."

Malory's version prefers to regard the Grail as the "holy dish." At the Last Supper, according to the legend, when Christ blessed and broke the bread, it rested upon this dish which Joseph brought to England. To the knights of Arthur's court who knelt at the "sacring of the Mass," the paten held the consecrated wafer, even as the chalice held the consecrated wine. To behold the vessel, whether a dish or a cup, used by our Lord when He instituted the Sacrifice of the Mass which they were attending, was the ideal set before these knights of old. So may the Catholic worshiper at Mass to-day be inspired at the sight of his Lord in the Blessed Sacrament veiled under the sacred species and look forward in true Christian hope and resignation to the day when the quest shall be truly ended

and the veil of Paradise be pierced to behold in ecstasy the living Lord in all His majesty through all eternity. It is pleasant likewise to conjure up the form of Caxton as he plied his printing trade at Westminster in the Almonry, at the red pale. He printed many fine books for the fair ladies and fine gentlemen of his day, but none perhaps that has made a stronger appeal to the lovers of *belles-lettres* than the "Morte d'Arthur." To read Malory and to slight the introduction that Caxton wrote at the beginning of his book is to overlook in what light the poem was regarded and what its true meaning should be to us, as salutary a work to peruse to-day as ever in the days of chivalry.

In that quaint introduction of his good Master Caxton tells us: "I have down set it in print, to the intent that noble men may see and learn the noble acts of chivalry, the gentle and virtuous deeds that some knights used in those days, by which they came to honor, and how they that were vicious were punished, and oft put to shame and rebuke; humbly beseeching all noble lords and ladies, with all other estates of what estate or degree they be of, that shall see and read in this present book and work, that they take the good and honest acts in their remembrance, and follow the same. For herein may be seen noble chivalry, courtesy, humanity, friendliness, hardness, love, friendship, cowardice, murder, hate, virtue and sin. Do after the good and leave the evil, and it shall bring you unto good fame and renown. But all is written for our doctrine and for to beware that we fall not to vice nor sin, but to exercise and follow virtue, by the which we may come and attain to good fame and renown in this life, and after this short and transitory life to come unto everlasting bliss in heaven." With this key to the meaning of the narrative, we may set out in spirit in quest of some of the moral beauties that radiate from the legend of the Holy Grail and seek to understand its symbolism.

Saintsbury has pointed out that Malory "might have arrayed a regular epic treatment of his subject, instead of which it is often difficult to say who is the hero and never very easy to say what special contribution to the plot the occasionally inordinate episodes are making. He grasped, and this is his great and saving merit as an author, the one central fact of the story—that in the combination of the quest of the Grail with the loves of Launcelot and Guinevere lay the kernel at once and the conclusion of the whole matter."

We may go further than this, however, and say that the tale as Malory tells it contains a contrast between the characters of Launcelot, the sinning sire, and his son, the virtuous Galahad. Both set out to find the Grail. The one besmirched with sin is like

Moses, who never saw the promised land, being punished to behold the object of his quest hidden behind a veil; the other, completing the quest and enjoying its vision, because he could say: "My strength is as the strength of ten, because my heart is pure." Launcelot's sin is his illicit love for Arthur's queen, the beautiful but unfaithful Guinevere. His sin finds him out, and he repents only to fall again a victim to the snares of his evil passion. Physically, he is a strong man, performing brave deeds of knightly prowess. Morally, he is a weakling, until finally he bids farewell to Guinevere and dies repentant. How different it is, on the other hand, with Galahad. He becomes the leader in the quest of the Grail. He pursues his ideal, despite all obstacles. Temptation cannot swerve him from the path of righteousness that leads to his goal. He leaves Arthur's side unsullied; he battles against all odds and wins; the quest is ended and he is still the virgin knight. In all he presents a beautiful, harmonious, untainted picture for one's edification. And so he becomes the model and example that causes one to regard him as the real hero of the "Morte d'Arthur."

The opening of the book of Sir Launcelot du Lake discloses Arthur and the knights sitting at the Round Table. One seat is vacant, the Siege Perilous, "perilous for good and evil," according to Tennyson's interpretation. Merlin, the enchanter, who may well typify the worldly-wise, sits in it and is lost, for no man could sit therein "but he should lose himself." That is to say, a man must be truly humble to find himself. Nor should we in passing fail to recall further Tennyson's lines, in which the holy hermit tells Percivale why he may not occupy the empty seat:

"O son, thou hast not true humility,
The highest virtue, mother of them all;
For when the Lord of all things made Himself
Naked of glory for His mortal change,
'Take thou my robe,' she said, 'for all is Thine.'"

She to whom the poet here refers is none other than the Virgin Mother, and Percivale is told he has not lost himself to save himself, wherein Mary should be his pattern. But to revert to Malory. It is Whitsunday and there comes into the castle hall a hermit to tell the king that he who shall sit in the siege is yet unborn and ungotten and that he shall come and sit in the empty place, and he shall win the Sancgreal. The Grail appears in the midst of the assemblage, and Tennyson has thus ennobled the passage:

"And all at once, as there we sat, we heard

A cracking and a riving of the roofs,
And rending, and a blast, and overhead
Thunder, and in the thunder was a cry.
And in the blast there smote along the hall
A beam of light seven times more clear than day:
And down the long beam stole the Holy Grail
All over cover'd with a luminous cloud,
And none might see who bare it, and it past."

After the feast Sir Launcelot rides away upon his adventures. At Corbin he finds the Lady Elaine, who is to become through him the mother of Sir Galahad, who is to seek and find the Grail. By enchantment, Queen Morgan le Fay and the Queen of Northgalis had put her in prison many winters. Launcelot frees her "unto the pleasure of God," and forthwith they go into the chapel and give praise and thanks to the Almighty for her deliverance. Elaine is the daughter of King Pelleas, who would "have had Sir Launcelot for to have cast his love on his daughter—who knew well that Sir Launcelot should get a child by her, the which should be named Sir Galahad, the good knight, by whom all the foreign country should be brought out of danger, and by him the Holy Grail would be achieved. Dame Brisen, an enchantress, informs the old king "that Sir Launcelot loveth no lady in the world, but only Queen Guinevere, and therefore ye must work by my counsel, and I shall make him to come to your daughter Elaine, and he shall not wit but that he is with Queen Guinevere."

Thus by deception is Elaine, upon an Easter Sunday, made the mother of "a fair child, and they christened him and named him Galahad," signifying purity or chastity. To Sir Bors Dame Elaine remarks: "Wit ye well that this child is Galahad, that shall sit in the Siege Perilous, and also shall achieve the Sancgreal; and he shall be much better than ever was Sir Launcelot du Lake, that is his own father." For of Launcelot it is said, "sin is so foul in him that he may not achieve such holy deeds, for had not his sin been, he had passed all the knights that ever was in his days." Launcelot is told he surpasses in manhood and prowess all others; but in spiritual matters he has many betters. When the news came to Arthur's court "that Sir Launcelot had gotten a child by fair Elaine, the daughter of King Pelleas, Queen Guinevere was wroth, and gave many rebukes unto Sir Launcelot, and called him false knight." Launcelot cannot stand the rebuke of his royal mistress and when he is a little later closeted at night with the Queen and finds that he has been staying with Elaine instead, he flees from the

castle "and was as mad as ever man was. And so he ran for two years, and never man might have grace to know him." Hearing of her husband's sad plight, Elaine upbraids the Queen with these words: "Madame, ye are greatly to blame for Sir Launcelot—ye do great sin, and to yourself great dishonor, for ye have a lord of your own, and therefore it is your part for to love him above all others." It is by virtue of the Holy Grail that Launcelot is healed and recovered. "I am sore ashamed," he exclaims, "that I have been thus miscarried." Elaine forgives him right willingly and the couple are reunited, and at the feast of Pentecost their son Galahad is made a knight. Much to the joy of all, Launcelot returns to the court.

Again we find Arthur and his knights seated at the Round Table. Galahad now makes his appearance and sits in the Siege Perilous, which he alone may sit in, because he is the right worthy knight whose coming has been awaited. The knights are told that Galahad "is of king's lineage and of the kindred of Joseph of Arimathea; wherefore the marvels of this court and of strange realms shall be fully accomplished." The Grail, covered with white samite, appears to the assemblage and departs suddenly. The knights would see it more openly, and so they vow to set out upon its quest. They are warned, however, that unless clean out of sin, they "shall not see the mysteries of the Lord Jesus Christ." Forth from Camelot go the knights. As they ride through the streets there is weeping of the rich and the poor. At their parting even Guinevere is moved to tears, and to Launcelot, whom she loved best though illicitly, "Alas!" she says "that ever I saw you; but He that suffered death upon the Cross for all mankind be to you good conduct and safety, and all the whole fellowship." It is a touching scene, too, the parting of Galahad and his parent, Launcelot. "It befell," says the narrative, "that they arrived in the edge of a forest, before a cross of stone, and then saw they a knight armed all in white, and was richly horsed, and led in his right hand a white horse, and so he came to the ship and saluted the two knights upon the high-Lord's high behalf and said: 'Sir Galahad, ye have been long enough with your father; adventures shall lead thee in the quest of the Sancgreal.'" So the soul, after childhood, is awakened by reason to a realization of the fact that its individual and immortal self must be saved. Conscience is awakened and henceforth it must break away from the leading strings of mere mortal ties and seeks its spiritual salvation.

"Fair father," says Galahad, "I wot not when I shall see you any more, till that I see the body of our Lord Jesu Christ."

"I pray you," said Sir Launcelot, "pray you unto the high Father, that He hold me in His service. I pray unto the high Father of heaven for to preserve both you and me."

"Sir," said Sir Galahad, "no prayer availeth so much as yours."

And so they separate, both to seek the Holy Grail, Galahad never wavering in his high resolve, but Launcelot often falling by the wayside, but each accomplishing the quest after his own fashion. Each knight in the quest, in fact, takes the way that likes him best. So vocations in life differ, but the purpose in view should ever be the same. But let us follow Galahad on his journey, who "rode many journeys in vain." He rides on four days without adventure. Then he comes to a white abbey and assumes the adventurous shield of white, in the midst of which is a red cross. Galahad alone may bear the shield, for he is without peer. Nothing daunted in his high resolve, he rides on despite temptations, until he comes to the Castle of the Maidens. At the abbey a monk brings him unto a tomb in a churchyard. He hears a great noise and a voice cries out, "Sir Galahad, the servant of God, come not thou near me, for thou shalt make me go again there where I have been so long." But Sir Galahad was nothing afraid, but quickly lifted up the stone, and there came out a foul smoke, and after he saw the foulest figure leap out thereof that ever he saw in the likeness of a man, and then he blest him, and wist well that it was a fiend of hell. Then heard he a voice that said, "Galahad, I see thereabout thee so many angels that my power may not hurt thee." Right so Sir Galahad saw a body, all armed, lie in the tomb, and beside him there lay a sword. "Now, fair brother," said Sir Galahad, "let us remove this cursed body, for it is not worthy to lie in the churchyard, for he was a false Christian man." And therewith they all departed and went to the abbey. And anon as he was unarmed, a good man came and set him down by him and said, "Sir, I shall tell you what betokeneth all that ye saw. That covered body betokeneth the hardness of the world and the great sin that our Lord found in this world, for there was such wretchedness that the father loved not the son, nor the son loved not the father, and that was one of the causes that our Lord took flesh and blood of a clean maiden, for our sins were so great at that time that well nigh all was but wickedness." "Truly," said Sir Galahad, "I believe you right well." Sir Meleas begs Sir Galahad that he may ride with him in the quest of the Sancgreal, and the request is granted him. "And then upon a Monday, in the morning, as they were departing from an abbey, they came unto a cross which departed two ways." Contrary to the advice of Galahad, Sir Meleas chooses the path on the left hand. He comes upon a crown

of gold, "subtly wrought," and many delicious meats. He takes up the crown of gold and rides away with it, whereupon he is set upon by two knights and they nigh kill Sir Meleas for taking what is not his. He is met by Galahad, who overcomes the knights and chides him for not having "ridden that other way." When Sir Meleas is brought to an abbey, he asks for the Sacrament of the Saviour and prepares to die. But he is healed of his wound by a monk who tells him why he was so bitterly wounded. He is informed that he was worsted in the fight because he had undertaken the quest without clean confession. So in the quest of salvation we must throw off sin and choose the straight and narrow path, "for it may not be achieved but by virtuous living." And further, as the good hermit explains to Sir Meleas, "the way on the right hand betokeneth the way of our Lord Jesus Christ and the way of a true and good liver; and the other way betokeneth the way of sinners and mis-believers, and when the devil saw your pride and presumption for to take you in the quest of the Holy Sancgreal that made you for to be overthrown; also the writing on the cross was a signification of heavenly deeds and of knightly deeds in God's work; and pride is the head of all deadly sins, that caused this knight to depart; and where thou tookest the crown of gold thou sinned in covetousness and in theft, and these were no knight's deeds, and the two knights which fought with this holy knight, Sir Galahad, doth signify the two deadly sins which were entirely in you, but they might not withstand Sir Galahad, for he is without deadly sin."

Nothing daunted in his high resolve, Sir Galahad rides on despite temptations. On his journey he is wont to hear Mass, "which he was always wont to hear, or that he depart out of any castle or place and kept that for a custom." At prayer in a chapel on the roadside he is bidden to go unto the Castle of the Maidens, where seven virgins are held in prison by seven knights. These betoken, as the text explains, "the good souls that were in prison before the incarnation of Christ, and the seven knights betoken the seven deadly sins which reigned that time in the world. And I may liken the good knight, Sir Galahad, unto the Son of the high Father, that light within a Maiden, and brought all the souls out of thralldom." Here we have beautiful reference made to the mysteries of the Immaculate Conception and the Redemption. After Galahad overcomes the seven knights in combat and sets the captive maidens free, he sets out afresh upon his sacred quest. "At last he came unto the abbey where King Mordrains was, and when he heard that, he thought he would be able to see him. And on the morrow, when he had heard Mass, Sir Galahad came unto King Mordrains, and anon the King

saw him, which had lain blind a long time." King Mordrains is the type of man who is blinded by sin, but in whom faith is not dead. Purity and virtue make their appeal, and the scales fall from the eyes of the soul. Thus Mordrains addresses the virgin knight: "Sir Galahad, the servant of Jesu Christ, whose coming I have abidden long, now embrace me, and let me rest on thy breast, so that I may rest between thine arms; for thou art a clean virgin above all knights, as the flower of the lily, in whose virginity is signified, and thou art the rose, the which is the flower of all good virtues, and in the color of fire; for the fire of the Holy Ghost is so taken in thee that the flesh which was of dead oldness is become young again."

Galahad next comes to a maimed knight, who typifies a soul in mortal sin. With other knights of the quest, Galahad is vouchsafed a vision of Joseph of Arimathea and the Grail. Thus the narrative: "It seemed then that there came a man and four angels from heaven, clothed in the likeness of Bishops, and had a cross in his hand; and the four angels bear him up in a chair and set him down before the table of silver, whereupon the Sancgreal was, and is seemed that he had in the midst of his forehead letters that said, 'See ye here, Joseph, the first Bishop of Christendom, the same which our Lord succored in the city of Sarras, in the spiritual place.' Then the knights marveled, for that Bishop was dead more than three hundred years before.

"'Oh, knights,' said he, 'marvel not, for I was sometime an earthly man.' With that they heard the chamber door open, and there they saw angels, and two bear candles of wax and the third a towel and the fourth a spear which bled marvelously, that the drops fell within a bier, the which he held with his other hand. And then they set their candles upon the table, and the third put the towel upon the vessel, and the fourth set the holy spear even upright upon the vessel. And then the Bishop made semblance as though he would have gone to the consecrating of the Mass; and then he took a wafer, which was in the likeness of bread, and at the lifting up there came a figure in the likeness of a child. And the visage was as red and as bright as any fire, and smote himself into that bread, so that they all saw the bread was formed of a fleshy man. And then he put it into the holy vessel again; and then he did that belonged unto a priest to do at Mass." There is frequent mention in Malory of the "sacring of the Mass." The picture of the knights of the Holy Grail kneeling in worship at divine service, while at the elevation the priest raises aloft the sacred species, is truly beautiful, as it is distinctly Catholic. At the Mass, under the appearances of bread and wine, they beheld with mortal eyes the sacred chalice held aloft containing by the act

of transubstantiation the real blood of their Lord Jesus Christ, shed on Calvary for the remission of the sins of all mankind. This same sacred blood, as they believed, had been caught up in the Grail by Joseph of Arimathea, and the holy dish or cup rested even now in their beloved Isle of Albion. The quest of it was their mission, and only the pure of heart might accomplish it. At the saying of the Mass their quest in the flesh might well have ended. For here they beheld veiled the very body and blood of Him, their Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ. Nay, more; they received in Holy Communion at the very table of the Lord, of which Arthur's Round Table might be the symbol, the true body and blood of Him who made them clean of heart and by whose grace and in whom at last, not bodily, but spiritually, a greater quest was to be ended. But to take up the thread of the narrative: "And then he (Joseph) went unto Sir Galahad and kissed him, and then he went and bade him go and kiss his fellows. And as he was bidden so he did. 'Now,' said he, 'ye servants of Jesu Christ, ye shall be fed before this table with sweetmeats which never no knight tasted.'"

At the hands of Jesus Christ Himself they are to receive Holy Communion. The Saviour appears and thus addresses them: "My knights and My servants and My true children, which be come out of deadly life, I will now no longer hide Me from you; but ye shall see now a part of My secrets and of My hidings. Now hold and receive the high meat which ye have so much desired." "Then took He Himself the holy vessel, and came to Sir Galahad, and he kneeled down and there he received his Saviour; and so after him received all his fellows, and they thought it so sweet that it was marvel to tell. Then He said, 'Galahad, son, wottest thou what I hold between My hands.' 'Nay,' said Sir Galahad, 'but if ye tell me.' 'This is,' said He, 'the holy dish wherein I eat the lamb on Shrove Thursday, and now hast thou seen that thou desirest most to see, but yet hast thou not seen it openly as thou shalt see it in the city of Sarras, in the spiritual place.'" So Galahad has seen the Grail borne in the hands of his Saviour. As for the sick king, Galahad "went anon to the spear which lay upon the table and touched the blood with his fingers and came to the maimed king and anointed his legs. And therewith he clothed him anon and started upon his feet, out of his bed, as a whole man, and thanked our Lord that He had healed him and that was not to the world ward; for anon he yielded him unto a place of religion of white monks and was a full holy man." Galahad and his fellow-knights next set out for the city of Sarras. They come unto the ship 'whereof the tale speaketh.' They go aboard and find the table of silver which they had left with

the maimed king, and the Sancgreal, which was covered with red samite. "Then they were passing glad for to have such things in their fellowship, and so they entered and made great reverence thereto."

The heavens open with a blaze of lightning and reveal to the watchers on the shore Sir Galahad a sail. Thus Tennyson describes the scene:

"And o'er his head the Holy Vessel hung
Redder than any rose, a joy to me,
For now I knew the veil had been withdrawn.
Then in a moment when they blazed again,
Opening, I saw the least of little stars
Down on the waste, and straight beyond the star
I saw the spiritual city and all her spires
And gateways in a glory like one pearl—
No larger, tho' the goal of all the saints—
Strike from the sea; and from the star there shot
A rose-red sparkle to the city, and there
Dwelt, and I knew it was the Holy Grail."

Before the holy thing Galahad "fell in his prayers a long time unto our Lord, that at what time he asked he might pass out of this world; and so much he prayed till at last a voice said to him, 'Galahad, thou shalt have thy request, and when thou askest the death of thy body, thou shalt have it, and thou shalt then find the life of thy soul.'"

"I wot well," says Galahad, "that when my body is dead my soul shall be in great joy for to see the Blessed Trinity every day and the majesty of our Lord Jesus Christ."

'In Sarras Galahad is made king by all the assent of the holy city. "And when he was come for to behold the land he let make about the table of silver a chest of gold and of precious stones that covered the holy vessel; and every day in the morning the three fellows would come before it and said their devotions."

"Now at the year's end, and the same day after that Sir Galahad had borne the crown of gold, he arose up early and his fellows, and came unto the palace and saw before them the holy vessel and a man kneeling upon his knees in the likeness of the Bishop, which had about him a great fellowship of angels, as it had been Jesu Christ Himself: and then he arose and began a Mass of Our Lady. And when he came to consecrating of the Mass, and had done, anon he called Sir Galahad and said unto him, 'Come forth, the servant of Jesu Christ, and thou shalt see that which thou hast much desired

to see.' And then Sir Galahad began to tremble right sore when the deadly flesh began to behold the spiritual things. Then he held up both his hands towards heaven and said, 'Lord, I thank Thee, for now I see that which hath been my desire many a day; now, blessed Lord, would I no longer live, if it might please Thee, good Lord.' And therewith the good man took our Lord's body between his hands and proffered it unto Sir Galahad, and he received it right gladly and meekly. 'Now,' said the good man, 'wottest thou whom I am?' 'Nay,' said Sir Galahad. 'I am Joseph of Arimathy, which our Lord hath sent here to thee to bear thee fellowship. And wottest thou wherefore He hath sent me more than any other For thou hast resembled me in two things: one is that thou hast seen the Sangreal and the other is in that thou hast been a clean maiden as I am.' And when he had said these words, Sir Galahad went to Sir Percivale and kissed him and commended him to God and said, 'Fair lord, salute me to my lord, Sir Launcelot; see him, bid him remember this unstable world.' And therewith he kneeled down before the table and made his prayers. And then suddenly his soul departed unto Jesu Christ, and a great multitude of angels bear his soul up to heaven, that his two fellows might behold it.' Also, his two fellows saw come from heaven a hand, but they saw not the body, and then it came right to the vessel and took it and the spear, and so bear it up to heaven. Since then was there never no man so hardy for to say that he had seen the Sangreal."

Thus in beautiful and touching language has Malory recorded the passing of Galahad. In the meanwhile how has Sir Launcelot fared? More than a month he has been driven "throughout the sea, where he slept but little, and prayed unto God that he might have a sight of the Holy Sangreal." He comes at last to a castle guarded by two lions and a voice bids him leave the ship and enter. As he approaches the lion warders of the postern gate, a dwarf strikes the sword from his hand and a voice is heard to say: "Oh, man of evil faith and poor belief, wherefore believest thou more in thy harness than in thy Maker; for He might more avail thee than thine armor, in whose service thou art set." Truly significant are these words and pregnant with meaning. The material man, well equipped physically and mentally, would overcome all obstacles in his search after the ideal. But if he lacks the armor of religious faith with which to fight the battles of the spirit against the flesh, what progress can he make? He may gain the world, only to lose his immortal soul.

But note how Launcelot responds to the voice. "Fair Father, Jesu Christ," he says, "I thank Thee, of Thy great mercy, that Thou

reprovest me of my misdeed. Now see I well that Thou holdest me for Thy servant." And so, having made the sign of the Cross on his forehead, he enters the castle unharmed. He finds a chamber, but he may not open the door. Within he knows to be the Holy Grail. The door opens and he dares enter, but he is punished for his presumption and is forced from the chamber and left lying at the entrance in a deep swoon. As Tennyson interprets:

"Launcelot might have seen
The Holy Cup of healing, and indeed,
Being so clouded with his grief and love,
Small heart was his after the Holy Quest:
If God would send the vision, well: if not,
The Quest and he were in the hands of heaven."

Here we have described the type of lukewarm, half-hearted Christian, who will not be wholly converted to Christ and put off the old self of sin. Afterward in relating his sad experience to the king, he thus, to quote Tennyson again, remarks:

"O King, my friend, if friend of thine I be,
Happier are those who welter in their sin,
Swine in the mud, that cannot see for slime,
Slime of the ditch: but in me lived a sin
So strange, of such a kind, that all of pure,
Noble and knightly in me twined and clung
Round that one sin, until the wholesome flower
And poisonous grew together, each as each,
Not to be pluck'd asunder; and when thy knights
Swore, I swore with them only in the hope
That could I touch or see the Holy Grail,
They might be pluck'd asunder. Then I spake
To one most holy saint, who wept and said,
That save they could be pluck'd asunder, all
My quest were but in vain."

"Alas," says one writer, "for the blinding power of a wilful sin! And yet he saw it, although veiled."

"O yet methought I saw the Holy Grail,
All pall'd in crimson samite, and around
Great angels, awful shapes and wings and eyes.
And but for all my madness and my sin,
And then my swooning, I had sworn I saw
That which I saw: but what I saw was veil'd
And cover'd; and this quest was not for me."

But even to Launcelot Arthur gives some comfort, and so, addressing him and the other knights of the quest:

“Nay—but thou errest, Launcelot; never yet
Could all of true and noble in knight, and man
Twine round one sin, whatever it might be,
With such a closeness, but apart there grew,
Save that he were the swine thou spakest of,
Some root of knighthood and pure nobleness;
Whereto see thou, that it may bear its flower.”

In the book of Sir Mador we find how Launcelot returns to his pet sin. Thus we read: “Then Sir Launcelot began to resort unto Queen Guinevere again, and forgot the promise and the profession that he made in the quest; had not Sir Launcelot been in his privy thoughts and in his mind set inwardly to the Queen, as he was in seeming outward unto God, there had no knight passed him in the quest of the Sancgreal, but ever his thoughts were privily upon the Queen.” In the book of Elaine one comes upon the passage that describes the meeting of Launcelot with his rightful spouse, whom he has shamefully neglected and wronged. But Elaine forgives him his past and would have him for her husband. Launcelot refuses, and Elaine shrieks and falls in a swoon. A little later in the hands of her confessor, who bids her put away her thoughts of Launcelot, she pitifully asks: “Why should I leave such thoughts? Am I not an earthly woman?” And then with Christian resignation she says: “And since it is the sufferance of God that I shall die for the love of so noble a knight, I beseech the high Father of heaven for to have mercy upon my soul; and that mine innumerable pains which I suffer may be allegiance of part of my sins.” And so Elaine passes away. In a barge upon the Thames they place her mortal remains. Along it drifts, until discovered by Arthur and the knights. In it is found the last testament of her love for Launcelot. Even the Queen thus upbraids Launcelot with the words: “Ye might have shown her some bounty and gentleness, that ye might have preserved her life.” “Madam,” said Sir Launcelot, “she would none other way be answered, but that she would be my wife or else my love; and of these two I would not grant her; for, madam, I love not to be constrained to love; for love must arise of the heart and not by constraint.”

Not to enter into the merits of Launcelot's case, since he was, indeed, by deception and constraint, made to be the husband of Elaine and by her the father of Galahad, yet he time and again admits his guilt, which at least lies in his illicit love for another's

spouse, Guinevere, who was Arthur's queen. Launcelot goes from bad to worse. Secretly he meets with the Queen, and when confronted with evidence that some knight hath been with her who is called traitorous to her lord, King Arthur, he boldly covers his guilt with a lie and is forced into mortal combat. It is the Queen's wish that Launcelot slay his opponent, whom he worsts in the fight, and this he does. Not satisfied with this experience, Launcelot and the Queen are again discovered in their guilty meeting. This time Launcelot is beset by several knights, but overcomes them all, slaying them at the very chamber door of his mistress. Thus having placed her in a compromising position and rendered her liable to be burnt at the stake for her unfaithfulness, Launcelot in vain pleads with the Queen to flee with him. Through his continued guilty love, Sir Launcelot slays many noble knights and precipitates many wars. Passing over that portion of the winding up of Malory's tale that tells of Launcelot's deeds of prowess, we come to the closing chapters, to where is depicted the meeting of Launcelot and Guinevere in relations that are no longer sordid.

Launcelot, we are told, "came upon a nunnery. And then was Queen Guinevere aware of (him) as he walked in the cloister; and, when she saw him there she swooned three times." Launcelot is brought to her, and she thus addresses herself to him and those around her: "Through this knight and me all the wars were wrought and the death of the most noble knights of the world; for through our love that we have loved together is my most noble lord slain; therefore, wit thou well, Sir Launcelot, I am set in such a plight to get my soul's health; and yet I trust, through God's grace, that after my death for to have the sight of the blessed face of Jesu Christ, and at the dreadful day of doom to sit on His right side; for as sinful creatures as ever was I are saints in heaven." She then bids Launcelot depart from her and take unto himself a wife and to pray that she may amend her misliving. But Launcelot refuses to be false to her, because he will not wed, but will enter a cloister and pray for her. "Since ye have taken you unto perfection," he tells her, "I must needs take me unto perfection of right." The Queen swoons and is borne to her chamber. Launcelot rides away weeping, until at last he comes to a hermitage and hears the little chapel bell ring to Mass. He attends the Holy Sacrifice, which is offered up by the Bishop of Canterbury. After the Mass he tells his tale, and full of sorrow he flings away his armor and exclaims: "Alas! who may trust this world?" By the good Bishop he is shriven, and at his request is vested in the habit of a monk. "There he served God day and night, with prayers and fastings."

Later he is joined by seven other knights and "they endured in great penance five years, and then Sir Launcelot took the habit of priesthood, and twelve months he sung the Mass."

"And thus upon a night there came a vision unto Sir Launcelot and charged him, in remission of all his sins, to haste him toward Almesbury." There he is to find Queen Guinevere dead, and he is commanded to bring her corpse and bury it by her lord and husband, the noble King Arthur. He does as the vision bids him and sings her requiem. "With his seven fellows he went about the bier, singing and reading many a holy and devout orison and frankincense upon the bier incensed." When she is entombed, Launcelot swoons at the thought of his King and Queen thus laid full low, and out of sorrow for his presumption and pride and his defaults, for he remembered their kindness and his unkindness. Ever after Sir Launcelot "eat but little meat, nor drank, but continually mourned until he was dead. For evermore, day and night, he prayed, but needfully, as nature required; sometimes he slumbered a broken sleep, and always he was lying groveling upon King Arthur's and Queen Guinevere's tomb." At this point in his narrative Malory introduces a few pious comments, which warring leaders of to-day might well take to heart. "Oh! ye mighty and pompous lords," he exclaims, "shining in the glory transitory of this unstable life, as in reigning over great realms and mighty great countries, fortified with strong castles and towers, edified with many a rich city; yea, also, ye fierce and mighty knights, so valiant in adventurous deeds of arms, behold! behold! see how this mighty conqueror, King Arthur, whom in his human life all the world doubted; see also the noble Queen Guinevere, which sometime sat in her chair adorned with gold, pearls and precious stones, now lie full low in obscure foss, or pit, covered with clods of earth and clay. Behold also this mighty champion, Sir Launcelot, peerless of all knighthood; see now how he lieth groveling upon the cold mould; now being so feeble and faint that sometime was so terrible. How in what manner ought ye to be so desirous of worldly honor so dangerous. Therefore, methinketh this present book is right necessary often to be read; for in it shall ye find the most gracious, knightly and virtuous war, of the most noble knights of the world, whereby they gat a praising continually. Also me seemeth, by the often ready reading thereof, ye shall greatly desire to accustom yourself in following of those gracious knightly deeds; that is to say, to dread God and to love righteousness, faithfully and courageously to serve your sovereign prince; and the more that God hath given you the triumphal honor the meeker ought ye to be, ever fearing the unstableness of this

deceitful world." The foreboding of death is upon Sir Launcelot. "So when he was houseled and eneled, and had all that a Christian man ought to have, he prayed the Bishop that his fellows might bear his body unto Joyous Guard. Then was there weeping and wringing of hands among all his fellows."

At midnight the Bishop awakes the fellowship with great laughter. Upon their inquiry as to what ailed him, the good man tells them of a dream in which he saw Sir Launcelot "with more angels than ever I saw men upon one day; and I saw the angels heave up Sir Launcelot towards heaven." Thereupon they betake themselves to the bed of Sir Launcelot, and there "they found him stark dead, and he lay as he had smiled."

The Grail legend shines like a holy light down the lanes of literature. While it depicts types of men and women as they were, as they are and as they always will be, subject to the frailties of human nature, it also holds up for our emulation the type of Christian who observes the moral law and values virtuous living above all else. The quest is to live aright, to correct what is not proper in our lives and to start afresh with the renewed purpose of a Launcelot, if we have not the good fortune to be a Galahad. Spiritually significant, the quest of the Grail symbolizes every man's search after the ideal. As the knight of the Round Table, so each individual Christian soul sets out to attain eternal bliss and happiness. We come from God and depend upon God and strive to be Godlike, so the spirit which defies death would rest in God as its last end. Each warrior soul struggles on in its battle against the world, the flesh and the evil one. The ideal to be attained, like the Grail, is always far ahead. Sometimes it comes nearer and we almost touch it, but we find, alas, it is hidden behind a veil. We sigh and fret like Launcelot, when we should persevere like Galahad. But the choice to be made is always clear. We forget that one cannot always live in the clouds, but must perform duties and bear up under the necessities of life. Pain, too, should not produce pessimism, but the highest form of optimism, because it affords the wrongdoer an opportunity for atonement. Surrounded by material interests, man oftentimes finds it hard to maintain the vision of the spiritual. Sinful Launcelot sees what he sought, but it is veiled. How often we see the light and resolve to live in its beam, but shut it out again from our souls. We must not only be, but do. Ours must be a knight-hood of service in Christ's kingdom; and Galahad, chaste and humble, must be for us the exemplar of true Christian chivalry. And this Holy Grail legend has a moral value and makes its spiritual appeal even to-day. For, despite the cult of so-called advanced

thought, despite the fact that men will seek elsewhere for truth and beauty that is all around them, men's minds are not small because they fear hell and hope for heaven. Even the neo-thinker that imagines he is a martyr because those outside the mystic ring of intellectuals will not admit that he is a superman—only superior to other men in that he is supremely selfish—even he cannot make a hell of heaven and a heaven of hell, but remains unemancipated, irredeemed, because the light of faith has not flooded his soul. They are the small souls, whose mad Zarathustrian laughter and spirit of mockery and verbal jugglery must end in the wailing and gnashing of teeth in the Stygian gloom of their own creation. The spirit of revolt which arises because the striver after the ideal and the higher thinker deems himself confined on all sides is the result of a lack of proper ideals, a mad purpose, a distorted world-view and results in an inferno and chaos of existence. The beautiful will not veneer the filth of an immoral life. Even genius must bow to the moral order, for order is nature's first law, and what is orderly is always harmoniously beautiful.

The idealism of the Grail legend is resplendent with proper ethics; for the sinner is made to see the error of his ways and the clean of heart is awarded. And so the idealism of the Sancgreal is symbolic of every man's ideal life who has not chafed under moral restraint as if it were the enslavement of his spiritual self. The soul in its quest of salvation can only be enslaved by sin. Launcelot is strong physically, but he is also weak in his lack of perseverance and he may not fully realize his ideal until his soul throws off the shackles of sin. Galahad, on the other hand, is both brave in body and strong in spirit and obtains his end. Man in his right mind acclaims the type and the worldly-wise cannot improve upon it. Any attempt to do so is to offer one a stone instead of bread to satisfy one's spiritual hunger. It is the clear beam of the eternal truths shining constant down the ages as preserved for all time by God's Holy Church that guides us to the goal, which is every one's Grail, to rest in Him who became man that He, too, might walk the earth and show us that no man is beyond law and that only the pure of heart shall see Him face to face.

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A TYPICAL IRISH MISSIONER.

EVER since the rise of monasticism in Ireland, about the middle of the sixth century, infusing new life and vigor into the Church, when monk-missioners went out from Clonard, Bangor and Iona to evangelize Scotland, North Britain, Wales and many places on the European Continent where Irish saints and scholars left behind them indelible footprints, Catholic Ireland has been sending missioners to the ends of the earth.

A typical modern Irish missioner, one of the latest of those apostolic men who personify the missionary spirit of the Irish Church, was Father Robert Cooke, an Irish Oblate. In introducing into Ireland the missionary congregation of Our Lady Immaculate,¹ founded by Monsignor de Mazenod, Bishop of Marseilles, he had been preceded by earlier brethren, notably Father William Joseph Daly, a native of Newtownbarry, and Father Casimir Aubert (brother of Father Peter Aubert, who took Brother Taché, afterwards the renowned Archbishop of St. Boniface, to the Red River settlement in Western Canada in 1845), whose efforts to make a foundation in that country proved abortive in 1842, because time and opportunities were not ripe for it. It was reserved to Father Cooke to successfully establish his missionary order in the Green Isle. Father Aubert's pioneer work in Ireland, however, was not altogether fruitless. He was fortunate in finding several young men there desirous of entering the Oblate novitiate. Among them was Robert Cooke, whom, along with others, he led to France in 1843. Father Aubert had gone to England and Ireland, an unknown foreigner, without a church, without a community house, without a community, without friends, without money, rich only in the faith which he had in God's good Providence and in the future of the missionary society founded by the zealous Bishop of Marseilles. He had apparently failed, but it was the triumph of failure. If he did nothing else but secure such a subject as Robert Cooke, he did much for his congregation, for the salvation of souls, for the Church and for the progress of Catholicity in the British Isles.

Robert Francis Cooke was born on February 14, 1821, in Dungarvan, County Waterford. His father was a Tipperary man, born at Kiltinan Castle, near Fethard. His paternal grandmother was the wife of the Protestant landlord of Kiltinan, and after her husband's death

¹ It grew out of a small community of zealous priests known as "Missioners of Provence," who instructed the populace of the south of France in their native patois, or local dialect. Leo XII. erected it into a congregation on February 17, 1826.

became a Catholic. In the eighteenth century in Ireland the parent who became a Catholic was not allowed by law to have the guardianship of his or her children, who in such a case were taken by the State and brought up as Protestants and put in possession of the parents' property. Mrs. Cooke, of Kiltinan, had two sons. Fearing lest they should be taken from her care when she became a Catholic, she abandoned her husband's home and property, which then went to her husband's younger brother. Secretly leaving Kiltinan House, she took her two boys with her to the town of Dungarvan, where she brought them up as Catholics, supporting herself as best she could by teaching. The eldest son of this holy woman settled in business in Dungarvan. His own eldest son was Robert, the future Oblate, born eight years before the Catholic Relief Act of 1829, wrung by the great Irish tribune, Daniel O'Connell, from a reluctant legislature, marked the definite cessation of the iniquitous penal laws and the opening of a new era in the history of much-tried Catholic Ireland.

Sent to Dublin to study law and medicine, young Cooke after a short time returned to the South to become assistant to a doctor in good practice in Cashel. Though his name would indicate a remote Cromwellian extraction, he was thoroughly Irish in his temperament, full of ardor and enthusiasm for any good cause that appealed to his sympathies and full of religious fervor. It is these aptitudes that naturally fit Irish youths for active public or missionary life and make them good patriots or good priests. His voice and his pen were at the service of any cause he espoused; he spoke in public on religious questions and wrote about them in Dublin publications.

His vocation to religion was above the ordinary class of vocations. He would sometimes tell the story of his special call to the Congregation of Our Lady Immaculate. With that air of solemn conviction which always distinguished him, he would tell how he was led to Our Lady and to the order named after her Immaculate Conception before he even knew that there existed such a religious body in the Church. It was in his grandmother's lifetime he grew up to boyhood. She was particularly dear to him; she had made heroic sacrifices for conscience sake, and he never forgot that to her, under God, he owed the priceless possession of the true faith. When he was a young man in Cashel, apparently settling down in a profession for which he seemed admirably gifted, his grandmother, who had meanwhile died, appeared to him by night, and, leading him by the hand into an immense plain of dazzling brightness, brought him to the foot of the throne of a great Lady clothed in blue and crowned with stars. Kneeling down, he felt the Lady's hand upon his head, and as he received her blessing a voice whispered to

him that God willed him to enter the religious society dedicated to the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin. Some time afterwards he for the first time heard of the Oblate Fathers, and in particular of Father Aubert, who was then trying to establish the congregation in the British Isles. He immediately said to himself: "That is the society to which I have been called; in the name of God I will be an Oblate of Mary Immaculate."

It was on St. Patrick's Day, 1843, an auspicious date, that Robert Cooke, along with three other postulants, accompanied Father Casimir Aubert, who had been teaching theology at All Hallows since September, 1842, to Penzance, in Cornwall, en route for France. When Bishop de Mazenod visited Penzance in 1850 he rejoiced to see a beautiful church there free of debt, schools with over a thousand children attending them, and to hear of Catholics brought back to their religious duties and some Protestants receiving instruction in five different missionary stations.² It was Father Casimir's great happiness to arrive in time to sing the High Mass for the opening of the Church of the Immaculate Conception, founded by the saintly Father Henry Young, of Dublin, and to show his postulants the old Cornish reminders of bygone Catholic times in that remote part of the south of England, filling their pockets with catechisms and the like, which they distributed among the Irish families and others in the villages. It was there, at Land's End, that Robert Cooke entered the religious family of the Oblates, and under the shadow of the Church of Our Lady of the Osier (willow tree), in the Diocese of Grenoble, Department of Isère, he began in 1843 to lead a novice's life, having among his fellow novices Brother Fabre, afterwards second superior general, and Brother Faraud, destined to labor in the Canadian Northwest as missionary and Bishop of Athabasca-Mackenzie. Notre Dame de l'Osier is an ancient sanctuary of Our Lady situate among the hills of Dauphiny, near the town of Vinay, on the road between Valence and Grenoble. It dates its origin to 1649-1656, when a Calvinist named Combet was converted by a bleeding osier, or willow tree, and an apparition of the Blessed Virgin. For one hundred and twenty-five years previous to the French Revolution it was served by the Augustinians, whose ruined monastery and chapel were bought in 1834 by a priest, at whose request the Oblates were commissioned by the Bishop of Grenoble to restore the ancient place of pilgrimage. The superior sent to the new foundation by Bishop de Mazenod was Father Guigues, afterwards the first Bishop of Ottawa. The Oblates held

² The ecclesiastical property, which had belonged to the Oblates, passed out of their possession in 1852, but was secured for the diocese by Bishop Errington.

possession until 1903, when they were expelled by the French Government and their property seized.

Notre Dame de l'Osier has been called "the converter of Protestants." Brother Cooke, who was afterwards to labor so zealously and successfully for the re-conversion of England, during his novitiate assisted his novice-master, Father Vincens, in the preparation of a controversial work in reply to the sermons and writings of a Protestant minister, M. Fermand, of Montemyran. After he made his oblation or religious profession, on June 14, 1844, he went to Notre Dame des Lumières, in Vaucluse, in the Diocese of Avignon, to pursue his studies, thanking God for the blessing of being for the second time under the protecting shade of a specially favored sanctuary of Our Lady. At l'Osier she had given him his missionary cross, that he might one day use it in the conversion of heretics and sinners; at Lumières she became his patroness and guide in the work of preparation for the sacred ministry. It was at the latter shrine of the Immaculata he saw and heard for the first time the venerated founder of the Oblates of Mary, and it was there Monsignor de Mazenod was able to form an estimate of the promising young Irish Oblate, who declaimed some pieces in Irish and English before him, giving abundant promise of that gift of fervid eloquence which he afterwards used to such good purpose.

Brother Cooke greatly impressed his fellow-students by his remarkable piety and talents. One of them, the late Canon Gondrand, missionary-apostolic, says: "I often noticed how our Irish Brothers stood almost in awe of him, as of one who was somehow unlike others." There being a great need of priests in England, where Tractarianism had initiated the Romeward movement among the more spiritualized of the Anglicans, and where between 1841 and 1846 the Oblates had been helping greatly in the work of conversions, having completed his studies at Marseilles, Brother Cooke, on June 28 of the latter year, was ordained priest by Bishop de Mazenod, at whose hands he had received the four minors. In his first fervor and burning with ardent zeal he threw himself with all his heart and soul into the work which awaited him in England, commencing his apostolic career at Gracedieu, in Leicestershire, where that excellent convert, Mr. Ambrose Philipps de Lisle,³ had built a residence and a church and established a small community of Oblates. Mr. de Lisle's conversion, which had taken place some years before Father Aubert, in 1845, had sent thither some fathers,

³ Ambrose Lisle March Philipps, who afterwards assumed the name of De Lisle, was the eldest son of Charles March Philipps, M. P., of Garendon Park, and the nephew of the Hon. and Right Rev. Dr. Ryder, Protestant Bishop of Gloucester. He became a Catholic in 1825.

was an event which had a marked influence on the great Catholic revival in England, and largely contributed to that of the Hon. George Spencer, best known as Father Ignatius Spencer, the Passionist. He was the founder of the Cistercian Abbey of Mount St. Bernard, in Charmwood Forest, and of churches at Gracedieu, Whitwick and Shepshed. Father Cooke started open-air preaching in the villages, carried on controversial discussions, converted many and led back numerous strayed sheep to the true fold. Then began a series of remarkable conversions, due to his unflagging zeal, and which marked every stage of his missionary career.

Father Cooke left Gracedieu in 1847. Wordsworth in one of his poems speaks of

"The ivied ruins of forlorn Gracedieu;
Erst a religious house, which day and night
With hymns resounded and the chanted rite;
And when those rites had ceased, the spot gave birth
To honorable men of various worth."

Worthiest of these was the church-builder and the heroic and religious young Rudolph de Lisle, R. N., who perished in the battle of Abu Klea, January 17, 1885. Mr. H. N. Oxenham, in his biography of the latter, describes the wooded slopes of Gracedieu, where the Calvary and the chapel of the Seven Dolors remind the traveler of some sequestered pass in the Tyrol, with its frequent wayside cross, or shrine, or sacred picture to arrest the eye at every turn, while the white-robed procession, wont to wind its way through the woods at Corpus Christi and on the feast of the Invention of the Cross, would no less vividly recall to his memory the picturesque incidents of foreign Catholic worship.

The next scene of Father Cooke's ministry was Everingham, where Mr. William Constable Maxwell (afterwards Lord Herries) had a seat. Father Cooke described him as "one in whose life there was such a happy blending of the high-minded gentleman of the world and of the pure-souled, devout and humble Christian." On succeeding to his large inheritance, one of his first thoughts was to erect a spacious and beautiful church adjoining his mansion at Everingham, the ownership of which he vested in the authorities of the diocese, spending about £20,000 on its erection and endowment. Its solemn dedication was almost the first event of the kind which had occurred in England since the Reformation. This mission and the chaplaincy of his household he confided to the Oblates early in 1847. There Father Cooke and another Oblate Father exercised the ordinary parochial ministry among a rather large Catholic population, extending the sphere of their labors to neighboring towns,

including Howden, where they established a mission and built a church, and where Mass had not been said since the national apostasy was consummated in the sixteenth century. They also restored the mission of Pocklington, where several conversions were made.

Brother Vernet, who for a long period rendered very valuable services to the order in England and Ireland and saw much of Father Cooke at Everingham and elsewhere, has recorded many interesting things about him. Father Perron, the superior, when they were simply acting as chaplains at Gracedieu and Everingham, was very anxious to make a permanent foundation. Success seemed remote. Father Cooke thought they wanted an intercessor in heaven. They were soon to have one who was very interested in the work. Father Perron, who died on February 22, 1848, four years before his happy death made two promises; one was that, if God permitted, he would appear to Father Cooke and Brother Vernet, and the other that all his prayers and power with God should be used to obtain the blessings needed for the making of new foundations. "Father Cooke," said he, "who is so holy and so full of zeal, is the man sent by Providence for this work." These promises he repeated on the very day he died. "The fourteenth day after his death," relates Brother Vernet, "at about a quarter to 10 o'clock in the evening, when we had just retired for the night, Father Perron, habited exactly as he used to be before he fell ill, opened the door of my room. He came over to my bed, my room at the moment being lighted up more brightly than if it were midday. 'Oh, mon père!' I cried, and I was about to jump out of bed. But he placed both my arms across my breast and leaned his weight upon me to keep me where I was. 'I want to go with you,' I said. 'No,' he replied; 'you cannot; your time has not yet come; be calm, have patience, but meanwhile be very observant of your rule.' And he added advice on various points, which I wish I had always faithfully followed. He went out again, leaving my door open. My room was at the end of the corridor and my bed opposite the door. I saw Father Perron enter Father Cooke's room, but as soon as he went in the light also disappeared, and I saw him no more. Next morning I asked Father Cooke if Father Perron had not paid him a visit between half-past 9 and 10 o'clock. 'What makes you suspect that?' he asked. 'I don't suspect it at all; I am certain of it.' And I told him what I had seen. 'Yes,' said Father Cooke, 'he did come. We spoke together for a good while; he was overflowing with happiness and joy; I do not think his feet touched the ground; he was clad just as in his lifetime; he gave me much encouragement and much good advice. Now we know that we have a zealous advocate in heaven, since he has even kept that promise which we had no expectation that he would keep.' And Father

Cooke, in reply to a question of mine, advised that we should keep our own counsel about what has occurred." Brother Vernet's manuscript, from which this is quoted, was written in November, 1882.

Father Cooke lived in an atmosphere of the marvelous. The gift of prophecy is attributed to him. When he was conducting a mission in the north of England he told a young girl who was very anxious to become a nun that her vocation was to be married, to live a Christian life in the world, and baptize as many children, especially of Protestants, as she might find in danger of death. "You will remember this," he said, "when one shall come to you and say: 'I ask you for God's sake to keep my company and to be my wife, that you may help me to save my soul.'" About three years passed and the determination never to marry was still strong in the young woman's will, when a convert, who had never seen Father Cooke, made a proposal in the very words the saintly Oblate predicted. Although she rejected it at first, at the instance of her confessor she accepted. They were married in due course, and Father Cooke soon after the birth of their eldest child called upon them. "This is a beautiful boy," he said, "but he will soon go to heaven." The child died before reaching the age of eighteen months. Again, at a second visit, he was shown two little ones, a boy and a girl. "You must make up your mind to part with your little girl," he said; "the boy will live and become a priest." After a few years the mother fell ill, and for days her life was despaired of. She begged that Father Cooke might be informed and his prayers asked. "The souls of the little children that she has got into heaven by baptism will not let her die yet," he replied. "She has many years of work before her." She recovered and had another and last visit from the Oblate. "You have another little boy here," he said. "He will be spared you and will also be a priest." The event verified the prediction. They both became priests.

Conversions followed each other so rapidly at Everingham that in a year and a half there were only five Protestants in the place, including the minister and the sexton. Even the minister's wife and the servants in their household were Catholics. Father Cooke's zeal was equally productive of good results at Howden, where in three months he had a flock of seventy-three in place of the eight he found there on his arrival; in a few years they increased to three hundred. When he visited it on a market day he sent a bellman through the streets to announce a sermon by a Catholic priest, which he delivered from an improvised rostrum in the square.

That Father Cooke was the recipient of special graces or gifts seems evident from what Brother Vernet relates. On one occasion,

when he visited Everingham, he found that one of his former converts, a lady, had abandoned the Church. He told her that she had only a fortnight to live. A month afterwards Brother Vernet was told by a gentleman from the neighborhood that she had died a fortnight previously, without having asked for a priest. "One Monday morning in 1851," writes the good Brother, "I drove to Howden, as usual, in order to bring back Father Cooke. His Mass was over when I arrived. 'Try if a gentleman is coming,' Father Cooke said to me; 'it is a certain lawyer whom I am going to baptize to-day.' I looked and told Father Cooke that the man had just entered the church. 'Watch him,' he said. I did so and saw the man get up and go hastily away out of the church. 'The unfortunate man; he is lost!' exclaimed Father Cooke. With these words he followed the man in all haste to his house. He remonstrated with him for not keeping his promise. The gentleman began to make excuses, saying that he was not ready, that his courage failed him, and that he felt something telling him to put the matter off for some time longer. Thereupon Father Cooke, with great solemnity, declared to him that since he would not be received into the Church that day, after having abused the grace of God for two years and a half by repeated delays, he would be taken out of this life in two days' time without having a priest to minister to him. The man was in perfect health at the time. Father Cooke added that he was going that very day to Leeds to open a mission, and that he would never visit Howden again. As he was leaving the town, in order to take the train for Leeds, he said to me: 'That unhappy man will die the day after to-morrow without becoming a Catholic.' This, as I have said, was on the Monday. On Wednesday a messenger came to Everingham calling for a priest to attend that very man at Howden. Father Tamburini, who was then staying with us, set out in all haste, but he arrived to find only a corpse; the man, bystanders told him, was just half an hour dead."

His inner life gives us the key to all the marvels that marked his external or ministerial action. It was moulded on that of the saints. He was very mortified and self-denying, and wore, alternately, a hair shirt and a broad iron chain, studded with from 150 to 200 points. "We have need of extraordinary graces and blessings," he said to Brother Vernet, who spent ten years with him, "and these are not usually granted if penance be not joined to prayer." He did not like paying visits to the rich, except for some spiritual purpose, saying that he almost always regretted such visits as having been a waste of time. Very gladly, however, did he go amongst the poor, whether they were Catholics or not. He used to say that it was very seldom good was not done by visits of that kind; he

always returned from them full of interior joy. On the day of his ordination he had resolved to let no day go by without doing something for the glory of God and the salvation of souls. Twenty-three years later, speaking confidentially to Brother Vernet, he said he believed that he had not failed to keep that resolution. "I am sure," adds Brother Vernet, "he kept it to the end."

Miracles, it is recorded, were freely attributed to him. There is no doubt miracles of grace in the conversion of sinners were wrought through his agency. "Did he also work miraculous cures of the sick and read the heart's secrets and foretell the future?" a writer in the *Missionary Record*⁴ asks. "It is not our place to decide. But we should think it very rash indeed to assert that all the popular stories which represent the holy missioner as a seer and a wonder-worker had no other foundation in the beginning than the vivid imagination of the devout and simple, joined with their reverence for Father Cooke's priestly character and personal reputation. An odor of sanctity and reputation of supernatural gifts surrounded Father Cooke to the eyes not of the people alone, but of those who lived in daily and hourly intercourse with him."

His work in England was very extensive in its scope. In 1851 he founded the Oblate mission of Mount St. Mary's, Leeds, where he first offered the Holy Sacrifice in a poor cottage, just a year after the order had been entrusted with the populous district of Great Crosshall street, in the north end of Liverpool, in which so many of the Irish immigrants found shelter after the great famine. An accidental, or we should say providential, meeting in a railway carriage between Father Cooke and one of the converts of St. Saviour's, Leeds (Rev. George Crawley), led to the opening up of a new field of labor for the Oblates in the great manufacturing town in Yorkshire. The opening of the Anglican Church of St. Saviour, of which Dr. Pusey was the founder and patron, synchronized with the conversion of Newman, soon followed by that of several of the High Church or Puseyite clergy, whose day-dream of the "living Catholicity" of the Church of England was dispelled. After they left St. Saviour's vicarage, they established a cottage-orphanage. Several of their late parishioners being wishful of becoming Catholics, and as they (the convert ministers) were only laymen, they believed that the presence of a priest among them would be very serviceable. Father Cooke was the priest. A mattress laid on the kitchen floor was the best bed they could offer him, for they had no better themselves. The orphans occupied the bedrooms, and an apartment was set aside as an oratory. It was in this oratory he said Mass on a bright May morning in 1851. Having got the Bishop's per-

⁴ Volume IV., 1894; p. 413.

mission to establish a mission, an unoccupied beer shop and its quondam dancing room were rented and transformed into a temporary church, opened on October 22, 1851, when Father (afterwards Canon) Oakeley, one of the Oxford converts, preached. For six years it was the centre of active missionary work and the scene of many signal graces and visible favors conferred on several persons, Catholics, Protestants and freethinkers. Such was the genesis of what is now one of the principal Oblate missions in England.

One of the principal objects of Bishop de Mazenod's visit to England in July, 1857, was the opening of the new Church of St. Mary, Leeds, which auspiciously coincided with the feast of St. Martha, the sister of St. Lazarus, first Bishop of Marseilles. "Was it something more than a coincidence that the successor of St. Lazarus in the See of Marseilles, who had then lately built a church to the memory of that saint in his episcopal city, should now, on the feast of St. Martha," observes the writer in the *Record*, "be the officiating pontiff at the opening of a new church in England of a society founded by him in Provence, a country where the memories of Martha, Magdalen and Lazarus were held in such cherished veneration? Or was not this circumstance one of those beautiful harmonies which we can trace oftentimes in God's dealings with His servants, when something which an inner consciousness tells us would be opportune, were it to happen, does actually take place?"

Sicklinghall, Inchicore, Leith, Rock Ferry, Liverpool, Tower Hill and Kilburn are foundations with which Father Cooke had much to do if not all. Provincial or vice provincial from 1849 to 1867, a most successful preacher of missions and retreats, he was part and parcel of the whole history of the growth of the Oblate Congregation in the United Kingdom or British Isles. Bishop Jolivet, whose first acquaintance with Father Cooke dated from 1849, when he was sent to Everingham directly from the novitiate, a young, inexperienced priest hardly able to speak English, says: "I was much impressed by Father Cooke's manner of preaching at the time. Although I had heard the best preachers of the day, although I had followed the conferences of Lacordaire at Notre Dame de Paris, I had no difficulty, even with my imperfect knowledge of English, in discerning in Father Cooke's sermons the true ring of Christian eloquence. He wrote his sermons carefully, but seldom followed in the delivery what he had written. He often read his sermons to me before preaching, but when I heard him in the pulpit I could hardly recognize his written composition; what was originally a mere detail had become the leading idea round which cropped up new details all illumined with brilliant imagery and delivered in the most impressive manner."

It was in Ireland, and particularly in Dublin, that Father Cooke made the strongest impression. He was for years the most prominent personality in the religious life of the Irish capital. "The history of the life of Father Cooke," says a writer in the *Record*,¹ "is the history of the Anglo-Irish province of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate. For a period of thirty-six years he had no other life than that of an Oblate missionary. For almost the same length of time he was the most conspicuous representative of our congregation in these kingdoms; the one man indeed who was in himself almost the Oblate Society in the eyes of the clergy and people of these countries. Some of our Irish fathers remember well how about the year 1860 they used to hear of 'Father Cooke's order' and of the wonderful missionary work which he and his colleagues were then doing in various parts of Ireland."

In 1856 the Oblates gave their first mission in Ireland and founded the House of Retreat at Inchicore, near Dublin. The story of this foundation, as related by Father Cooke himself in his "Sketches of the Life of Monsignor de Mazenod and of the Labors of the Oblates of Mary,"² reads like a chapter out of the life of some saint of the ages of faith. There is a note of simplicity and singleness of purpose in it which recalls earlier times and earlier methods of propagating Christianity: something that links Ireland of the present with Ireland in the past.

At the close of 1855 he proceeded to Ireland, by the direction of Monsignor de Mazenod, to take steps for the introduction of the order into that country. No house of the society had as yet been established there, nor had a mission up to that time been given by the Oblates. The mistake of a cab-driver, on his arrival in Dublin in December, 1855, formed a providential link in the chain of events which, in God's designs, led up to the giving of the first mission and to the founding of the first house of the Oblates of Mary in Ireland. He had told the cabman to drive him to a hotel on the north side of the city, but by mistake he took him to one on the south side near the Augustinian church, then known as "John's lane chapel." It being the nearest to his hotel, he went there to say Mass. After Mass he made the acquaintance of the prior, Dr. Crane (afterwards Bishop of Sandhurst), at whose invitation the Oblates on the 1st of May ensuing opened a mission in his church, which lasted a month and resulted in extraordinary fruits of conversion. At its close he had an interview with Archbishop Cullen, who authorized him to found a missionary and religious house in Kilmainham. He was not then aware of the proximity of Inchicore to Kilmainham, or of the

¹ Volume II., 1892; p. 4.

² P. 211, et seq.

great cause of pastoral solicitude which the spiritual wants of that place were at that time causing in His Grace's mind. Inchicore, as is well known, was and is the central depot of workshops for the construction of railway carriages and locomotives of the Great Southern and Western Railway, the grand trunk line of Ireland. A thousand men were employed in these works, who resided in great numbers at Inchicore, in cottages built by the company. They were Irishmen for the most part, clever and highly intelligent, but many of them had been living for years in the neglect of their religious duties and in the midst of infidel companions in the great foundries of England. Some propagandists of infidelity among them sought by public lectures and private conversations to spread their wicked teachings. Inchicore being a good distance from the parish Church of St. James, many never went to Mass, and it was doubtful whether they were Catholics or not. Such was the population in the midst of which the hand of God placed the first house of the Oblates in Ireland.

Counseled and encouraged by Dr. O'Connor, an Augustinian prelate (formerly Vicar Apostolic of Madras), and Monsignor Yore, vicar general of Dublin, Father Cooke lost no time in putting into execution the Archbishop's permission. Aided by a loan, providentially advanced by a stranger who described himself as "a client of St. Joseph," a suitable house and several acres of land were purchased. After the first Mass had been said in a room of the newly acquired house, the need of increased accommodation was felt. Father Cooke took the opinion of some practical workmen as to the best means of providing it. A young carpenter who was present undertook to have a large wooden chapel erected by the coming Sunday, provided that the men of the railway works lent their aid in constructing it. The railway men promptly and cordially agreed; the labor of love was begun on Tuesday, June 24, the feast of St. John the Baptist; in the evenings after their ordinary day's work, seven hundred men with willing hearts and hands toiled from 6 to 9, and on Saturday a building capable of accommodating seven or eight hundred people was raised by these devoted men in sixteen hours. The next morning, feast of SS. Peter and Paul, High Mass was sung in the new temporary Church of Our Lady Immaculate, which has since given place to a large and handsome edifice, the original modest chapel being used for the Christmas Crib. But the most gratifying result was the wonderful reawakening of dormant faith and practical religion among these sons of toil. Many surprised one another as they took their places for the first time in the ranks of the new church builders. "What! are you a Catholic? I never thought you were till now," was a frequent exclamation ad-

dressed by one workingman to another. "Were you not surprised when you visited the new church built in four days?" was a question which a wife addressed to her husband, who had been absent during its construction. "Yes, I was," was the reply, "but there was something which surprised me much more; it was that I saw A. B. on his knees saying his prayers." The person alluded to had, with good reason, hitherto been regarded as an infidel. But the helping hand he had given during the erection of the church had gained for him the restored gift of faith. A mission given in it crowned with new blessings the early labors of the Oblates in Inchicore. The little church was crowded to excess by a congregation largely composed of railway guards, engine-drivers and stokers. The Oblates have always taken a special interest in this important class of men upon whose steadiness and conscientious discharge of their duties the lives of so many depend. During the mission Archbishop Cullen paid his first visit to the new establishment of the Oblates, was greatly edified by all he saw and gave his blessing to the good work.

When Monsignor de Mazenod revisited England in 1857 he made his first visit to Inchicore, where the enthusiastic reception he met with, surpassing anything he had ever experienced, filled him with deep emotion. The next morning, which was Sunday, he said Mass in the temporary wooden church and was for an hour engaged in distributing Holy Communion. Tears flowed from his eyes as he beheld group after group of men and women taking their places at the Communion rail. The impression which Irish faith and fervor made upon him was further deepened when he moved about Dublin and visited its churches and Catholic institutions, seeing everywhere a manifestation of piety the like of which he acknowledged he had rarely seen elsewhere. The loving reverence of the people for their priests was an object of his admiration and frequent eulogy. At the Inchicore great railway foundry and carriage building works he beheld an aspect of Irish faith which was an accomplishment of an ideal, long cherished in his thoughtful and apostolic mind, namely, the ennobling of labor by faith. As he entered workshop after workshop the workers ceased momentarily from their labor in order to kneel and ask his blessing. He recognized many to whom he had given Communion on the previous Sunday, and was aware of the debt of gratitude which the Oblate Fathers owed to the workingmen of Inchicore; for the story of the wooden chapel had been told to him. Having completed his canonical visitation of the Inchicore foundation, he took his departure with regret from a land which he had already commenced to love, as if it had become for him a second home.

From 1856 onwards the Oblates were engaged in conducting

missions in various parts of Ireland. In some places, such as Cork and Belfast, their mission work assumed truly colossal proportions, the number of Communion at the close of one at the Cathedral in the former city in 1863 being 26,000; forty confessors coöperating with the missionaries in hearing confessions, while a similar spiritual harvest was gathered in another immediately following given in the southern parish of St. Finbar, the Communion in both churches totaling 52,000. An extraordinary conversion signaled one given in Dungarvan, County Waterford. One of the mounted constabulary stationed there, a North of Ireland Protestant of strong anti-Catholic bias, was induced, after much persuasion by a Catholic friend, to attend an evening mission service. Father Cooke was the bearer of the mission Crucifix in a penitential procession through the church, during which the psalm "Miserere" was chanted. A congregation of more than three thousand had assembled. The procession had not gone half way when the terrified cries and loud sobbing of a strong man were heard by all present. It was only on the next day that the cause of this incident became known. It was then discovered that the cries had proceeded from the Protestant constable, who thus related to the missionary fathers what had taken place: "As the procession approached the spot where I stood, I noticed that several who had not been able to kneel down, owing to the pressure of the crowd, tried to do so as the Crucifix was passing near to them. When I beheld these marks of reverence being paid to the Crucifix, my Protestant prejudices were stirred up to anger, and I said to myself that if my commanding officer were to stand before me with a drawn sword and order me to kneel down before the Crucifix I would not obey him. I had scarcely formed such thoughts in my mind when all of a sudden a ray of the most dazzling light, brighter than any sunbeam I had ever seen, flashed from the Crucifix. In that light I saw all the sins of my life. The sight of my sins staring me in the face struck me with grief and terror and caused me to utter loud cries. Overwhelmed with a sense of my sinfulness, I fell prostrate to the ground, unconscious of what was passing around me. The service came to a close and the congregation dispersed, with the exception of a few friends who stood by me, who could not account for my emotion, and thought I had taken a fit of some kind. At last I regained my composure and rose up from the spot on which I had been lying prostrate. It was then that the desire of becoming a Catholic rose irresistibly in my mind, and I repeated aloud to my astonished friends, 'Oh, what a happiness were I a Catholic!'" The Bishop of the diocese, the Most Rev. Dr. O'Brien, being then in the town, the missionary fathers submitted the matter to him. After a lengthened interview with the young

man, the prelate decided that conditional baptism might be given to him that very day, adding that he would confirm him immediately afterwards. The event made an extraordinary impression in Dunganarvan, where the convert was well known and much respected. Two years after his reception into the Catholic Church he became an Oblate lay Brother and was known as Brother Mulligan. He is still remembered. He closed an edifying life in religion by a holy death.

One of Father Cooke's brethren nearly lost his life during a country mission. It was a wild, secluded district in a northern county. The missionaries reached their destination on a November night after a drive of fourteen miles from the nearest railway station. At the entrance of a common barn built on the roadside they met the parish priest, who looked like another Curé of Ars, and, as they discovered, resembled the saintly Vianney in holiness of life. A ladder led to their "apartments," which were small nooks in a hayloft. Standing erect was only possible in the centre of the room and one pane of glass lighted the whole place, while chill and damp rendered sleep very difficult. They had to put up with it, as no better accommodation could be found within a reasonable distance of the church, built in a lonely spot and which served for three villages. The crowds coming to confession were so great that hundreds who had been disappointed during the day begged to be allowed to remain in the church till morning, in order to have the first places at the confessionals on the following day. People traveled all night, arriving early in the morning, and when the fathers came there, between 5 and 6, they found the church already full of penitents. Nine thousand Communion were administered during the mission. When the missionaries returned at night to their hayloft a turf fire was kindled in it. One night Father Cooke was detained in the confessional to a later hour than his brother missionaries, who had gone to rest. When crossing the improvised dormitory he found that a blazing sod of turf had rolled from the little fireplace and was igniting the floor underneath the bed on which one of the fathers was asleep, unconscious of his danger. A few moments more and the whole place would have become a mass of flames. There would have been little chance of escape, as the only means of egress was through a narrow trap-door. The removal of the cause of the danger was the work of a moment. Father Cooke gave thanks to God for the providential circumstance which led to the discovery of the fire before any calamity could occur.

The record of Father Cooke's missionary career is crowded with interesting incidents. It was in 1864 that the Oblates established themselves in London, when Cardinal Wiseman assigned to them the

district around Tower Hill and St. Katherine's docks. "A close personal inspection of the new district," writes Father Cooke, "brought before the writer's mind the magnitude of the work upon which the Oblates of Mary were about to enter. The first object that fixed his attention was the hoary old Tower of London, that rose to the view of the mental eye in the haze of its nine centuries of marvelous history, whilst to the external glance it stood out a vast and gloomy pile, casting its shadows over the waters of the turbid Thames that washed its base. It was not an object to be gazed upon and forgotten; no, it was England's history of nine centuries written in stone. On its stone-faced pages many records were written by Time's finger—all glorious for the militant Church of Christ—records of deeds of Christian heroism of the loftiest martyr-type. The closing days of many a beautiful life found and finds a chronicler in that old Tower. It has been telling and it still tells how confessors bore persecution's brunt, how martyrs prepared for the fight and the victory and the crown; how they looked and how they spoke on the mornings of the days of their martyrdom. It tells us the story of the most glorious of the days of a Fisher, of a More, of a Philip Howard of Arundel, of an Oliver Plunkett and of a host of the sons of Saints Bruno, Benedict, Francis, Dominic, Ignatius and of many of England's secular priesthood and of devout laymen of the three kingdoms, confessors of the faith. Of such men and things it speaks to-day to London's multitudes, to visitors from English shires, to strangers from beyond the seas who flock in groups to listen to its stories of the past." This historic monument fixed the title of the new foundation, since known as the Tower Hill mission.

On the feast of the Annunciation, 1865, in a small tenement room in a house in Postern Row, immediately over the spot where formerly stood Postern Gate in the London Wall, Father Cooke said Mass in presence of a dozen people, the first celebrated on Tower Hill for centuries, and in an open archway under the London and Blackwall Railway he subsequently addressed his first public discourse to his new parishioners, the little garret chapel being insufficient to contain the crowd who were eager to hear him. With the help of Father William Ring—a still surviving link with the past—he raised a temporary iron church in Great Prescott street, where at present a large sacred edifice stands. But before the latter was built provision had to be made for the education of over a thousand poor children who wandered through the neighborhood. When Archbishop Manning visited Tower Hill one Sunday afternoon, and the little iron church was packed with children, he had hardly finished a beautiful and touching address when with one voice, as

if they were being moved by some sudden and irresistible impulse, they cried out: "A school! a school!"

The Oblates were a visible Providence to the East End of London. In 1867, when it was ravaged by cholera and many homes were deprived of their breadwinners and starvation stared multitudes in the face, Father Ring organized a local relief committee and the house of the Oblates became the central relief depot for a great part of the east of London. Whilst there was rivalry of zeal on the part of all, Father Cooke awards the palm of supereminence in this charitable rivalry, to Father Ring, who had a special gift of large-hearted sympathy for the suffering and poverty-stricken classes of society. Another occasion which called forth his practical sympathy was when a frost famine prevailed among the laboring classes, and as shipping could not come up the Thames, all work ceased for tens of thousands of hands. But besides those periods of general and exceptional destitution there are always cases of appalling distress and misery to be dealt with by the Tower Hill Oblates; not only have they to encounter the wretchedness of a poor East London district, but they are also continually meeting with most distressing cases of destitution among poor people coming from other countries. The chief landing stages for passenger steamers coming to London from Ireland, France, Belgium, Holland and Germany are in the Tower Hill district. Many of these poor people arrive in London penniless, or nearly so, and flock in their distress to the priests' house.

Shortly after he had established schools, opened by Princess Marguerite of Orleans on June 21, 1870, Father Cooke was approached by two eminent literary men who wished to see for themselves the condition of East London in their homes, and who desired to be accompanied and guided by a priest. One of these gentlemen, a Protestant, gave a graphic impressionist description of an East End slum region in detailing the results of a visit to the courts off Rosemary lane in two articles in the *Globe* newspaper. The following quotation gives a sidelight glimpse of the moral influence of Father Cooke and his Oblate brethren in the district:

"Still onward, deeper and deeper into the sea of misery and want, we plunged, until it seemed as though it must rise and swallow us—among ghostly wooden edifices that glinted through the mist—under great iron arches with a roar of railway overhead—into a long, narrow court, sloppy and wet, unsafe with ancient orange peel and sweltering cabbage remnants. . . . Truly the underlying cheerfulness that seemed to pervade the horrible dens through which we had wandered was very wonderful—aye, and merciful, too—although perhaps it savored now and then more of carelessness

than mirth, more of bravado than of heart's ease. A little fairy child tripped among the foul fungi of the court as we emerged into the air, looking weird and uncanny, draped in a long tattered shawl. 'Why, my little match-girl, is that you?' the priest asked. 'No more match-girl!' she answered with a pout and suddenly angry brow; 'me of the Holy Guild; me good child; not match-girl any more.' Poor little one! Remain ever of the Holy Guild; cling to the good friends that heaven has raised for thee. Grow up in the purer air of kindly human sympathy and encouragement, whereby thy life may be freed from the miasmata that have warped thy parents, body and soul!"

After referring to the opening by Cardinal Manning, on June 22, 1876, of the Church of the English Martyrs, coincident with the anniversary of the martyrdom of Cardinal Fisher and dwelling upon the Catholic associations of Tower Hill—the several beautiful churches and more than one noble abbey and other great religious institutions that formerly stood within its precincts—the Norman chapel of St. John the Evangelist in the centre of the White Tower; the Church of St. Peter ad Vincula, in which lie buried the bodies of the illustrious confessors of the faith, Fisher and More; the Church of All Hallows, Barking, founded and endowed in 680 by the nuns of the famous old abbey of Barking, in Essex, of which St. Ethelburga had been the first superioress, with its Lady Chapel built by Richard I. (*Cœur-de-lion*), in which stood a statue of the Blessed Virgin, erected by Edward I.;⁷ the ancient Church of the Holy Cross and St. Mary Magdalen, in Aldgate, built by Siredus, or Siricius, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 990; the celebrated priory of the Trinitarians, founded in the same locality by the pious Queen Matilda on the advice of St. Anselm; the abbey of the nuns of St. Clare, founded by Blanche, Queen of Navarre, wife of Edmund Plantagenet, from which the Minorites derives its name, and the once famous Cistercian monastery, the Abbey of Our Lady of Graces

⁷ Edward I., while still a youth, before he was called to the throne, was deeply afflicted at the thought of the woes and disasters that had befallen England, and earnestly besought Our Lady to intercede in behalf of his country. On one occasion, while thus praying, the Blessed Virgin appeared to him and promised him her aid, telling him to get a statue of herself made by a celebrated sculptor, a Jew named Malibrun, to be placed in her chapel in the Church of All Hallows, near the Tower, so that the Jew, gazing upon the beauty of its countenance, might be converted, together with his wife, telling the Prince to vow to visit this image in her honor five times a year and to repair and maintain the chapel. It became a celebrated sanctuary of Our Lady; Sir Thomas More speaks of the devotion with which, in his day, pious people visited the chapel of Our Lady in the Tower. The Pope granted an indulgence to all who should contribute to the lights and repairs and ornaments, and, having duly confessed, pray for the soul of King Richard.

—Father Cooke says: "How rich is the inheritance of holy memories to which the Church of the English Martyrs, Great Prescot street, Tower Hill, is the rightful heiress! How glorious the records of its long ancestral line, receding back into ages remoter far than the period of England's foundation as one kingdom! Its walls are new and its altars of recent structure, but its faith and worship are the same, the identical same—believed in and practiced long centuries ago within those churches, abbeys, royal chapels or lowly hermitages that found their place nigh to London's Tower, or within its battlements or that existed elsewhere near its site long before its foundations were laid. If Briton, Saxon or Norman worshiper of any of these old fanes were to come back to life again, he would find himself at home in the Church of the English Martyrs of the present day. The priest standing at the altar offering the great Eucharistic Sacrifice of the Holy Mass would be no new sight for him; nor would the priest hearing confessions be a novelty to his eyes. A sermon on loving obedience to the See of Peter would not be unfamiliar doctrine to his hearing, nor would he be surprised at congregational devotions in honor of the Mother of God, or at prayers in behalf of the departed, for all such teachings and practices were olden beliefs and usages in his day. O marvelous Catholic verities, the fingerprint of Him is upon you who gave to the heavens their stability and their unquenchable fires! Clouds rising from earth's surface may for periods shut out the vision of your beauty from the eyes of certain peoples, but ye shine on still above these clouds, awaiting the opening of the blessed rift through which ye may pour down your saving lights on those who perish, because ye enlighten them not. Such a rift even now is widening fast over the heads of England's people, and one by one ye reappear, O ancient truths!—to believing eyes. May clouds continue to melt, and lights to multiply, until England's old Catholic belief is given back to her again in glory and fulness!"^a

Memories of the Catholic past are also linked with the other London foundations at Kilburn, where in olden times a holy hermit named Godwin bequeathed his hermitage to Herbert, abbot of Westminster, who founded there a priory of Benedictine nuns in 1130, in which three maids of honor to Matilda, wife of Henry I., the pious daughter of St. Margaret, Queen of Scotland, dedicated themselves to God in the religious state, one of the conditions attached to the gift being that they should pray for the soul of Edward the Confessor and for the good estate of the community of Westminster Abbey. "New Priory" was the title happily chosen for the house and Church of the Oblates in Northwestern London, a name remi-

^a "Sketches," pp. 304-306.

niscent of the religious associations of the place when all the inhabitants of England professed and practiced one faith, instead of the multitudinous sects into which its present-day Christianity is split up. The lands on which the new foundation stands once formed a central portion of the grounds of the ancient Kilburn Priory.

Father Cooke was at Kilburn when, at the request of Cardinal Manning, then attending the Vatican Council, he preached the pastoral retreat of the Diocese of Westminster, its closing coinciding with the definition of Papal infallibility, a doctrine strongly held and upheld by Monsignor de Mazenod even before its promulgation as a dogma. Like Manning and the founder of the Oblates, Father Cooke had a high and none too high idea of the Christian priesthood, of its essential holiness, and of the qualities its recipient should possess. At a clerical retreat to scholastics at Sicklinghall, in Yorkshire, he said: "I tremble for one who rushes on to the priesthood imperfect."

During his second provincialship, which lasted about four years, he felt it a great trial not to be allowed to make a new foundation, on which he had set his heart, sharing the views and wishes of his ever-helpful friend, the late Earl of Denbigh, who, when Viscount Feilding, had been received into the Church at Marseilles by Monsignor de Mazenod. Another project which came to nought was the offer of £3,000 by Miss Walker, to whom the Tower Hill mission owes its Chapel of Our Lady of Graces, to found a church and house in the south of England.

Though Father Cooke was not a diner out, he was *persona grata* to "society" personages, and was as welcome a guest in the drawing rooms of the élite as in the humble dwellings of the poor to whom his heart warmed at all times. Lord Denbigh liked his Protestant friends to meet him, because "Father Cooke was always so dignified and priestly." There is no rule without an exception, and the exception he made to his rule against accepting invitations was in favor of an aged and venerable priest in the vicinity of Kilburn. "I was coming away from that priest's house on one occasion," said Father Arnoux, "in company with another ecclesiastic, a convert to the Church, who had spent thirty-eight years of his life in high and exclusive society. He told me that he had sat beside Father Cooke at dinner and had been charmed and edified by his manners and conversation. Father Cooke seemed to him another Chesterfield." Many, we are told, were the people of the world who were influenced for good by their chance meetings with Father Cooke; and some Protestants traced to such meetings the beginnings of their conversion.

After he was relieved of the office of provincial in 1877, Father Cooke became superior at Tower Hill, where he labored with his

customary zeal to his death in 1882. His work in the East End, where he established St. Katharine's Protectory for Girls, in which he enlisted the coöperation of the Dowager Marchioness of Londonderry, the Countess of Denbigh and Lady Herbert of Lea, will not soon be forgotten. Cardinal Manning set a high value upon it. Father Cooke was nowhere more at home than when doing slum work in the lanes and alleys around Tower Hill, varying it by occasional visits to Ireland for missions and retreats. It was at Tower Hill he wrote his "Sketches," in which he summarized the founder's life and graphically narrated Oblate missions at home and abroad. He had barely seen his second and concluding volume through the press when his own life came almost suddenly to a close. He may be said to have died at his post, in the midst of his lifework. During a visit to schools in a distant part of the parish he took a shivering fit. It did not, however, prevent him from attending the confessional in the evening. The next day he was laid low with congestion of the lungs, the day after he received the last sacraments, and that night passed away. He was only sixty-one, but he was worn out, after spending thirty-six laborious years in the sacred ministry out of the thirty-nine that had elapsed since he became an Oblate. It is noted that he fell ill on the octave of the feast of Our Lady of Grace, which was also the feast of the Sacred Heart; died on the feast of Our Lady of Perpetual Succor and was buried on that of St. Louis Gonzaga, the patron of children, whom he loved so well.

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CARDINAL NICHOLAS MARINI—A PIONEER OF CHRISTIAN UNITY.

AT THE end of the writer's work, "*La Chiesa russa*," there was portrayed as follows, those rare Catholic priests or laymen who devote themselves to the great work of the reunion of Christianity: "They must have a heart burning with the charity of our Lord. They till fruitless soil. They have no hope in human successes or human rewards. They must reconcile themselves to be looked upon as Utopians. But within the pale of the Catholic Church there will never be lacking Utopians with supernatural aims. The Catholic Church will always produce lofty souls that will not refuse to sacrifice themselves for the triumph of Christian ideals. The ranks of the Catholic priesthood will always be filled with apostles, searching the heart of the Saviour for peace after the storm, for the reward after the struggle, for the harvest after the drought. At the call of Jesus Christ there will arise new apostles of peace and union. By their deeds and disinterested heroism these apostles will give testimony to the permanent apostolic life of the Catholic Church. Their tears and sweat will perhaps fall upon barren rock. Their names will perhaps sink into the oblivion of the passing ages. Yet in their arduous task they are strengthened by an unshakable faith in the words and the prayer of Christ, and by the celestial hope that one day their dry bones will leap for joy, when rejuvenated Christianity will in fact form one flock ruled by one pastor."¹

In part, the above quoted words may be applied to Cardinal Nicholas Marini, whom His Holiness Benedict XV. has called to the honor of presiding over the newly constituted congregation for the Oriental Church. Cardinal Marini is a true apostle of the reunion of Christianity. He has devoted the most active years of his noble life to the great undertaking of the reconciliation of Eastern Christianity with Western. His labors have not been inspired by human ambition. Love of the truth and love of the Church were the secret springs of his apostolic zeal. He knew that, almost always, apostles of reunion have either been rewarded with the crown of martyrdom, like St. Josaphat Kunczevicz and Blessed Andrew Bobola, or suspected of being subservient to political aims, like Peter Skarga, Tondini, Vannutelli, or frowned upon as infected with doctrinal laxity in matters of faith, like Allatius, Arcudius, Comnenos, Papadopoulos and the learned Bollandist, Victor Buck,

¹ "*La Chiesa russa*;" Florence, 1908, pp. 753-754.

or made victims of the jealous rivals and the malice of petty intriguers, like Anthony Possevino.

Men who in their irksome toil for reunion have received the highest honors of the Church are exceedingly rare. The schism of Christianity is the offspring of pride and ambition. Hence it follows that those who labor for its cure must arm themselves with humility and disinterestedness. The history of the movement for the reunion of Christianity knows only Cardinal Bessarion, of Nicæa, the great luminary of the Council of Florence, as having been rewarded with that high dignity of the Catholic Church—the red hat. But once again zeal for the appeasement of the great conflict between West and East has led Pope Benedict XV. to adorn with the Roman purple another apostle of reunion, Nicholas Marini.

There are striking affinities between these Princes of the Church, separated though they are by five centuries. They have shared the same ardor for the return of the Greek Church under the shepherd's staff of Peter; they have cultivated the same humanistic studies and have distinguished themselves in the same branches of learning. Both of them have rivaled the masters of classical ages in their Greek and Latin style; both of them have spent all their resources for literary and apostolic purposes. One could almost say that from the very outset of his career Cardinal Marini had made up his mind to revive in himself the moral and literary features of the great Cardinal of Nicæa, to whose memory he raised up a monument *aere perennius* by the publication of the learned review, *Bessarione*. The name of Cardinal Marini adds a new glory to the history of the efforts to restore religious unity between the East and the West. Born in Rome on the 20th of August, 1843, doctor of philosophy and theology of the Roman College, doctor *in utroque jure* of the Roman University, *La Sapienza* Cardinal Marini inaugurated in 1870 his active life. Having given himself to the spiritual edification of souls, to learned pursuits and to the reunion of Christianity, for more than half a century he has never faltered under the heavy burden of his hard and voluntary apostleship. In his apostolic life Cardinal Marini aimed at the education of youth, at the adequate exposition of Christian doctrine and at the defenses of Catholic truth against its assailants. Wonderful success crowned his efforts in the triple field of his missionary work. He began by founding in Rome the catechism school "Gaetana Agnesi," an illustrious name in the history of both Italian literature and Italian feminism. It is the name of a talented woman who at the age of nineteen years filled the chair of mathematics in the University of Bologna. As an indefatigable student of the writings of St. John

Chrysostom, Cardinal Marini realized the truth of the remark of that Greek father that "the Apostles built up churches not with stones, but with souls and institutions, which is certainly more difficult than to build with stones."

To appreciate correctly the merits of that institution it is sufficient to say that during thirty-five years more than ten thousand girls have been associated with it. They have heard catechetical instructions from the learned prelate, and they have been confirmed in their Catholic beliefs and aspirations by his exhortations, by frequenting the sacraments, by attendance at Mass and moral training. Cardinal Marini won in an eminent degree the love and veneration of the young pupils whom he taught. His name is remembered with gratitude in many families by mothers and wives who are indebted to him for their firmness of Christian belief and conduct of life.

What is more worthy of admiration, the support of the "Istituto Gaetana Agnesi" was borne wholly by the personal resources of its founder. Ten thousand lire every year—at times even more—were spent for the preservation of Catholic girlhood from Godless education. And while forming Christ in their souls Cardinal Marini did not stifle his humanistic affections. By his learning and zeal he attracted to his institution some girls who had made a shipwreck of their faith by following the courses of the State University in Rome. To arouse their interest he proposed that they perform in the original Sophocles' tragedy, "Antigone." After assiduous toil some of these girls learned by heart the Greek masterpiece. At his own expense Cardinal Marini supplied a theatre, with scenery reproducing in minute detail the stage of the classical period. The success of that revival of the Greek drama fulfilled all the expectations of the zealous prelate. From the most cultivated cities of Italy professors and Hellenists went to attend the performance. The deep feelings and religious fatality of the Greek tragedy were rendered with such dramatic power and such wonderful declamation of the Greek poetry that the large audiences were profoundly impressed. On that occasion it was declared in certain Italian newspapers that Cardinal Marini had revived the happy days of the Renaissance, when in Rome, Florence and Venice Italian ladies spoke Latin fluently and were acquainted with the Greek language and literature far better than many boasted Hellenists of our universities to-day.

The results of his humanistic initiative were no less fruitful from a spiritual point of view. The choicest elements of the girl high schools in Rome felt the spell of the "Istituto Gaetana Agnesi."

They esteemed it an honor to place themselves in the number of its *alumnæ*. They took part in other performances in literary recitals, in religious solemnities. The institution of Cardinal Marini became a flourishing centre of the culture of religious feelings of the Roman girls. In the ministry of the pulpit Cardinal Marini distinguished himself from the very beginning of his sacerdotal life. He preached with incessant activity for many years. He rendered an eminent service to sacred literature in Italy by the publication of *Crisostomo*, a monthly review of pulpit eloquence (1900-1905).

Some of his best devotional writings appeared in its pages. His sermons were published in two volumes (Rome, 1904-1905). The elegance and splendor of his style, the delicacy of his taste, the vigor of his thought, the clearness and dexterity of his expression, his philosophical depth and his devotional ardor stamp these sermons as among the best productions of sacred eloquence in Italy. Their author always starts by setting forth accurately a general principle, a fundamental idea. Then by deduction he develops that principle or idea with logical perspicuity, dialectical force and immense erudition both patristic and historical. He shows in his power of clear exposition and acute analysis that his mind is nourished with the scholastic thought of St. Thomas Aquinas. Yet there is no dryness in his exposition of the truth. From the highest regions of Christian speculation he descends easily to the needs and exigencies of the daily life of Christian souls. He blends his theoretical views with practical reflections and the glowing lyricism of fervent piety. His heart never ceases to be stirred at the ineffable beauty of the moral teaching of Our Saviour. While he strives to convince the minds of the truth of the revealed Word of Jesus Christ, he addresses himself to the hearts of his hearers. On the one hand, his eloquence silences the discordant voices of the incredulous or of the men of little faith; on the other, he throws a ray of superhuman consolation or a spark of divine love into the souls of the true lovers of the Saviour.

Two principally are the leading thoughts which pervade the pages of his collected sermons—an unshakable confidence in God, rather a sort of Christian optimism, and the vision of Christian unity. These two thoughts have impregnated the whole active life of Cardinal Marini and are at the bottom of his unwavering constancy. On earth the Church is militant. Her life consists in a ceaseless series of battles. Her victories are won with the effusion of blood and at the cost of countless sufferings. Sometimes her fate is at stake. It seems that her foes are ready to strike her

through the heart. We lose our confidence if we look at her with human eyes. But if we turn our gaze to God and see the Church through the radiance of divine light, we shall have no reason to despair. For the Church is rooted in the very heart of the Incarnate Son of God. Here below she participates in His passion, but she will share also in His eternal glory. That is the conclusion to be drawn from the sermons of Cardinal Marini. He has reliance on the ultimate triumph of the Church of Christ. He repeats with St. Jerome as to the symbolic ship of the Church: "*Fluctuatur, non mergitur*," or with a Scottish divine, whose name deserves the gratitude of English Catholics, Dr. George Campbell (died 1796): "The assaults of infidels will never overturn our religion. They will prove more hurtful to the Christian system if it be allowed to compare small things with the greatest than the boisterous winds are said to prove to the sturdy oak. They shake it impetuously for a time and loudly threaten its subversion, whilst in effect they only serve to make it strike its roots the deeper and stand the firmer ever after."

The idea of unity pervades also the theological speculation of the learned Cardinal. In a certain way unity is the fountain-head of all the divine perfections. The Divine Being is not sterile, and as unity, is the source of uncreated and created life. Everywhere and in everything we see the reflection of the divine perfection of unity. Nature is a mirror of God. As such it bears the imprint of the divine unity. I am inclined to believe that the leading conceptions of Cardinal Marini were suggested by the profound saying of St. Augustine that unity is the form of all beauty.² Now the Church is the most perfect work of God on earth. It is the kingdom of His grace, the sanctuary of His wisdom, the perennial monument of His glory. If then God is unity and if the works of His hands bear the imprint of that unity, divine unity ought to manifest itself more fully in the Catholic Church. As conceived and instituted by the Saviour, the Church was born to reproduce more closely the perfect and absolute unity of God. The Church is bound to work out this ideal unity among men to join together men's souls by the ties of the same faith and charity. She needs to raise them up to a higher summit, where the same light of God will illustrate their minds and inspire their hearts. Cardinal Marini has not only proven the divine character of Christian revelation in his sermons, but has vindicated the supernatural origin of the teaching of Christ from the attacks of its assailants. In an acute analysis of the evils of modern society he discovers that the war

² *Omnis pulchritudinis forma unitas est.* Ep. xviii, 1; P. L., xxxiii., 85.

waged against God and His Church by the foes of Christianity consists in fact in a war against unity.

To the scientific career and literary activity of Cardinal Marini a series of productions evincing both critical taste and extensive learning bears striking witness. We mention only the most important: "The Diplomacy of the Holy See, and Blessed Nicholas Albergati" (Rome, 1887); "The Proem of Diodorus of Sicily" (Siena, 1890); "Omirika" (Siena, 1897); "The Bible and the Iliad" (Rome, 1900); "Cardinal Peter Marini" (Rome, 1902). The historical sketch on Blessed Nicholas Albergati discusses the mission entrusted by God to the Papacy. The writer establishes a striking parallelism between the unity of the Divine Being and that of the Catholic Church. Divine unity is perfect, essential, fecund. It is the principle of all being. That unity reflects itself in creatures. It is, so to speak, their form, their soul, the element of their coördination. In creatures the reflection of divine unity assumes various degrees. These degrees manifest themselves in the worlds of nature, grace and glory. The Church mediates between grace and glory. She is therefore a perfect bond of unity. She is an echo of the unity of the Blessed Trinity, a ray of the omnipotence of the Father, of the wisdom of the Word, of the love of the Holy Spirit. In her earthly life the Church displays that triple ray by her fortitude, wisdom and love. All the fecundity of the Church springs from the strength of her will, the wisdom of her mind, the charity of her heart. These powers, stirred by the Church, act as a principle of unification in the social body. They centre around the Roman Pontificate. The Papacy is the bond of unity in the Church of Christ, and in turn the Church of Christ is the bond of unity in the realm of grace.

The original and profound views with which the critical inquiry in the proem of Diodorus of Sicily abounds drew the attention of the learned world towards its illustrious author. It was generally believed that in his admirable "De civitate Dei" St. Augustine had laid the foundations of the philosophy of history. Cardinal Marini proves that the germs of the philosophic conceptions of the Bishop of Hippo are concealed in the prologue to the Histories of Diodorus Siculus. The pagan historian rose above the preconceived opinions and crass polytheism of his own age. In one synthetic grasp his mind embraced the history of the world. He affirmed the unity of the human race, the identity of human nature and a kinship among men in spite of their ethnological and geographical divergencies. In his view history is a fellow-servant of the Divine Providence. She keeps the records of the action of God upon men. She marks

the lines traced by the divine hand in divine leadership of humanity. Thus it follows that the prologue of Diodorus bridges the gulf over between the pagan and the Christian civilization. It points out the landmarks placed by God in the world's history. It shows the existence of a primitive revelation whence pagan writers drew the grains of truth which the Christian revelation puts into full light. The researches of Cardinal Marini received their due meed of praise even from critics hostile to the Church. Their chief merit consists in the conclusive demonstration that the literary origins of the philosophy of history are to be traced back to a far earlier date than had been generally believed. By his apostolic zeal and learned labors Cardinal Marini prepared himself for the noble mission which God was to entrust to him. It is, in fact, as an apostle of the reunion of Christianity that Cardinal Marini has written the golden page of his life and endeared his name to posterity.

The genius of Leo XIII. grasped in its full meaning and vital importance the problem of the restoration of Christian unity. An Anglican divine, one of those writers who feel the homesickness of unity, wrote that "the world will never be converted by a dis-united Church." His remark is right. The efforts for the conversion of the infidels and the restoration of the Christian spirit in the world will be fruitless as long as Christianity will offer the spectacle of a maimed body, of a Babel-like confusion of tongues. Christianity is bound to reestablish universal fraternity in order to fulfill the wishes of the Saviour. Leo XIII. regarded the great division which separated the East and the West as the source of the calamities which for centuries have exhausted the vital powers of the Eastern Christianity and started it towards decay. As a humanist himself, Leo XIII. felt the fascinating beauty and loftiness of the sacred literature of the Greek Church, in particular of its liturgical hymns. He loved the Eastern churches, for they have kept with a filial veneration the invaluable treasures of the ancient ecclesiastical traditions, the sacramental channels of grace, a priesthood which, however debased, bears the eternal imprint of the service of Christ. In his clear-sightedness, which is one of the characteristics of true genius, Leo XIII. was hopeful of Russia. He praised the piety of the Russian people, its religious fervor, its exalted mysticism. He did hold it accountable for the bleeding wounds inflicted on the Catholic Church by the political defenders of Czarism. He foresaw a *novus ordo* for Russia, an era of freedom which would open Russian frontiers and Russian hearts to the softening influence of the Catholic Church. The love of the Eastern Church prompted Leo XIII. to promote and foster the great idea

of the reunion of Christianity. His mind was filled with the full consciousness of the divine mission of the Papacy and of the need of keeping always alive the sacred flame of Catholic idealism. Hence he multiplied his appeals to kings and nations for Christian unity, although he heard again and again, even from his admirers, that he was crying in the wilderness and that his yearnings were a sublime dream, a lofty utopia.

Leo XIII. did not, however, deviate from his line of conduct. He never doubted that the reunion of Christianity was the vital problem of the Catholic Church. Individual conversions to Catholicism do not solve the problem. The Catholic priesthood certainly will never cease helping loyal souls to find the fulness of light, but we must rise higher to the vision of entire religious bodies which after ceaseless roving come back to the one fold of Christ. The Catholic Church is forced by her own nature to restore Christian unity. It is a task which she cannot repudiate without denying or at least obscuring her glory of being the true Church of Christ. If Jesus prays for His disciples, that they may be one, His Church not only prays, but even struggles to realize that divine unity. If Jesus Christ is the good shepherd, calling to Himself the sheep that are not of His fold, His Church must follow His example, and attain that goal by the great virtue of charity, the virtue called by Tertullian the supreme sacrament of faith, the treasure of the Christian name: *Dilectio summum fidei sacramentum, christiani nominis thesaurus*.³ Even if the efforts of His apostles are fruitless, the Church cannot refrain from persevering in them, as she ought to do when the principles of her divine mission are denied or assailed.

There is a Catholic idealism which at times appears to be a waste of time, energy and money: but this idealism at last overcomes all opposition and reaps an abundant harvest. The Councils of Florence in 1438 and of Brest, in Lithuania, in 1590 and the United Armenian and Rumanian Churches are the best proofs of the supernatural fecundity of that Catholic idealism.

Leo XIII. discovered in Cardinal Marini the zealous and ardent collaborator in his initiative for the reunion of Christianity. Sacred learning and apostolic love are the essentials in those who would toil for reunion. And Cardinal Marini was possessed of both.

A scientific preparation is required, for unfortunately the Eastern schism rests on theological foundations. Whatever may be said as to the cause of the separation of the Churches, it is a recognized fact that in our day the Eastern Churches rest it on dogmatic divergencies. The Papacy is accused by Greek theologians of

³ "Liber de patientia," XII. P. L., I, 1258.

having introduced new dogmas into the deposit of Christian revelation. Since the age of Photius the theologians of the East and their disciples reproach the Latins for having made innovations in regard to the Holy Trinity, the Sacraments, the Constitution of the Church, her liturgy, her polity. It would be dangerous to the good renown of Catholic learning to ignore these attacks. We must not look superciliously upon those who, bred in their own churches, do not share our faith. We must answer their objections and strive together for the restoration of Christian unity.

Cardinal Marini had already the best scientific preparation to deal with the problems the solution of which will extinguish the schism between the East and the West. To a profound theological culture he adds an immense erudition in patristic literature and ecclesiastical history. Many of his writings vindicate the beliefs of the Catholic Church. In his treatise "The Primacy of Rome Defended by Athanasius the Rhetor," a Greek writer of the seventeenth century (Rome, 1891), he points out, upon the authority of St. John Chrysostom, that the Papacy was divinely given the mission of preserving religious unity in the Christian world. The same argument recurs in his "A Little Lesson of History to Diomedes Kyriakos" (Rome, 1902), and in a series of admirable papers about St. John Chrysostom and the Supremacy of Rome. In 1910 he published his masterly treatise of religious controversy, "The Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin and the Independent Orthodox Church." It is true this field had already been tilled by Passaglia and Ballerini, but still offered a rich harvest for the industry, acumen and learning of any new cultivator. The value of Cardinal Marini's work does not consist so much in the numerous quotations picked up from the fertile garden of Christian tradition as in the commentaries of the learned collector, in the acute analysis of the mind of the Fathers and in the conclusive reasoning of his theological speculation. The glory of the Catholic dogma and the beauty of the Mother of God spring from these pages like a fresh stream of limpid water from a copious source. Thanks to the pen of Cardinal Marini, the sacred tradition of the Immaculate Conception in the Greek Church is no longer wrapped in a veil of mystery. To widen the field of his learning, Cardinal Marini undertook a pious pilgrimage in the East. He planned to visit the cradle and grave of Our Lord and trace the vestiges of the holiness and greatness of the Oriental churches. He brought from his trip the substance of a very interesting volume, "Impressions and Souvenirs of a Traveler in the Eastern Countries" (Rome, 1913). The work furnishes new evidence of the author's great histor-

ical as well as archæological erudition. Written in a style not only elegant, but also alert and witty, it reads as fascinating as a novel.

Besides these scientific labors, Cardinal Marini strove to follow in his apostleship the dictates of that charity which wins over souls to Christ. In his most eloquent treatise, "*De Unitate Ecclesiæ*," St. Cyprianus in glowing words and poetical accents exalts charity as the cohesive power of Christian unity. "The Holy Spirit," he writes, "came as a dove, a simple and joyous creature, not bitter with gall, not cruel in its bite, not violent with the rending of its claws, loving human dwellings, knowing the association of one home; when they have young, bringing forth their young together; when they fly abroad, remaining in their flights by the side of one another, spending their life in mutual intercourse, acknowledging the concord of peace with the kiss of the beak, in all things fulfilling the law of unanimity. This is the simplicity that ought to be known in the Church, this is the charity that ought to be attained, that so the love of the brotherhood may imitate the doves, that their gentleness and meekness may be like the lambs and sheep."⁴ In fact, the apostleship of the Catholic Church is wholly impregnated with love. It was not by the reasoning of human wisdom, or by learned contumely, or by violence that the disciples of the Saviour overcame the hatred of the infidels, or the stubbornness of heresies, or the subterfuges of schism. They conquered by love, by humility, by generosity, by the divine virtue of forgiveness. The victories of the Catholic Church are the victories of love, and love is the bond of unity. Theophylactus of Bulgaria was the echo of the voice of the Church when he wrote that the unity by which we are one in the Church is the unity of love.

An imperishable monument of the love of Cardinal Marini for our separated brethren is *Bessarione*, a learned review beginning in the year 1896. After more than twenty years of a fruitful apostleship *Bessarione* preserves all its freshness and vigor of youth. It filled a gap in the sacred literature of the West. It appeared as a magazine devoted to the scientific study of the East, and above all to the impartial examinations of the theological divergencies between Eastern and Western Christianity. It was concerned with the means of restoring their broken unity. In the "Trudy" of the ecclesiastical academy of Kiev, in 1897, N. Bieliaev outlined the aims and the value of the initiative of Cardinal Marini in which he foresaw a danger to the Orthodox Church, as though what kindles the fire of love and levels the barriers of hatred could be harmful to Christian unity.

⁴ "*De Unitate Ecclesiæ*," ix.

In a short time *Bessarione* became famous throughout the learned world. Its invaluable collection is a mine of documents and researches concerning the Eastern Churches. It brought to light many precious monuments of old Byzantine theological discussions. For many years it gave a detailed account of the religious, literary and moral life of the Eastern Churches. At times it was forced to take up the cudgels for the defense of Catholic truth against the attacks of Russian or Greek controversialists. Yet it was not derelict in observance of the laws of Christian charity and fellowship. It avoided the venom of polemics imbued with hatred. Even Russian divines were forced to bear witness to the loyalty of the editor of *Bessarione* and its contributors. In 1915 the *Khristianskoe Chtenie*, the official organ of the Ecclesiastical Academy of Petrograd, devoted a paper to the writings of Cardinal Marini, and spoke in terms of the highest respect of his generous efforts for the reunion of Christianity.

It suffices to read over the index of the first fifteen years of *Bessarione* to estimate at a glance the riches collected in it. And the admiration for its editor would grow stronger if it were known that for many years, at a sacrifice which perhaps cannot well be disclosed, Cardinal Marini carried on valiantly a publication which does honor to the learning, zeal and loftiness of aims of the Catholic Church.

After half a century of noble efforts Cardinal Marini has been called by His Holiness Benedict XV. to lead the crusade for the reunion of Christianity. In spite of his advanced age he can apply to himself the beautiful words of St. Ignatius to Polycarp: "Stand firm, as does an anvil which is beaten. It is the part of a noble athlete to be wounded, and yet to conquer. And especially we ought to bear all things for the sake of God, that He also may bear with us. Be ever becoming more zealous than what thou art."⁵

And we can close this paper in no better way than by citing the last lines of a classical poem in the Cardinal's honor by the learned Hellenist, Silvio Giuseppe Mercati:

Ac Nicaenus uti longe lateque refulsit
 Artibus et libris, ingeniisque, suis,
 Sic te laudabit librorum copia semper
 Quam nosti, et studiis nobilitata tuis.
 Plaudite voce viro, modo quem Benedictus honorans
 Romano fecit murice conspicuum!
 Sic summum Christi et Sanctorum perforce votum,
 Sic magni comple Bessarionis opus. A. PALMIERI.

⁵ "Epistola ad Polycarpum," iii.

THE SAINTS OF CATHOLIC SCOTLAND.

SOME three years ago, when the Chapel of St. Andrew and the Saints of Scotland in Westminster Cathedral was being decorated by the generosity of the Marquess of Bute, the present writer was privileged to assist in the compilation of the list of saints' names now inscribed upon those marble walls. To many persons—Catholics, even—that enumeration has been matter for wonder; it has seemed almost beyond belief that so many holy ones, linked close to the history of Scotland, should have become so absolutely forgotten that their very names, for the most part, were unknown. It is indeed a matter for lament that until recent years many such saints should have attracted so little interest; still more is it to be regretted that the writers who have helped to perpetuate their memories must be sought for, as a rule, among non-Catholic antiquarians—we Catholics, the saints' own brethren in the faith, taking but little interest in their histories or cult.

It may help forward this tardy appreciation, now at length beginning to stir in the minds of Catholics, if some brief notes on the subject be here offered. The names selected for the adornment of the chapel in question were carefully chosen from a larger number as representing saints authentically vouched for by reliable sources. It would encroach too much upon valuable space to attempt to touch upon even these. It will be sufficient for our present purpose to restrict our inquiry to the saints of Scottish origin alone, and of these only the better known. Dr. Hill Burton, sometime Historiographer Royal of Scotland, used to delight, as his Catholic widow told the present writer, in the gibe—without foundation, as will be seen—that all the Scottish saints were Irish! It is true that the intimate connection between the west of Scotland and adjacent Ireland in early ages led to numerous Christian missionaries passing over to preach the Gospel to the pagan races of the mainland; from this fact comes the preponderance of Irish names in the calendar of Scottish saints. Of these saintly men and their deeds it may be possible to speak on another occasion; in this paper we will confine our researches to Scots alone.

A preliminary remark suggests itself as to the sources of information upon which we have to rely. Of books or manuscripts on the subject there is a regrettable dearth. The "Breviary of Aberdeen" (1509), compiled by the illustrious Bishop of that see, William Elphinstone, founder of Aberdeen University, is the chief fount of information.¹ Others consist of Irish ecclesiastical records. But

¹"*Breviarium Aberdoneuse.*" (Bannatyne Club, 1854, reprint.)

alongside of these and forming strong corroborative evidence are the traces of the cult of ancient saints in the dedication of churches, in holy wells, fair-days and the innumerable place-names still in use. This will be recognized in passing.

The earliest saint of Scottish birth, and indeed the first authentic Christian missionary in the country, was St. Ninian. One of the best known of Scottish saints, his history need be but briefly outlined. St. Bede, in his *History* calls the saint "a most reverend Bishop and holy man . . . who at Rome had been regularly instructed in the faith and mysteries of the truth."² St. Aelred, a later biographer, gives further particulars. Ninian, he tells us, was the son of a Pictish chieftain of Galloway and was born about A. D. 360. After a youth of true piety, he journeyed to Rome, where Pope St. Damasus gave him competent instructors in all Catholic learning, and Pope Siricius ordained him, consecrated him Bishop and sent him to evangelize the pagan peoples of the west of Scotland. Not only did the saint convert the people of Galloway, but also the southern Picts, inhabiting the country north of the Forth; he ordained priests, consecrated Bishops, portioned out the country into missionary districts and founded at Whithorn a monastery destined to become the centre of learning and school of sanctity for Ireland as well as Scotland. From St. Martin of Tours—a relative, as it is said—he obtained workmen to erect the first stone church in Scotland. From its walls of shining white it gained the name of "Candida Casa" ("White House"), which gave the title, still borne by the Bishop of Galloway, to the see established by St. Ninian, as well as that of "Whithorn" to the town which grew up around it. At St. Martin's death, before the building was finished, the founder determined to call the church by that saint's name, but later ages changed it for that of Ninian. So popular was the devotion to this saint that in Scotland alone the churches dedicated to him are computed to have numbered at least sixty-three. In Ireland, too, his memory was deeply cherished. Though many writers give A. D. 432 as the date of his death, that is by no means certain.

It is a departure from the resolve to speak of Scottish saints alone if we interpolate here some remarks upon the mission of St. Palladius in the closing years of the life of St. Ninian; but it seems desirable for more reasons than one. From St. Prosper of Aquitaine we learn that Pope Celestine raised Palladius, the Roman deacon, to the episcopate about the year 431, and sent him as Bishop to the

² "Hist. Eccles.," lib. iii., c. 4.

Christian Scots.³ At that date, Ireland was known as Scotia, and a well-founded tradition tells of St. Ninian having assisted Palladius in his missionary efforts in Ireland in the founding of a church and monastery there by the great Scottish Bishop. From many Irish records it is clear that Palladius visited that country, though some historians relate that he quitted it eventually on account of the people being ill disposed towards him. Scottish tradition, however, maintains that St. Palladius was a missionary in Scotland, where he carried on the work begun by St. Ninian. As proof of this, Scottish writers adduce the facts of the baptism of St. Ternan (to be mentioned later) by Palladius and the foundation by him of the church at Fordun, in Kincardineshire, where, as the historian Boece relates, his relics were translated to a silver shrine by Archbishop Schevez, a thousand years later.⁴ The ruins of his chapel at Fordun and a holy well there, called by his name, as also "Paldy's Fair," formerly held annually on July 6, are further proofs. The contradictory traditions seem to be reconciled by the testimony of the "*Vita Prima S. Patritii*," written before the eleventh century; it is there stated that the saint on leaving Ireland was driven by a tempest to the east coast of Scotland and landed at Fordun.⁵ Other Irish writers hold the same view and have been followed by the Aberdeen Breviary. The Arbuthnott Missal, too, contains a hymn in celebration of his missionary labors. The chief reason for alluding here to St. Palladius is the fact of his mission in Scotland having been referred to, as a traditional belief, in the Bull "*Ex supremo Apostolatus apice*," by which Leo XIII. in 1878 restored the Scottish hierarchy. The same Pontiff recognized, in 1898, the immemorial cultus of the saint.

Whatever difference of opinion may cast doubt upon the actual presence of St. Palladius in the country, there can be no denying the missionary labors of his disciple, St. Ternan. Scottish tradition tells of his baptism by Palladius, by means of a miraculous spring of water provided for the purpose. This, like many such embroideries of reliable history, need not detain us. What is certain is that Ternan took up the work commenced by St. Ninian in the northern district of which he was a native. He fixed his residence, after he became Bishop, at Abernethy, but other churches in the district were later placed under his patronage, a testimony to his missionary labors in those parts. Arbuthnott, in Kincardineshire, where an ancient Romanesque church of St. Ternan is still to be seen, was one of

³ "*Lib. contra Collat.*," c. xxi.

⁴ *Hist. lib.*, viii., fol. 128.

⁵ Forbes: "*Kalendars of Scott SS.*," p. 428.

these. A manuscript missal, the only Scottish book of the kind that has survived the Reformation, was used in this church and is known as the Arbuthnott Missal, from the fact that Robert Arbuthnott, proprietor of the estate, caused it to be drawn up some time before his death in 1509 by the then vicar, James Sibbald.* This missal contains a proper Mass and Office for St. Ternan, and St. Palladius, as already noted, is referred to in its pages. St. Ternan died at Abernethy, but was buried at Banchory, on the Dee, distinguished by the addition of the saint's name from another Banchory in the district; the former is known as Banchory-Ternan, and the church, dedicated to him, possessed in Catholic ages not only his relics, but a copy of St. Matthew's Gospel which had belonged to him, magnificently bound in gold and silver, and the saint's bell. The latter is thought to have been identical with an ancient bell discovered in recent times during the construction of a railway; unfortunately, owing to ignorance, it was not preserved. St. Ternan was titular of the church at Slains, Aberdeenshire, and of chapels at Findon, Kincardineshire, and Taransay, in the island of Harris; at Findon is St. Ternan's Well and at Banchory a fair was formerly held on his feast day, June 12, and may possibly still survive.

Thenog (or Thenew), mother of St. Kentigern (or Mungo), lived in the sixth century and was honored among Scottish saints; her feast day was celebrated on July 18. Her history is involved in much obscurity, for the legends that had grown up around it and were committed to writing six centuries later can scarcely be accepted as sober history. She is said to have been the daughter of a pagan ruler of Southeast Scotland, and that having been deceived and betrayed, she was about to become a mother. Her father in anger ordered the girl to be placed in a little coracle and set adrift on the open sea. The boat was launched at Aberlady, on the southern shore of the Firth of Forth, but it drifted inland towards the northwest and came ashore near Culross, in Fifeshire. A saintly hermit who lived there—Servan (or Serf) by name—befriended the outcast and the infant to whom she gave birth. He baptized both and educated the boy, who became renowned in Scottish annals as the illustrious Mungo. Thenog is said to have given herself to a life of prayer and penance. After her death she was invoked as a saint and her remains were honored in Glasgow Cathedral, where they were enshrined with those of her saintly son. A chapel was built in a later age on the spot where she landed, and its ruins are still to be seen. Another chapel was erected to her memory in the city of

* Forbes: "Arbuthnott Missal" (1864).

Glasgow; the street in which it stood (part of the present Argyle street) gained the name of St. Thenew's Gate, and the chapel with its holy well hard by became a favorite place of pilgrimage. The chapel is mentioned in documents dating from 1426, and traces of it were still to be seen as late as 1736. Up to the end of the eighteenth century the well was a place of resort; votive offerings of metal eyes, ears, hands and feet still hung upon the old tree near it—witnessing to the power of the saint's intercession. A Presbyterian church occupies the site of the ancient chapel; it bears the name of St. Enoch's, a corrupt form of St. Thenog's, which had passed into St. Tenuoch's in the course of ages. The square in which the modern church stands has given its designation to St. Enoch's railway station. St. Thenog's feast is given in the Aberdeen Breviary with a proper Office.

In this connection it seems desirable to treat upon St. Servan—known also as St. Serf—before passing on to the less debatable ground occupied by St. Mungo, his accredited disciple. Until comparatively recent times the story of the charity shown to the forlorn Thenog and her child passed without question. But modern historical critics pointed out an undeniable anachronism in the story which tended to cast doubt upon any connection between Serf and Kentigern. If St. Serf, as had been stated by Fordun and others, was, like Ternan, a disciple and fellow-worker with St. Palladius, who died about the middle of the fifth century, he must have been born about the beginning of that century, and at the birth of St. Mungo (given as 518) must have been a centenarian at least. This might pass, but other records mention St. Serf, the founder of the church of Culross, as a contemporary of St. Adamnan, and the head of the Culdees in the seventh century.⁷ The only possible explanation which can meet the case is to suppose that two saints bearing the same name lived at Culross at different epochs. Color is given to this suggestion by the fact of the absolute silence of any connection between St. Serf and St. Kentigern in one ancient life of the former still extant.⁸ Whatever be the case, the name of Serf was held in honor at Culross and the neighborhood. The saint's cave became a place of pilgrimage, and the locality in which it stood, known as Dysart ("Desert"), gave its name to the town which sprang up there. Churches were dedicated to St. Serf at Monzievaird, in Perthshire, and Alva, in Stirlingshire; holy wells called after him were venerated in each of these places. Fairs held on his feast day at Abercorn and Aberlednock seem to point to dedications to him

⁷ Skene: "Chronicles of the Picts and Scots," pp. 210 and 412.

⁸ Skene: *loc. cit.*

there also. But it was at Culross that his memory was especially cherished. The Cistercian monastery founded there in the thirteenth century united his name with that of Our Lady as titular; a fair was held there also on his festival. But more striking still, the custom prevailed at Culross from time immemorial of a procession of young men through the streets, all carrying green branches, on the 1st of July (St. Serf's Day) and of the dedication of the remainder of the day to holiday sports and amusements; the Town Cross, too, round which the procession was accustomed to pass, was gayly decorated with garlands and ribbons. These festivities, evidently Catholic in origin, continued up to the time of George III. To avoid too many public holidays, they were transferred to the King's birthday, and even survived the accession of Queen Victoria. St. Serf's feast is placed on July 1 in the Breviary of Aberdeen.

Another saint whom tradition connects with St. Ternan and who must therefore have flourished in the late fifth or early sixth century was St. Merchard, Bishop. Born of pagan parents in the district of Kincardine-O'Neil, Aberdeenshire, he became a Christian early in life and is said to have been ordained by St. Ternan, who associated him with himself in missionary labors. Tradition speaks of his having journeyed to Rome later in life and having been there consecrated Bishop. One of St. Merchard's churches was in Glenmoriston, Inverness-shire; the writer is familiar with its site and the ancient burial ground, still in use, attached to it. The local tradition tells that the saint when laboring as a missionary in the neighboring glen of Strathglass, in company with two disciples, discovered by revelation three bright new bells buried in the earth. Of these he gave one to each of his companions and retained the third for his own use. Each was to take a different direction and found a church in a spot where his bell should ring thrice of its own accord. Two churches were thus built, one in Strathglass and the other in the Isle of Skye. St. Merchard scaled the hills towards Glenmoriston. The point where he came in sight of the glen is still called "Suidh Mhercheird" ("Merchard's Seat"), and there his bell is said to have first sounded. Descending to the valley of the River Moriston, he came to a spot near Ballintombuie, where his bell rang the second time; the place is marked by a spring of excellent water, still called "Fuaran Mhercheird" ("Merchard's Well") by Protestants as well as Catholics. The old churchyard by the river, where his church was built, bears the name of "Clachan Mhercheird." Whatever additions may have been made to the authentic story of the saint's labors in that glen, it is beyond doubt that a very ancient iron bell was preserved in the churchyard for many centuries, even after the

church had fallen to ruins in the seventeenth century. The narrow-pointed spar of granite which supported it may still be seen. The bell was removed by one of the lairds to his own residence, but so great was the dissatisfaction expressed by the people of the glen that he eventually restored it. Unfortunately it was wantonly hidden away by some half-tipsy strangers more than forty years ago, and has never since been found. A Scottish priest informed the present writer that he had questioned one of the delinquents in after years, but the man could not recall what they had done with the relic. Devotion to St. Merchard was very strong in that district in Catholic ages and the saint is still regarded by Catholics as the local patron; the small chapel in the glen, built when Catholics were far more numerous, bears his name. The saint's remains were venerated at Kincardine-O'Neil, where a church was erected over his tomb. A fair was formerly held there for eight days, during the octave of his feast, which the Aberdeen Breviary places on August 24. He is sometimes referred to as Yrchard.

The renowned apostle of Strathclyde, St. Mungo, or Kentigern, must not be passed over, although his name has been more generally kept in remembrance than those of other Scottish saints. The legend of his education by St. Serf has been already mentioned. Mungo's title to veneration rests upon his unwearying labors for the district of Scotland which he evangelized. The ancient kingdom of Strathclyde extended from the River Derwent, in Cumberland, to the Clyde. St. Ninian had long before preached the faith there, but in the course of two hundred years, owing to constant strife and warfare, it had almost disappeared. St. Mungo was to bring it back again by his unwearied labors, fervent prayers and the purity and austerity of his life. He took up his abode at Cathures, now known as Glasgow, where many disciples gathered round him. Eventually raised to the episcopate, he ruled his flock with all the ardor of an apostle. The persecution of a wicked king drove Mungo into exile. After preaching in Cumberland, where many dedications still bear witness to his zeal, he made his way into South Wales, where St. David, the great monastic founder, received him with affection. St. Mungo became the father of a flourishing monastery at Llanelwy, where more than nine hundred monks are said to have kept up by constantly renewed choirs day and night unceasing praise of God. Recalled to Glasgow, he left his monastic family in charge of St. Asaph, whose name took the place of the original designation, Llanelwy, and became, as St. Asaph's, a centre of piety and learning and the seat of a bishopric. St. Mungo closed his career at Glasgow in extreme old age. He was laid to rest in the spot where the

beautiful Gothic cathedral, still almost entire, was built over his tomb. There, in the magnificent undercroft, his resting place is pointed out to this day, although the splendid shrine, which kings delighted to visit out of devotion, was destroyed when Puritans ousted the Catholic religion. St. Mungo's dedications, in England and Wales, as in Scotland, are too numerous to recall here. The date of his death is variously stated, but was probably 612, and certainly on the octave of the Epiphany, January 13. His feast, formerly kept on that day, is now observed on the 14th.

Of the two saints who follow, one is even better known than St. Mungo, and needs little mention here; the other is illustrious by reason of the connection between them. These are the great St. Cuthbert, the apostle of Lothian, and his master and teacher, St. Boisil. St. Cuthbert is generally classed among English saints, on account of his having been later raised to an English bishopric, but he has never been claimed as an Englishman by birth. The tradition of the church of Durham was that the saint was of Irish race, but this view does not tally with St. Bede's account of Cuthbert, and the careful Bollandists for many reasons reject that tradition. The most reliable authorities are of opinion that he was born of lowly parentage in the neighborhood of Melrose. It was while tending his flock on Lammermoor that he had that vision of the heavenly glory of St. Aidan, the monk-Bishop, which turned his thoughts towards the monastic state. Later on he entered Melrose as a novice, and was received gladly by Boisil, the prior, who was enlightened to predict for the youth a glorious future in the Lord's service. After years of monastic training, of teaching both by word and example, and of zealous missionary labors, which were most abundant and fruitful, Cuthbert was made Bishop of Lindisfarne, and for the two years he filled that office was a model of every virtue and a pastor full of zeal and charity. In the pages of St. Bede we have an authentic record of Cuthbert's life and character, written not more than forty years after the saint's death by one who was practically a contemporary and who styles him a saint.⁹ St. Cuthbert died in 687; he had been more than thirty years a monk. Eleven years after death his body was found still incorrupt. Incursions of the Danes rendered his tomb at Lindisfarne unsafe from desecration, and for two hundred years his body was conveyed from place to place, until it was laid to rest in Durham Minster. When Henry VIII. destroyed the sacred shrines of England St. Cuthbert's incorrupt body was secretly moved by the monks of Durham to a secure hiding place whose exact locality has been handed down by

⁹ "Vita S. Cuthb." (opera ed. Migne, p. 736.)

tradition through certain chosen members of the Order of St. Benedict even to this present day.

St. Cuthbert's honored master, St. Boisil, was prior of Melrose, under the holy Abbot Eata. Melrose must not be confounded with the later Cistercian abbey of that name, founded by David I. Old Melrose was an earlier monastery which followed the rule of St. Columba, and had been founded by the same St. Aidan whose sanctity and glory had been revealed to the young Cuthbert. Boisil is styled by Venerable Bede "a monk and priest of surpassing merit and prophetic spirit;"¹⁰ he it was who welcomed Cuthbert to Melrose, and being deeply learned in the Scriptures, became his master and devoted friend. In 664 a terrible epidemic known as the "yellow plague" ravaged Scotland, carrying off numbers of the inhabitants. Boisil and Cuthbert were both attacked and in danger of death. But from the first St. Boisil foretold that he would die and St. Cuthbert recover, and so it fell out. Before the end, Boisil prophesied the future greatness of his beloved pupil and his elevation to the episcopate. In the few days remaining before Boisil's peaceful death the friends were occupied in finishing the study of the Gospel of St. John, upon which they had been previously engaged. St. Boswell's, near Melrose, took its name from this saint, and the church was dedicated to him. The present village of the name has sprung up at a little distance from the ancient place, which has now entirely disappeared with the exception of the old church, restored a century ago. St. Boisil's holy well is near it, and an annual fair, held on July 18, seems to have some connection with the saint, although his feast in Scottish calendars occurs on February 23. St. Bede has written in great praise of St. Boisil's personal holiness of life. His remains were translated to Durham Minster in 1030 and deposited near the body of St. Cuthbert. Some other zealous Bishops who labored in various parts of Scotland must not be overlooked. St. Caran, a saint of the seventh century, was held in honor in the northeastern districts. At Fetteresso, in Kincardineshire, are the ruins of an ancient church dedicated to him. At Drumlithie, in the same county, is a holy well called St. Caran's. A fair was formerly held on his feast day, December 23, at Anstruther, in Fifeshire, which seems to indicate the dedication of the church to this saint, though no other evidence is forthcoming. It may be remarked that it was at Anstruther that Knox preached one of his inflammatory sermons against idolatry which resulted in the destruction of the altars and images in that beautiful building. There are traces of the veneration of St. Caran in Strathmore (Caithness) also, but he

¹⁰ "Vita S. Cuthb."

is thought to have been an east country saint. No particulars of his life are known to us; his feast is noted in the Aberdeen Breviary.

The next saint is far better known, and traces of his cultus are not far to seek in the northern counties of Scotland, where he labored and prayed. This is the illustrious Bishop, St. Nathalan, patron saint of Deeside, who was of Pictish race and flourished in the seventh century. He was born of a noble family at Tullich, Aberdeenshire, and from his earliest years was distinguished for fervent piety. In spite of his rank he loved to labor in the fields as a means of fostering prayer and subduing the passions. In a moment of impatience he once murmured slightly against God's providence, and as a penance he resolved to make a pilgrimage to Rome, wearing a heavy chain which he secured by a lock and then threw away the key into the River Dee; the spot still bears the name of "Pool of the Key." One legend tells of his buying a fish for food when in Rome and finding the key within it; but this is not the only saint of whom the like wonder is related. In Rome Nathalan became a cleric, and after years of study was sent at his own desire to preach the faith to his countrymen. He was consecrated Bishop and returned to Scotland, where he labored as a missionary all his life. Three of the Deeside churches—built at his own cost—were founded by him, Tullich, his native place; Bothelney (now called Meldrum) and Cowie or Collie. Irish records allude to him as visiting that country, and the foundation of the monastery of Dungiven, in Ulster, is attributed to him. Many wonders are related of St. Nathalan; distributing all his corn to famishing neighbors on one occasion, he sowed his fields with sand, and a copious harvest, it is said, resulted; by the fervor of his prayers he stayed a raging pestilence with which Bothelney was threatened. The latter miracle earned for the saint the observance of his feast day there in after years as a general holiday, when no work was permissible; the day (January 8) continued to be thus kept even in Protestant times, when the reason for it had long been lost sight of. There are many traces of St. Nathalan in Deeside. Meldrum was once known as Bothelney, said to be a corruption of "Bothnethalen" ("dwelling of Nathalan"); Nauchlan's Well is a spring near the old church, and the saint's fair was annually held there until comparatively recent times. A huge slab of granite, now forming the lintel of one of the doors of the church at Tullich, formerly lay within the building. It has an antique cross engraved upon it, and it is conjectured that it may have formed part of the saint's tomb originally. St. Nathalan died about A. D. 678. His feast was restored to Scotland by Leo XIII., and is kept on January

28, as the actual day of his death falls during the privileged octave of the Epiphany.

Very little is known for certainty about St. Talarican, the Scottish saint of about the same period. The Breviary of Aberdeen actually styles him an Irishman; but Dr. Forbes,¹¹ a competent authority, maintains his Pictish origin from the character of his name and from the fact that no saint who can be identified with Talarican is mentioned in Irish calendars. Beyond the fact of his having labored strenuously in the north of Scotland—evident from the dedications to him which survive, and his care to offer Mass daily, there are no particulars of his life extant. The large district of Inverness-shire, known as Kiltarlity, where the ruins of Beaully Priory may still be seen, took its name from this saint. The church of Fordyce, Banffshire, where "St. Tarkiu's Well" exists, and the saint's fair was annually held; a former church and burial ground called by his name near Loch Portree, in Skye; the traces of another church in the island of Taransay—these are St. Talarican's chief memorials. He died early in the eighth century; his feast falls on October 30. His cultus was restored by Leo XIII.

Another saint of the eighth century, St. Baldred, has been erroneously styled the disciple of St. Mungo, but there is evidence that he lived more than a century later. He retired to a hermitage on the Bass Rock, the lofty conical islet in the North Sea opposite North Berwick; from thence he made occasional missionary excursions to the mainland. He has been called the apostle of East Lothian; it seems certain that he founded at least three churches in Haddingtonshire—Aldhame, Tynningham and Prestonkirk. At the site once occupied by the former village (which no longer exists) is St. Baldred's Cave on the seashore. At Prestonkirk, where the church bears his name, is a holy well whose water, as a Protestant authority relates, is renowned for its excellence for making tea! The saint is patron of Tynningham church also, and his chapel, though ruined, is still discernible on the Bass Rock. An eddy in the Tyne is styled "St. Baldred's Whirl." Simeon of Durham gives the date of St. Baldred's death as 756, and Alcuin, writing in the eighth century, also mentions him.¹² A curious legend, which is scarcely likely to meet with acceptance from modern critics, is recounted in the Aberdeen Breviary in the lessons of the saint's office on March 6. At the death of the saint, it is said, his three churches on the mainland each laid claim to his body. Grace dissensions would inevitably have been caused had not the saint settled the dispute in a manner which

¹¹ Forbes: "Kalendars" (St. Talarican).

¹² Blair-Bellesheim: "Hist. Cath. Ch. in Scotland," Vol. I., p. 173.

gave universal satisfaction. When the rival claimants appeared to bear away the precious remains, they found side by side on the shore three bodies exactly similar, and each party carried back to their own church what each had ardently desired to possess.

It should be borne in mind that the pious and learned compiler of the Breviary in question does not vouch for the absolute accuracy of the legends there set forth. He has merely embodied the traditional lore which he had found in existence in the late fifteenth century. With regard to the legend in question, an explanation of its origin readily occurs: relics of St. Baldred treasured in each of the three churches might easily acquire the popular designation of "St. Baldred's body" in each case. The legend in its later form might thus take shape in the course of passing ages. Similar cases are to be met with in regard to the sacred remains of other saints; a relic of a head, especially if preserved in a reliquary of appropriate form, tends to become in popular speech "the head" of the saint in question. Have we not heard, to our amusement, the oft-repeated accusation that the Catholic Church tacitly permits the veneration of various arms, fingers and even heads of some particular saint in various localities at the same time? Though other saints who flourished at about the same period as the above might be treated upon, it may be more satisfactory to pass on to others of greater interest found in a later epoch. St. Duthac, the next to claim our attention, lived in the eleventh century. Though born in Scotland, he passed over to Ireland for the sake of Scriptural studies. After returning to his own land he was made a Bishop and gave himself to the spread of the Gospel in the districts of Moray and Ross. He is said to have been particularly zealous in hearing confessions. An Irish record relates that he died at Armagh,¹⁸ but this is not in accordance with Scottish tradition. His tomb at Tain, in Ross-shire, became one of the chief Scottish places of pilgrimage, and the Breviary of Aberdeen tells of his body having been found incorrupt there, seven years after his death, and of miracles wrought by his intercession. Some Scottish writers place St. Duthac's death two centuries later than the Irish tradition, but it has been pointed out that the saint's visit to Ireland for study is inconsistent with the state of that country in 1220, though it is quite compatible with circumstances in the earlier century. The discrepancy may perhaps be explained by allowing that St. Duthac may have died at Armagh about 1065, but that his remains were translated to Tain in the thirteenth century. But another view suggests itself: Ardmanach was the name by which the district around Tain was formerly

¹⁸ "Chronicon Hyense."

known; it is possible that "Ardmacha" of the Irish annals may be a corruption of this. Tain bore the Celtic name of "Baile Dhuich" ("Duthac's Town"). The burg arms still retain his figure with the inscription, "Sanctus Duthacus." Two annual fairs were called after him, one in March—"St. Duthus in Lent," the other in December; as his feast day was kept in March, it seems probable that the fair held on the sixth day after Christmas commemorated that later translation of his body "to a more honorable shrine," referred to by the Aberdeen Breviary, which seems to strengthen the tradition of his earlier birth. St. Duthus' Cairn at Tain recalls the saint's memory, as well as a holy well in Cromarty parish. Loch Duich, Kintail, Kilduthie, in Kincardineshire, and Arduthie, in the same county, are named after him. Aberdeen Cathedral possessed some of his relics, and his bell was honored at Tain in 1505. Leo XIII. restored St. Duthac's feast to Scotland, and his memory is celebrated on March 8.

The difficulty with regard to accurate dates, already referred to in other instances, occurs in relation to St. Bean, our next saint. Tradition makes him Bishop of Mortlach, but modern historical critics deny the existence of such a see.¹⁴ The evidence of the foundation of a Bishopric of Mortlach adduced by the historian Fordun—certain characters belonging to the See of Aberdeen—can no longer be accepted; the charters in question have been shown by internal evidence to be undoubtedly spurious.¹⁵ The Bollandists, however, incline to the view put forward by Robertson that though there was no See of Mortlach, St. Bean fixed his abode there. His connection with that Banffshire locality is proved by the dedication of the church to him, and the existence there previous to 1757 of an ancient stone statue traditionally reported to represent him.¹⁶ The place-name Balvanie ("Dwelling of Bean the Great," as its Celtic form, "Bal-beni-mor," indicates) is further evidence of the fact. The churches of Fowlis Wester and Kinkell, both in Perthshire, were other dedications to this saint and an annual fair held at the former place on St. Bean's feast, old style, as well as a sacred spring bearing his name are further proofs of his cultus there. He died on October 26, about the end of the eleventh century.

A curious blunder in the Roman Martyrology concerning St. Bean may here be mentioned. On December 16 is commemorated: "Aberdone in Hibernia sancti Beani Episcopi" ("At Aberdeen in Ireland the blessed Bishop Bean"). The explanation is not far to

¹⁴ Hill Burton: "Hist. of Scot.," Vol. I, p. 367 (note).

¹⁵ "Reg. Episc. Aberdon." (pref.), p. xl. seq.

¹⁶ Russel's ed. "Keith's Scott. Bishops," p. 102.

seek. An Irish Bishop of the same name was honored in that country on December 16, and the two came to be regarded as the same person. This led to the insertion in the Usuard of Molanus on that date of the following: "In Hybernia Beani episcopi primi Aberdonensis" ("In Ireland, Bean, first Bishop of Aberdeen"). A slight change in the wording produced the present extraordinary statement of the martyrology. St. Bean's cultus was recognized by Leo XIII. in 1898.

Regarding our next saint, we find the unusual instance of a Scotsman whose tomb in England became the bourne of an exceedingly popular pilgrimage in Catholic ages. St. William, honored later as a martyr, was a native of Perth in the latter part of the twelfth century. For many years he followed the trade of a baker. To atone for a period of irreligion in his youthful years, William began to lead a life of notable piety and charity. He made it a custom to bestow upon the poor in alms a tenth part of the bread he made. Finding a deserted infant lying abandoned in the street, he carried home the child and reared him as though he had been his own son until the lad grew to manhood. Desiring to make a pilgrimage to the holy places in Palestine, William set out, accompanied by this foster-child, by way of England. The two had passed through Rochester and were on their way to Canterbury, when the holy man's companion, at a lonely spot near Maidstone, savagely attacked his benefactor with a blow from his staff, and having felled him to the ground, slew him with an axe. Robbing the body, he left it lying there and took flight. There the body lay for some days, until a mad woman in her wanderings discovered it. In childish sport she crowned the head with flowers and afterwards transferred the wreath to her own brow. In an instant she became of sound mind, and flying to the Cathedral, related to the clergy all that had happened. Touched by the miracle, they bore the body to the Cathedral for honorable burial. The circumstances of his death gained for William the title of martyr and led to the petition of Bishop Laurence de S. Martino to Pope Innocent IV. for William's canonization; this was granted in 1256. The recognition of William's sanctity led to the erection of a shrine in the Cathedral for his remains and a continually increasing concourse of pilgrims thither. From their generous offerings a new choir and a central tower and spire were added to the Cathedral. Among the pilgrims was the English monarch, Edward I., who made his offerings there in 1300. Pope Boniface IX. in 1399 granted an indulgence to pilgrims to the shrine. A little chapel, erected at the spot where he had been slain, was evidently visited by pilgrims, as its name, "Palmersdene,"

implies. Its ruins are still to be seen, near St. William's Hospital, on the road to Maidstone. The relics of St. William of Rochester, as the saint came to be styled, met the fate of all such sacred remains in the general demolition of shrines in 1538. His feast was kept on May 23, which was probably the anniversary of the discovery of his body.¹⁷

The last Scotsman canonized before the Reformation was St. Gilbert, Bishop of Caithness, who flourished in the thirteenth century. He was of noble birth, being son of William, Lord of Duffus. Entering the Cistercian abbey of Melrose, Gilbert became a monk. Later on he was raised to the episcopal See of Caithness, which he occupied for twenty years. His Cathedral at Dornoch was a humble building dedicated to the Irish saint, Finbar, who had been a missionary in those parts. The extreme poverty of the diocese and the unsettled state of society had prevented the erection of a worthier sanctuary. This became Gilbert's first aim; under his direction and at his sole cost a beautiful Cathedral arose at Dornoch, an early English building, with aisles, transepts, central tower and lofty spire. The saintly prelate took a delight in laboring with his own hands in the work of erection and superintended the manufacture of glass for the windows in the glass works he had established for the purpose at Sideray. When the material building had been completed, St. Gilbert's next care was the formation of his cathedral chapter. He established ten canons and adopted the use of Lincoln in the sacred offices. The magnitude of his work may be better estimated by bearing in mind the half-savage nature of the people of his diocese at that period. Two of his predecessors had been either burned or stoned to death by an angry mob in return for what was considered excessive zeal on the part of the clergy; it was left to St. Gilbert, by his holy and wise administration, to tame, to some extent, such rebellious spirits. St. Gilbert dedicated his completed church to St. Mary the Virgin, a century after his death, which took place in 1245. It had come to be styled SS. Mary and Gilbert, for the many miracles attributed to him had led to his being regarded as a saint. In honor of God, the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Gilbert, Pope Pius II. conferred upon the Cathedral the privilege of "Sanctuary," and the contemporary monarch, James III., confirmed the Papal grant by civil legislation in 1464. The relics of the saint were venerated in Dornoch until the Reformation; there is record of accused persons clearing themselves of charges by swearing "on the relics of St. Gilbert" and "touching the same relics" in the chapter house in 1545.¹⁸ The Cathedral was destroyed by

¹⁷ Bollandists XVII., 268. "*Nova Legenda Anglie*" (Oxford, 1901), II., 467.

¹⁸ "*Origines Paroch. Scotiæ*," p. 609.

fire in an affray between hostile barons in 1570, ten years after the overthrow of the Catholic religion in Scotland. It was rebuilt in modern times; the ancient tower has been incorporated into the present building. No portion of St. Gilbert's shrine remains except a mutilated statue which is thought to have been part of it. The Breviary of Aberdeen gives St. Gilbert's feast on April 1, the day of his death.¹⁹

In this brief review of the chief saints of Scottish birth whom their fellow-countrymen delighted to honor in past ages it has to be confessed that there is a scantiness of detail as to many of them which is to be deplored. This is to be accounted for by the wholesale destruction of an immense number of documents referring to Church history, when lawless hordes were permitted and even encouraged to pillage and demolish all church property at the Reformation period. Father Thomas Innes (died 1744), one of the first in a later age to draw attention to the ancient Scottish Church and her history, writes thus on the subject:

"The registers of the churches and bibliothecs or libraries were cast into the fire; and these were so entirely destroyed that if in Scotland there had happened a debate about the consecrations or ordinations of Bishops and priests, either before or about the time of the Reformation, I do not believe that of all our ancient Bishops and priests, ordained within the country, there could have been found the register or act of consecration of any one of them—so careful were the Reformers to sweep clean away all that could renew the memory of the religion in which they had been baptized."²⁰

The Protestant Archbishop Spottiswood in his history bears similar testimony. Writing about eighty years after the events he describes, he says: "Thereupon ensued a pitiful vastation of churches and church buildings throughout all parts of the realm; for every one made bold to put to their hands, the meaner sort imitating the ensample of the greater and those who were in authority. . . . The registers of the church and *bibliothèques* were cast into the fire. In a word, all was ruined."²¹

It is subject for thankfulness that some scraps of ancient records have been spared from the wreck to tell us the little that we are able to gather regarding the early saints of Catholic Scotland.

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¹⁹ Vide "Records of the Bishopric of Caithness" (Bannatyne Club).

²⁰ Innes: "Critical Essay" (ed. Grub), p. 312.

²¹ "Hist. of Church of Scotland" (Bannatyne Club), Vol. I., p. 372.

PALESTINE AND ITS RELIGIONS.

PALESTINE will ever be for all Christians the most interesting country in the world, but the great war now raging even on that sacred soil, with the surrender of Jerusalem to the British troops, has made it doubly interesting for the moment. It was originally the country of the Philistines, from whom its name is derived. The western part is called in the Bible the land of Canaan, the eastern part the land of Gilead, and the name of the Holy Land is justly given to the whole of Palestine, for Jews and Moslems as well as Christians regard it as holy. It is a small country, full of ruins and equally full of the most sacred memories. It has suffered much, for it has known many wars and been the scene of battles, in which the Hittites and the Amalikites, the Philistines and the Israelites, the Romans and the Greeks, the Assyrians and the Babylonians, the Moslems and the Christians of all nations, the Saracens and the Crusaders, and now the Turks and the British have taken part. It has ruins of cities built by the Canaanites and the Philistines, the Hebrews, the Greeks, the Romans, the Saracens and the Crusaders. There is no country in the world that teems with interest for the historian, the theologian and the antiquarian as does Palestine; nevertheless it was not until the nineteenth century, which with all its many faults had a few virtues, that really definite geographical knowledge of the country was gained, largely through the labors of the Royal Geographical Society and the Palestine Association and Restoration Fund. It is, however, with the Christian religions of Palestine rather than with its history or geography that we intend to deal here.

The Christians now living in Palestine and Syria are descended from the heathen or Gentiles, to whom the Gospel was first preached by St. Paul and the Apostles. In ancient times the gods of the old Greek mythology were worshiped in the cities, but in the country villages local gods took the place of Apollo and Diana, hence the word "pagan," which means rural or country. Almost every village had its little local god, so when the country became Christian the inhabitants took kindly to the doctrine of invocation of the saints, and instead of the local god the local saint became the object of worship and local saints soon began to multiply. As there were two types of government, viz., Greek for the cities and Syrian in the country places, so there were two types of Christianity; there was the Greek Church, in which the services were in Greek, and the

"Fifty Years' Work in the Holy Land." Colonel Sir C. M. Watson.

"The Religions of Modern Syria and Palestine." F. J. Bliss, 1912.

"Mediæval Towns—Jerusalem." By Colonel Sir C. M. Watson, 1912.

Syrian churches, in which the liturgy was in Syrian or Aramaic, the language which our Lord is believed to have spoken. These two types survive to the present day. On the one hand we have the Greek Orthodox Church and the Greek Uniates, who became reconciled to the Holy See in 1724, and on the other hand we have the Syrian Church, which has three divisions: the Maronites, the Syrian Jacobites and the Syrian Catholics. The Maronites, who are the largest body, form the national Church of Mount Lebanon. The Jacobites are heretics or Monosyphites; they are more powerful in Mesopotamia than in Palestine and Syria, but even in Mesopotamia there is now a great inclination among them to submit to Rome. It was from them that the Syrian Catholics did submit to the Holy See first of all in 1546, but from then onward at various times congregations of the Jacobite Christians have been reconciled to the Catholic Church, and recently, particularly in Mesopotamia. The Syrian Church is rightly very proud of saying Mass in the language our Lord spoke when He was on earth. The Syrians and the inhabitants of Palestine all have a deeper sense of religion and a more profound consciousness of the presence of Almighty God than is usual among Western peoples. Dr. Bliss,¹ whose residence and work in Palestine enables him to judge, asserts this most emphatically. The inhabitants of Syria and the Holy Land are eminently religious, and all orders from the shepherds upwards are intensely interested in religion, whatever their faith may be. They are keenly interested in doctrinal questions, and the lower orders have a surprising knowledge of the differences between the various Churches. Seeing that their country was the one chosen out of all the world to be the home of our Lord when on earth, this is not to be wondered at; it is only what we should expect, but it is certainly a comfort in these days of unbelief to have it confirmed by one who has spent a lifetime in studying the people and their religion.

The Maronites are the largest Christian body in Syria; they themselves say they were never in schism, but as a matter of fact they were reconciled to the Holy See in 1182. Their liturgy and ritual were always Syrian. They are the most Catholic of all the Eastern Churches in communion with Rome. Their Mass is said in full view of the congregation and in Syriac, but the Syrian version is a translation of the Latin Mass; they retain their old Eastern liturgy for baptism, marriage and burial. They use unleavened bread as we do in Holy Communion; confirmation is administered in later years, not to infants immediately after baptism, as in the other Eastern Churches. The priests are allowed to marry, but there is now a great tendency to prefer celibate priests for the parishes. The Maronites are governed by a Patriarch, who is styled the

¹ "The Religions of Modern Syria and Palestine." F. J. Bliss, 1912.

Patriarch of Antioch and the whole East. He is supposed never to leave the fastnesses of Mount Lebanon, and never does unless a summons from Rome bids him, and then he has to obey. He is elected by the Maronites, but his election has to be confirmed spiritually by the Holy Father and civilly by the Sultan. The Maronites, nevertheless, say of their Patriarch, "He is our Sultan." There are now about 300,000 Maronites living in the Lebanon, but there are also about 100,000 in Beyrout and others scattered in other parts of Syria and in Aleppo, Damascus, Cyprus and Egypt, and a few in Jerusalem and Nazareth. The Maronite Patriarch has great powers; he can establish new fasts and feasts; he can make certain changes in the ritual; he can consecrate the chrismatic oil, a very great privilege, perhaps granted on account of the difficulty of transport to these mountainous regions. The Maronite people elect their own parish priests. There is a convent of mission priests near the Bay of Juneh, who in Lent and Advent and other seasons give eight-day missions to the parishes, traveling about to the various villages, and all the people in the village are expected to make an eight days' retreat when the missionary visits them. The inhabitants of the Lebanon are of medium stature; the women are handsome, with pink and white complexions; the men have olive skins and both men and women have round faces with dark eyes and good teeth. They are a warlike race, frequently fighting with the Druses, who also inhabit the Lebanon and vie for supremacy there with the Maronites. The great tendency of the Maronites now is to approach more and more closely to Rome, both in doctrine and practice, except that they cling firmly to the use of the Syriac language in the Mass. In all the Greek Churches the people do not as a rule kneel in church, except during Lent, and the Maronites do not kneel between Easter and Pentecost, neither do they prostrate during that time, because they say they are "risen with Christ." When a Maronite Patriarch dies he is buried seated in a chair, as is the universal custom when a Bishop is buried in all the Eastern Churches, and a very ghastly one it is. The Maronite Patriarch's corpse is carried round the church seated in a chair several times during the burial service, and often taken thus to his native village, to be buried there.

There are five Eastern Churches in Syria and Palestine, three of which are in communion with Rome, namely, the Maronites, the Syrian Catholics and the Greek Melchite Catholics; the other two Churches are the Greek Orthodox, which is second in size to the Maronites, and the old Syrian or Jacobites. Both the Syrian Churches are confined mostly to Northern Syria; the Greek Catholics predominate in Central Syria and the Greek Orthodox are spread all over Syria and Palestine. A recent movement in the Greek Orthodox Church in Syria and Palestine is the predominance of Greek

Bishops and priests over Syrian, and a struggle is going on between the native or Syrian party and the Ionian or Greek clique. All the Uniate Churches are under the authority of the Apostolic Vicar of Aleppo, who is appointed by the Holy See since 1890. The Uniates of Jerusalem and Palestine are under the jurisdiction of a Latin Patriarch appointed by Rome after election by the Bishops, and the approbation of the Porte. The conversion of the Syrian Catholics and the Greek Catholic Melchites is due to persistent efforts for several centuries of Jesuit and Capuchin missionaries, who lived in Palestine and Syria and gradually, by teaching persistently Catholic doctrines, converted the people. The Greek Catholic Melchites are the most intellectual of the Christian bodies in Syria and Palestine; they are also the most Eastern; it is only since 1857 that they have observed Easter at the same time as the Catholic Church and followed the Roman calendar. They use practically the same service books as the Greek Orthodox Church does, with a very few alterations in some of the prayers; their ritual also is very similar to that of the Orthodox Church; in doctrine, of course, they agree with the Catholic Church. They are under the jurisdiction of a Patriarch of Antioch, and the Greek Orthodox also have their Patriarch of Antioch, and there is great rivalry between the two Patriarchs and the two Churches and much bitterness. The Patriarch of the Melchites is elected by their Bishops subject to the approval of Rome and the Porte. There are a good number of Greek Catholics in the Lebanon and in a remote village there the first printing press ever seen in Syria was set up. They have a patriarchal college for boys in Beyrout, and a training college for them in Jerusalem. Melchite is a nickname given to them in the seventh century: it means royalist and was given to them for adhering to the Emperor, who supported Catholic teaching against heresy.

Besides all these Christian bodies and some Armenians there are of course a large proportion of Moslems inhabiting Palestine, since up to December, 1917, the Turk was the ruling race there. The consequence of this is that we find one village wholly Christian and another neighboring one Moslem; for instance, Bethany is now Moslem, and Bethlehem Christian. Jerusalem itself is divided into three quarters, one Christian, one Jewish and one Moslem.² All visit each other's shrines: the Moslems take their insane to St. Anthony's cave in the Lebanon to be cured and the Christians take theirs to a well belonging to the Moslems, in or near Damascus. In the Christian processions on Good Friday, Moslem women who are barren pass under the handkerchief of St. Veronica, in the hope of bearing children. Moslems will have their children baptized as a sort of charm, and also with the extraordinary idea that baptism

² "Medieval Towns—Jerusalem." By Colonel Sir C. M. Watson, 1912.

has a physical effect in washing away the evil odor which Moslems emit, and are conscious of so doing, till they have been baptized, when it is said to disappear. The antagonism between Moslems and Christians is stronger in some parts of Palestine and Syria than in others. Moslems never forget that their faith is the faith of the conquerors, and Christians that theirs is the faith of the conquered.* A century ago sumptuary laws were in force in the Holy Land, and at Damascus no Christian could ride a horse or wear any color except black, but that is now all changed. The Druses, who mostly inhabit the Lebanon, are a sect of Moslems, founded by one Darazi at the end of the tenth century, who preached the divinity of a mad caliph named El Hakim at the foot of Mount Hermon, which is the cradle of the Druses. They call themselves Unitarians and now execrate Darazi, their founder. Their secret doctrine is contained in six volumes of three treatises, written by one Hamzeh, whom they venerate highly. There are about 150,000 of them, mostly living in the south of the Lebanon, where they are constantly fighting with the Maronites and Arab tribes, and when not so occupied they rebel against the Turkish authority. Their last rebellion was crushed in 1911.

It is a strange thing, but it is said on the authority of an American missionary that in Syria and Palestine Islam is seen at its best. The world of Islam is supported on five pillars, viz.: 1, confession of faith; 2, prayer; 3, fasting; 4, alms, and 5, pilgrimage. The Moslem believes that the Koran contains the very words of God, spoken in the first person and revealed to Mahomet by the archangel Gabriel. In Jerusalem Christians and Moslems get on better than in any other city. As all the prayers of Islam have to be said in Arabic, an unknown tongue to three-fourths of Mohammedans, the Syrian Moslems have an advantage over others of the same creed, as the language of the Syrians to-day is Arabic; it is only in a few villages that the Aramaic and Syrian dialects remain, and that in remote mountain districts, whither the inhabitants were driven by their conquerors. The number of Moslem saints is enormous; in Aleppo alone there are said to be no less than two hundred and ninety-one. There are shrines not only over all Syria and Palestine, but wherever Moslems are the ruling nation and in some places where they are not. All the old prophets have shrines, all the founders of Moslem orders of monks and dervishes and numbers of holy local and obscure men. Some of the Moslem saints were "sufis," that is, contemplative men seeking like Christian mystics union with God. Moslems pay vows to saints and pray to them and invoke them and flock to their shrines in all kinds of sickness and troubles, pilgrimage being, as we have said, one of the five pillars of their religion.

* Bliss.

Sometimes Moslems and Christians venerate the same saint under a different name; in Palestine there are several Christian shrines dedicated to the prophet Elias, and others sacred to St. George, and the Moslems venerate at the same shrine a mysterious personage called the Kudr, whom they worship as the Ever Green or Ever Living One. No image or picture is allowed in Moslem shrines; that they would consider idolatry. A shrine varies from a few stones built up in a circle to a handsome tomb or little chapel, which often dominates some height, and before it a lamp or lamps are kept burning, and if it is an important shrine, a guardian lives by it to keep the lamps burning and to receive the offerings of pilgrims. There are nine Moslem orders represented in Palestine and Syria, most of them dating from the Middle Ages, including dervishes and fakirs and wandering dervishes, who live by begging, and dancing dervishes. There are three orders of dervishes; the fakir or wandering dervish is the lowest, and the sheikhs are the highest, and these wear as a distinguishing mark a red turban.

At certain seasons, particularly during the Greek Holy Week, twelve days later than ours, and during the second and third weeks in September, the dervishes are very active in Palestine and Syria, giving demonstrations of their powers of curing snake-bites, of walking unhurt through fire and whirling for hours in their dances and inaugurating tremendous processions, especially on Good Friday, when the Christian procession of the dead Christ takes place. This, of course, is no mere coincidence, but is done with the intention of drawing attention to themselves instead of to the Christian procession. To this Good Friday procession come pilgrims from Bagdad, holy men from all parts, Damascus merchants and Bedouins from beyond Jordan; the pilgrimage lasts from five to six days, and the pilgrims are fed with the food which has been given generously to the various shrines visited. Poor people from Jerusalem are provided with donkeys by the Moslem priests, and the procession follows the whole of the Via Dolorosa, winds round the Mount of Olives and starts before noon on Good Friday and is headed by a black flag. In other parts of Palestine similar demonstrations are allowed to take place at the same time. The dervishes frequently wound themselves with their swords in the course of the procession, to be cured by some holy sheikh. The Jews in Palestine now number about 800,000; those in Syria amount to 600,000. They mostly speak Hebrew, though many come from Russia and Roumania; very rarely do they speak Arabic. Dr. Bliss says that the Zionist movement finds very little favor with the Jerusalem Jews of the present day, or with the Jews of Palestine generally, many of those who are orthodox Jews looking upon it as a political movement, rather blasphemous than otherwise, and they rightly and sensibly say that

Almighty God, if He wishes to do so, can and will bring back the Jews to the Holy Land without any assistance from man in His own way and in His own time. As we should expect, there are a good many monasteries and convents in the Holy Land. The Eastern Churches have, strictly speaking, no religious orders, such as exist in the Catholic Church; all their monasteries are independent of each other, and were originally founded for some particular purpose. For instance, the Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre, whose headquarters are in Jerusalem, was founded for the preservation of the holy places, and although not a religious order in the Catholic sense, independent houses with the same end in view are scattered all over Palestine. The convent of Mount Sinai was founded for the same object. All Orthodox monks follow the rule of St. Basil. The Jacobite Syrian monks, originally divided into four classes, now have only two divisions, the Cenobites and the Inclusi. The principal of these convents is the Convent of Constantine, or as it is generally called, the Convent of the Greeks. It is in the very centre of Jerusalem, and is so large that it covers a vast area of ground. No less than eight Bishops and nine archimandries or abbots live there, besides a large number of priests, deacons and lay brothers. Between Jerusalem and Jericho is the Convent of St. John, from which all Syrians are excluded, much to their indignation, only Greeks being admitted. The cells of some of the hermits belonging to it are approached by ladders, so steep are the mountains on which it is built. This convent has no less than three churches, one being dedicated to St. Thecla and the other two are the churches of St. Helena and Constantine.

At a place called Sedannyya is a convent of twenty-five nuns, dedicated to Our Lady, where in 1860 Christians who fled there from Damascus from the Moslems, who were massacring them, were preserved by a white dove, which hovered over the convent walls. The nuns of this convent wander about the neighboring villages, collecting oil for the feasts of Our Lady and for use in the convent. There are about forty monasteries in the Lebanon belonging to the Maronites, including fifteen nunneries, all these establishments being quite independent of each other. From the very earliest days of Christianity, hermits and monks have dwelt on the Lebanon, whose lonely mountains and inaccessible heights attract them. There are here a large number of Syrian Catholic and Armenian Catholic monasteries. The Lebanon range extends for 120 miles from north to south, and is about from thirty-five to forty miles wide, so it covers a fair amount of territory. Altogether one-sixth of the land here belongs to the various religious orders, the Maronites owning about four-fifths of the whole. One famous convent dedicated to the Blessed Virgin is said to have been built in the

fourth century by the Emperor Theodosius. It is the titular seat of the Patriarchs, who visit it during the summer months. The most popular and the richest of the Lebanon monasteries is situated over a gorge, with high mountain walls around it, at a place called Qozhaya; close by it is the celebrated cave of St. Antony, in which the saint is said to have slept when he came from Egypt to visit the hermits and monks of the Lebanon. This is the great place of pilgrimage, where the insane and those believed to be possessed by devils of all creeds, Christians, Jews and Moslems, are brought to be cured and exorcised by the priests, who use very drastic means to drive out the evil spirits.

Among the Catholic orders who have establishments in Palestine and Syria may be mentioned the Franciscans, who for centuries have had charge of the holy places in Jerusalem; the Carmelites, who are once more established on Mount Carmel; the White Fathers, of South Africa, who have a seminary in Jerusalem for training priests for the Greek Catholic Melchite Church, and the Jesuits, who have labored in the Holy Land from the sixteenth century. They have a university at Beyrout and a printing press there, from which many learned works are issued, and they founded a seminary in the Lebanon in 1734, which is now in the hands of the Lazarist Fathers. In Beyrout the Christian population outnumbers the Moslem and the Christians are in ascendancy there.

DARLEY DALE.

Stroud, England.

A CENTURY OF CATHOLIC EDUCATION.

CATHOLIC schools in St. Louis antedated, of course, the coming in 1818 of Bishop Dubourg to his newly selected see city, for settled by the Catholic Laclede, coming later under Spanish control, such educational institutions as existed, if not virtually connected with the Church, were yet closely associated with it. But when on the feast of the Epiphany, 1818, the trading-post on the western bank of the Mississippi River became the episcopal seat of the Diocese of Upper and Lower Louisiana, Catholic education was automatically established. The scholarly Bishop Dubourg while in Rome, whither he had gone for his consecration, knowing from his experience as president of Georgetown College and later as administrator of his future see the need of religious teachers as well as of priests in the New World, secured for his diocese a community of Vincentians, with the intention of placing them over the seminary and college it was his intention to open. Of the little band the saintly Father Felix de Andreis was the superior and Father Joseph Rosati a member—names immortally associated with the Church in Missouri.

Starting in advance of the Bishop, the party reached Baltimore in the summer of 1816 and traveling by stage and flatboats, continued their journey to Bardstown, Kentucky, where, under the guidance of Bishop Flaget, they prepared themselves for the work awaiting them on the further frontier. They assisted in the meanwhile in teaching in St. Thomas' Seminary, which had been founded by Bishop Flaget in 1811. Thus when Bishop Dubourg took possession of his diocese he had with him the nucleus of that higher education which, distinguishing St. Louis from the beginning, has grown with her growth and stands her pride and her glory. The Bishop immediately opened his seminary, its first home being a small log house near the Cathedral, which was also of logs. At Perryville, some eighty miles from St. Louis, a colony of Kentuckians of Maryland descent have established themselves and true to the dictates of their Catholic ancestry, they petitioned Bishop Dubourg to build his seminary among them, offering a tract of land as an inducement. The offer was accepted and to the Barrens, as the settlement was called, the Vincentians went and, aided by the happy farmers, built the first seminary west of the Mississippi. In these days when we apply the test of the material to our seminaries, colleges and academies, no less than to our commercial buildings, it is well to take a look at that new home of the Vincentians—men who had left the comfort and culture of Roman life

to bring Christianity to the far West. In the life of Father de Andreis by Bishop Rosati we find the following description of it:

"The first college building was a log cabin, 18 by 25 feet. This cabin was at once the chapel, dormitory, study room, kitchen, recreation hall and tailor shop; yet everything had its time and place and all was done with as much order as in a regular seminary. Charity, piety and poverty went hand in hand, and that poor beginning must have been as pleasing a spectacle to the angels as it was a subject of admiration to the people of the surrounding country. There could be seen at the same time Father Rosati on one side teaching a class; on another the good lay brother cooking a scanty dinner, and, in a corner, Mr. Cellini trying to make sausages, while to complete the picture, a cow would occasionally put her head in at the door, to petition, in her own noisy way, for something to eat. During the first winter, as the cabin was badly built, and still worse roofed, the rain, and especially the snow, would penetrate through the innumerable openings, and some mornings the buffalo robes and blankets under which the inmates were peacefully slumbering would be found covered with a considerable quantity of snow. Poverty did not permit them to furnish their windows with panes of glass, so they substituted paper or white muslin."

An addition of two stories, with attic and basement, was soon built, and within a few years after its opening the college had an attendance of eighty students. Its course of studies, we read, covered six years and embraced Latin, Greek, history, mathematics (including analytical geometry and calculus), chemistry, natural philosophy, astronomy, geology, English (embracing rhetoric and English literature), French, Italian, Spanish, German, Christian doctrine and music. For candidates for the priesthood a three years' theological course was added to the six years of classics. This course embraced moral and dogmatic theology, Sacred Scripture, canon law, homiletics, pastoral theology, liturgy, ecclesiastical history, plain chant and sacred eloquence. As preaching the Gospel to the neglected is as important a part of the life-work of the Vincentians as teaching, and as from every hand came the cry for their ministrations, Saturday of each week saw the professors leaving the chair for the saddle. The various settlements were regularly visited by them, and when the summer vacations dismissed them from their duties in the school they would set forth on long missionary travels, often having to break the way through the forests and canebrakes. Nor did they confine their spiritual activities to their own race. As far as the institution of slavery permitted, they helped the negro and opened missions among the Quapaw Indians in Kansas. Various parishes were confided to their care, and in

the evangelization of Missouri the sons of St. Vincent de Paul have their glorious share. Equally do they share in the upbuilding of the episcopate beginning with Bishop Rosati, who succeeded to the See of St. Louis in 1824, down to Monsignor Glass, consecrated Bishop of Salt Lake in 1915, the society has given many great and good Bishops and Archbishops to the Church in North America.

One of the missions attended by the professors of the Barrens was that of Cape Girardeau. Coming into possession through purchase of a desirable piece of property, they decided to separate the college from the seminary, removing the former to the Cape. This was done in the spring of 1844, and St. Vincent College of Cape Girardeau entered upon its notable career. In 1859, at the request of Archbishop Kenrick and the Bishops of the province, it was converted into a seminary for the exclusive use of ecclesiastical students, and was maintained as such until the war between the States brought a consequent falling off in aspirants for the sacred ministry. While St. Vincent did not close its doors during that time of trial, still its purely ecclesiastical status was not observed and the collegiate and commercial departments were resumed. As time passed, however, the ecclesiastical body grew beyond its accommodations and either a new building must be erected or another home sought. The latter was decided upon, and the foundation of the great Kenrick Seminary was laid, when in 1893 the seminary was removed from the Cape to St. Louis. Under His Grace Archbishop Glennon, now happily ruling, a splendid home for the seminary was built at Glennon Park, Webster Groves, a suburb of St. Louis, and there, with the Vincentians still guiding its destinies, the work of supplying priests for the Church of the West, begun by Bishop Dubourg in a log hut, is carried on. The St. Mary Seminary of the Barrens is conducted by the Vincentians for their own students, there being also located there the mother house of the Western province of the society. St. Vincent College at Cape Girardeau is also maintained by them in a flourishing condition.

Bishop Dubourg's educational interests did not overlook the needs of women. He showed his solicitude for them in obtaining from Blessed Mother Baret a little foundation of her Religious of the Sacred Heart for his diocese. Led by Venerable Philippine Duchesne, the band reached New Orleans on May 29, 1818, and the desire of her apostolic soul for work among the Indians seemingly at last to be fulfilled, Mother Duchesne's first act on landing was to kneel and kiss the ground. What makes the story of success interesting is the struggle that leads up to it, and the harder that struggle, the more threatening the defeat, the keener its appeal to

us. Though you may never have turned your hand over, though yours has been the goodly inheritance of pleasant places, and to wish is to have, still the state of power was secured for you by the struggles, the failures, the successes of the race and your heart leaps at their recital. Unless you are unworthy of your heritage, you would barter your life of ease and ennui for a place in the long glorious line of fighters. I would not say that all the glory belongs to Philippine Duchesne and the many like her who out of their lives builded Church and State, school and home in the centuries that are gone by. Here and to-day the old gallant fight is being made. On the frost-bound regions of the Northwest, the burning sands of New Mexico, the wastes of Arizona, in hardships, in loneliness, in apparent failure, the pioneer toils as his forefathers toiled in the Middle West and the East; there the missionary and the Sister carry on their hard work, with the same faith and courage of their spiritual ancestors. But all of them, the settler in his shack, the priest in his poor church, the Sister struggling with her Indian and Mexican pupils find that faith and courage renewed as the story of Mother Duchesne comes to them across the years. She belonged to a French family of wealth and importance; she was highly educated and had ever led the sheltered life of her class. In her convent in France, if she had none of her former leisure and luxury, yet her duties as teacher were not arduous, and she suffered no privations as to food, raiment and the other necessities of being. But from the hour she set foot on Missouri soil suffering became her portion. At St. Charles, a hamlet on the Missouri River, she opened her convent, the first of the Society of the Sacred Heart outside of France and the first of any order of women west of the Mississippi River. For her and her gently nurtured companions there was the life of the pioneer, raw, harsh, lonely. By the labor of their own hands they supplied the rude fare for their table; they learned the use of hammer and saw; they herded and milked their cows. Besides this, they taught their school. At Florissant, to which, owing to conditions, they removed about a year later, although the St. Charles house was afterward reopened and flourishes to-day, they received their first novices, that guarantee of continuance. There also they were brought into close touch with the pioneer priests, going to and from the Bishop's farm nearby, and invaluable was the service Mother Duchesne and her community rendered those weary toilers in the Master's new field.

Louisiana received the Religious of the Sacred Heart within a short time; convents were opened in St. Louis; New York and other Eastern States rejoiced in their advent until to-day their houses bind the Atlantic and the Pacific, the Great Lakes and the

Gulf, flourish in Canada, Mexico and Cuba—all the outgrowth, New Zealand included, of the branch planted by Mother Duchesne, in poverty and humiliation and pain, in St. Charles on the Missouri one hundred years ago. Of their work in the school, of their work in the world, through their retreats for women and their splendidly organized society of Children of Mary, of these it is needless to speak. They are too well known. From her convent the Religious of the Sacred Heart exerts an influence undreamed of through the girls she has trained for the various walks, ever widening and multiplying, for women. In the home, in the world, in the cloister the hidden nun lives on in the life her consecrated hands helped to mould, because that Philippine Duchesne set the banner of the Sacred Heart in the Diocese of St. Louis, one hundred years ago.

May 29, 1823, is a day marked in the annals of Missouri. Without prearrangement it brought to the State two other religious orders destined to work marvels for it—the Jesuits from Whitemarsh, Maryland, and the Sisters of Loretto, from Loretto, Kentucky. Not that the Jesuits were now making their first appearance on the frontier! Long before Laclede had set up his trading-post on the far bank of the Mississippi the sons of St. Ignatius had blazed the way through and beyond it in their quest of souls. But now they came to establish their society firmly in the soul and take charge of the St. Louis College, which in the first year of his residence Bishop Dubourg had founded in the city. Like the other episcopal buildings, this was of log and stood in the Cathedral yard. It was taught by the priests of the Cathedral, with Father de Andreis as director, and was patronized by the sons of the leading citizens, irrespective of creed. But Bishop Dubourg sought for it permanence and development such as the Jesuits were admirably fitted to give. Yielding to his solicitation, the superior of Whitemarsh sent a community under the Rev. P. J. Verhaegen to St. Louis. The Bishop gave to them his farm at Florissant, where they opened their novitiate and conducted for a time a school for Indian boys. On assuming control of the St. Louis College the Jesuits purchased a new site and erected a substantial building in the fall of 1828. In 1832 the General Assembly of Missouri granted the institution a charter, and thus the St. Louis University, probably the first university west of the Mississippi and certainly the first in the Louisiana Purchase, came into existence. The dream of Bishop Dubourg, though his eyes of flesh did not see its fulfillment, was realized.

To attempt even a cursory review of the work of the university would extend this paper far beyond its space. A divinity faculty was organized in 1834; faculty of medicine, 1836; in 1889, the

graduate school of philosophy and science; in 1890 the St. Louis Dental College was affiliated; in the same year a school of advanced science and the faculty of law were inaugurated; the school of commerce and finance came next; a school of telegraphy was installed in the fall of 1917 to meet the exigencies resulting from the entrance of the United States into the war. A school of elementary nursing was also opened, and a course in pedagogy added. The standing of the university is of the very highest. Time and again honors have come to its graduates in various fields of endeavor. They are to be found in positions which in themselves are a guarantee of character and ability. It has been a determining factor in the community during the century of its existence. As for the work of the Jesuit Fathers outside of the university, it is interwoven with the history of Missouri and the far West. From St. Louis went De Smet and his companions to labor among the Indians; others followed the white Catholics who helped to blaze the trail for civilization on to the shores of the Pacific.

When we turn to the work of the Sisters of Loretto, who as we have seen entered Missouri simultaneously with the Jesuits, we find an illustration of a spirit as indomitable as that animating the sons of St. Ignatius. Their first mission in the State was at the Barrens, where the Vincentian Fathers had their seminary. The hardships that they met and conquered, their bravery in rising out of every disaster won the admiration of all. They were called to aid the Jesuits among the Osage Indians in Kansas and readily answered, nor is any tribute too high for their accomplishments among the red men—a work which they are still carrying on in New Mexico and Oklahoma. When Bishop Lamy begged for religious for his distant Diocese of Santa Fé, the Sisters of Loretto responded, and to-day their schools and academies flourish in Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, Oklahoma, as well as Kansas. They also teach in public schools in some of those States. In Missouri alone they have charge of twenty-two parochial schools, eleven of these being in St. Louis, while they have flourishing academies in St. Louis, Kansas City, Cape Girardeau, Florissant and Springfield. At Webster Groves, not far from Kenrick Seminary, is their new Loretto College, established in 1915, the only women's college in Missouri with a four-years' course. The professors of the seminary lecture before the classes in Sacred Scripture, religion, psychology, social science and metaphysics. The Sisters composing the faculty received their degrees at the Catholic University and other leading universities. They have the other departments.

In the early years of Bishop Rosati's episcopate other orders came

in: the Sisters of Charity from Emmitsburg, who taught school in connection with their work for the orphans; the Sisters of St. Joseph, who, arriving in 1836, opened the first free school in the State, as well as the first Catholic school for the deaf in the United States; the Sisters of the Visitation, who founded their convent first at Kaskaskia and which they later removed to St. Louis. Under his illustrious successors in the see, religious education continued to be fostered. Unless the condition is insurmountable, the parochial school is found in every parish. In St. Louis are the diocesan high schools for boys and girls. A diocesan school board is over the schools of the diocese, and all are required to come up to the standard. Many of the teaching orders of men and women are represented in the parochial schools of Missouri, while academies and colleges for boys are to be found in St. Louis and other cities of the State.

Reviewing the results of the century that has elapsed since Bishop Dubourg took up his residence in St. Louis, who shall limit the possibilities before the Church in the West in the days that are to come! We must avail ourselves of those opportunities or prove unworthy of the heritage bequeathed us by those noble men and women who laid the foundation of Christian civilization on the western shore of the Father of Waters.

ANNA C. MINOGUE.

St. Louis, Mo.

BRITTANY AND ITS PEOPLE.

ONE of the most interesting corners of France is Brittany. It may be designated a corner, since in its peninsular form it is set away by itself within the embrace of the English Channel and the Atlantic Ocean. But its individuality is not alone geographical; it is as well ethnological and historical. The Bretons are a people differentiated from the French in language, customs and ideals. They hold kinship with the Celts of Ireland, Scotland and Wales. Brittany, whose ancient name was *Armorica* (*Armor* by the Sea), was originally peopled by the race of the dolmen-builders, a brown-eyed and dark-haired people, who strewed it with their monuments. Little remains or is known of the *Armoricans*. It is supposed that the *Bigaudens*, as they are called, who occupy the promontory of *Sizun* and *Pont l'Abbé*, directly south of *Quimper*, are descendants of the *Armoricans*. From *Pliny* and *Cæsar* we learn little about the first inhabitants of Brittany, or, as it was then called, *Armorica*. *Pliny* calls Brittany "the looking-on peninsula of the ocean." In the time of *Cæsar* the country was divided into five distinct tribal divisions nearly corresponding to the present five departments of Brittany. Of these the *Venetii*, who occupied *Morbihan*, gave battle to *Cæsar*, who defeated them in the great naval engagement before *Dariobrigum* and so finally subjugated the *Armoricans*. But it was in vain that the Romans endeavored to replace among the *Armoricans* the cult of *Druidism* with the worship of the Roman gods. The *Armoricans* only abandoned the religion of the *Druids* to embrace Christianity, which was introduced into Brittany during the fourth century by the disciples of *St. Martin* of *Tours*. The monks who came to Brittany from England and Ireland during the sixth and seventh centuries completed the work.

In speaking of the establishment of Christianity in Brittany it should be noted what a prominent part the Irish missionaries bore in the work. When Ireland through the teachings of *St. Patrick* turned from *Druidism* to the Cross, the spirit which stirred into religious life the Celt of Ireland soon reached the shores of Brittany, and as a consequence missionary colleges for the training of young men for the priesthood were established there almost coeval with their foundation in Ireland. Indeed, the work of the evangelization of Ireland seems to have sent a religious thrill through Brittany. It may be added, too, that not only did Irish missionaries carry the torch of faith into Brittany, but large numbers of the Irish from the south of Ireland—from *Wexford* and *Ossory*—passed over and settled in Brittany during the close of the fifth century

along the west and north coast. Indeed, the coastline of Cornouaille and Léon was studded thick with them. It was unfortunate for Brittany that her position made her a prey to invasion early in the centuries. Now the Huns ravaged her interior, now Saxon, Frisian and Dane preyed upon her coasts. Then, too, as in Ireland, want of cohesion among the chieftains or princes weakened her resistance in battling with an invading foe. Yet Brittany has marched down the centuries full of honor, wearing the garb of heroic achievement. Her history is starred with brilliant deeds on land and sea. It is true she has at times yielded—as what people or nation has not?—to the capricious vicissitudes of fortune. But the life of Brittany and the ideal of the Breton people have been a logical unit through the centuries. There are nations that develop, but lose sight of their ideal. They march rapidly, but blindly. This cannot be said of Brittany. She has ever held tenaciously to her moral centre. Other peoples have stained their escutcheons; she has not. Brittany is an embodiment of Celtic moral life. She is an embodiment, too, of Celtic idealism.

What is her history through the centuries? Briefly, it is this: Till the middle of the tenth century Brittany was engaged in continual warfare with Danes and Northmen, who harassed her shores. These Vandals from the North pillaged and destroyed the churches of Brittany and turned the country into a waste. At length the Bretons, in 938, with Alan Barbetorte, godson of Athelstan, King of England, at their head, succeeded in driving out the Northmen. The country was then reorganized. Hitherto the colonists had been divided into tribes, each of which was a *plou* and into which no Gallo-Roman could enter. But after the victories of Alan Barbetorte, the *plous* were not reconstructed and the feudal system succeeded to that which was tribal. Brittany was now broken up into a hierarchy of counties and seigniories and the King abandoned the royal title and contented himself with that of duke. The great counties were those of Léon, Cornouaille, Coher, Porhoet, Pen-thièvre, Rennes and Nantes. Five barons defended the eastern frontier, holding their fiefs under the Count of Rennes; these were Chateaubriand, La Guerche, Vitré, Fougères and Combourg. When William the Conqueror became King of England, Brittany was nipped between France and Normandy and became an object of ambition to both and a common battlefield. It will be remembered that Henry II., King of England, married his son, Geoffrey Plantagenet, to Constance, daughter of Conan IV., the heiress of Brittany, and Geoffrey was crowned at Rennes in 1169. It was Arthur, son of Geoffrey and not John Lackland—or, as the French designate him, Jean Santerre—who on the death of Richard Cœur de Lion

was the rightful heir to the English throne. To get rid of Arthur, John had been first imprisoned in the tower of Rouen and then cruelly murdered. But Shakespeare's story in the play of "King John"—which, by the way, is a political, not an historical play—of Constance, mother of Arthur, dying broken-hearted is not true. Constance married Guy de Thouars and had by him a daughter and heiress, who was married to Pierre de Dreux. In 1491 the history of Brittany as an independent country ceases. On December 6 of that year Anne, Duchess of Brittany, in the Chateau of Langeais, in Touraine, married Charles VIII., King of France. The contract safeguarded the liberties of Brittany which, however, afterwards were violated.

The so-called Reformation—which was rather a rebellion than a reformation—of the sixteenth century made little headway in Brittany. When Henry IV., King of France, came to the throne in 1589 he was a Calvinist. There were at this time in Brittany three parties mutually antagonistic—the leaguers, supporters of the house of Guisé, the Huguenots and the Royalists. Nantes became the headquarters of the league. The Huguenots from Vitré and the Castles of the family of Rohan, who had espoused the new faith, swept the country, ravaging and burning. Nine years of war ensued between 1589 and 1598, during which Brittany was almost depopulated. But the attempt to graft Calvinism on the Catholic tree of faith planted in Brittany by co-laborers of St. Patrick proved a failure.

When we pass to the French Revolution of 1789 we see what a noble stand the Breton peasantry made against the bloodthirsty ruffians who had grasped the reigns of power. As Baring-Gould, the English author, in his work on Brittany tells us: "Liberty, equality and fraternity in the mouths of these latter meant tyranny, robbery and massacre. Again the soil of Brittany was drenched in blood. The curés were hunted like wild beasts and when caught were hung, guillotined or shot. Under the Reign of Terror the moderate Breton deputies who belonged to the party of the Girondins had to fly for their lives. The Convention sent down into Brittany, Carrier and others, the scum of humanity, to 'purify' the country. Twenty-eight Girondists were guillotined at Brest. Any one who was held suspect was at once sent to his death. The Loire at Nantes was choked with the bodies of inoffensive men, women and children drowned in the Noyades." We have already said that the Bretons have tenaciously held to their ideals and battled for them. With the deep fervency of the Celt, whose meaning of life is ever interpreted in terms of piety and faith, the Bretons live in the world of the spiritual and the beauty of its mansions has entered their souls. They are linked to heaven by a childlike faith

and seem to have ever before them their baptismal and confirmation vows. Men wiser in sin and vainer in reason charge them with superstition, but they are content with their allegiance to God. Him they will serve despite any mandate of Cæsar.

There are five departments in Brittany: Côtes-du-Nord, Finistère, Morbihan, Ile-et-Vilaine and Loiré Inférieure. Of these Finistère is the most populous. The country is divided into two sections: Upper and Lower Brittany. In the latter the Breton or Celtic tongue prevails, the French being an acquired language. Brittany of to-day has a population of about 3,400,000. The increase in its population surpasses that of any other part of France, as may be seen from the fact that against this 3,400,000 inhabitants it had but 2,947,348 in 1872. The Breton tongue is yet the habitual language of 1,500,000, of whom about 500,000 know no other language. The Breton is not a uniform language, but comprises four dialects—that of Tréguier, Léon, Cornouaille and Vannes. As regards these dialects, Brizeux, the French poet, holds that the dialect of Vannes is of greater character and originality than the other dialects of Brittany. The five departments of Brittany have distinguishing characteristics. The Côtes-du-Nord is the most productive from an agricultural point of view, for the inland valleys are rich in grain and the seaboard districts in a great variety of fruits. Finistère, whence France still draws her best sailors, is the most wildly picturesque and also the richest in mineral wealth, possessing large silver and lead mines. Morbihan supports numerous herds of cattle and flocks of sheep. Loiré Inférieure is the best watered district and grows vines as well as quantities of cereals, and Ile-et-Vilaine is noted for its fine breed of oxen and its extensive manufactures of linen and woollen fabrics.

In traveling from St. Malo to Cape Frehel in the summer time one is reminded very much of the Mediterranean, and as one passes into the Tréguier country, leaving behind smiling fields and flashing rivulets, one is prepared for real Finistère, where we are ushered into the region of mediæval France and its traditions. This is the Calvary country, with its plains dotted with prehistoric dolmen, and Menhir with its Calvary and saint cut often from the living granite. Then follow the rockbound coasts of the country of Léon and Cornouaille. Farther down below the Léon country, even below rocky Cornouaille and the luxuriant fields of Quimper and Quimperlé, we come upon the mysteries of the little so-called Sea of Auray. This is the ancient Morbihan region, dwelling place of the Celts, whose ancestors lived among the dolmens, the cromlechs and the enormous stones in alignment and ranged in irregular circles. We are now in the very heart of Druidical Brittany. Then follows

the Vannes district and the savage desolation of the Landes filled with feudal ruins. As regards these dolmens and menhirs found in Brittany, antiquarians hold that they were family or tribal tombs of the Druids or a prehistoric people, and the so-called alignments are monuments erected by the tribe to the honor of the dead interred in the dolmens, the circles of stone being perhaps the places where the bodies were cremated or where the sacrifices were made upon the altars. Carnac, a lonely, small place situated on the flat shores of Quiberon Bay, a short distance from Auray, derives its name from the two Breton words, "carn," signifying stones, and "ac," a town. It is worth noting that all the local names in this region of Carnac are derived from funeral ceremonies. Thus in the Breton tongue Plouharnel means place of ossuaries, or bone houses; Kermaris, place of the dead, and Kerliscan, place of ashes. Five of the most important cities in Brittany are St. Malo, Rennes, Brest, Vannes and Nantes, though these five cities are by no means of most importance as centres for the study of Breton life. You reach St. Malo by boat from Southampton, in England, and this old mediæval city, with its walls and gates, is an excellent place to begin a tour of Brittany. Indeed you should begin with a study of the Malduin before you enter the heart of Brittany. By the way, the Malduin is a sailor—essentially so. Something about the old walled city of St. Malo with its six gates, its high tides, its countless sails moving unceasingly hither and thither like winged birds upon the deep, its atmosphere of the sea together with that free, social and jovial character of comradeship which is the dower of marine cities that have been dreaming for centuries, now lulled, now awakened by the songs of the deep—something about this old quaint and historic city tells you without the memory of history that here, indeed, the great Malduin explorer, Jacques Cartier, was born. In the Cathedral of St. Malo, which is partly Gothic and partly Renaissance—St. Malo was an episcopal see before the French Revolution—you read within the chancel upon the floor these words: "Ici s'est agenouillé Jacques Cartier pour recevoir la bénédiction à son départ pour la decouverte du Canada le mai 1535. Honore Mercier, Premier Ministre de Quebec, souvenir de la visite 1891." "Here knelt Jacques Cartier to receive the blessing at his departure for the discovery of Canada, May, 1535. Honore Mercier, Prime Minister of Quebec, souvenir of his visit, 1891."

How this commemorative inscription, full of patriotic import to every Canadian heart, recalls the beautiful lines penned by that gifted Irish balladist, Hon. Thomas D'Arcy McGee:

"In the seaport of St. Malo 'twas a smiling morn in May
When the Commodore Jacques Cartier to the westward sailed away;

In the crowded old Cathedral all the town were on their knees
For the safe return of kinsmen from the undiscovered seas.
A year passed o'er St. Malo, again came 'round the day
When the Commodore Jacques Cartier to the westward sailed away,
But no tidings from the absent had come the way they went
And tearful were the vigils that many a maiden spent,
And manly hearts were filled with grief and gentle hearts with fear
When no tidings came from Cartier at the closing of the year."

Rennes is the ancient capital of the Duchy of Brittany, situated in the department of Ile-et-Vilaine, and is composed of two towns, Upper and Lower, separated by the river Vilaine. It is a Cardinal's see and has a Cathedral, which, however, is a heavy piece of architecture. Rennes contains a university which in its courses devotes special attention to the study of Celtic. It has several excellent libraries and a museum containing some very fine French and Flemish paintings. Like Nantes, Rennes suffered terribly during the French Revolution. Brest is situated on the west coast of Brittany and possesses perhaps the finest harbor in Europe. It was but a fishing village gathered around a mediæval castle on the site of an old Roman camp when Cardinal Richelieu resolved on giving France command of the seas and fixed on Brest for a great dockyard in 1631. His undertaking was not followed up by Mazarin, but Colbert pursued it with energy and extensive docks were executed. Brest has witnessed many a fortune of war. From its harbor issued a fleet of eighty ships of the line under Tourville in the naval campaigns of 1690 and 1691. In 1694 an Anglo-Dutch fleet in vain attempted an attack on Brest. In the eighteenth century its quays and fortifications were extended. Issuing from Brest the fleet commanded by D'Orvilliers met July 27, 1778, the English fleet. Vannes is situated only three miles from the inland sea of Morbihan, on the Conteau. The name Vannes is from the Breton "givened," and means wheat. It was the ancient capital of the Celtic Venetii, who colonized the Adriatic and gave its name to Venice. It became a Roman town called Duriogivum and from it ran six Roman roads over the country to Rennes, Corseuil, Hennebont, Locmariaquer, Arzal and Rieux. Christianity having made some progress among the Venetii in A. D. 465, Perpetuus, Metropolitan of Tours, assembled a council at Vannes and a Bishop Paternus was consecrated for it. Northmen invaded and destroyed Vannes by fire in the tenth century. Thereafter it became the stronghold and residence of the dukes of Brittany. Nantes was founded long before the Roman invasion of Brittany and has been intimately bound up with Brittany as the true if not nominal capital of Brittany. It was in

Nantes that "la bonne Duchesse Anne" was married to Charles VIII. in 1491. Here was issued the famous Edict of Nantes, which gave freedom of conscience to the Huguenots after the long wars of the League.

In order the better to study Brittany and its people, it would be well for the tourist to select certain centres and from these centres make excursions. For instance, St. Malo could be selected, St. Brieuc, Morlaix, Tréguier or Paimpol. These are excellent points to gain an intimate knowledge of the Côtes-du-Nord. Then in Finistère, Quimper could be made a centre, and in Morbihan, Auray would be a good point from which to make brief excursions. Brittany is dowered with a great deal of history and with no small share of legend and myth. The Celts are above all a people of legends. They it is who have given life and glamour to history. Without them there would be no story of King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table. Without them there would be very little folklore or fairy lore. It is the Celtic strain in Shakespeare that has given us "Midsummer Night's Dream." However absurd and extravagant then as may be those legends of Brittany, we look upon them as a part of our childhood lore and willingly yield to the sway of their wand. But the two distinctive sides of the Breton worthy of the closest study are the religious and social. In these the Breton is most individual. There is nothing in any other part of Europe just like the Breton Pardon. The nearest resemblance to it is the Patron of Ireland, which, however, has disappeared largely from the life of Ireland.

"These pardons," writes Charles le Goffic, "have remained unchanged for over two hundred years and nowhere will you find anything so deliciously obsolete. They have no resemblance to other festivals. They are not pretexts for feasting, like the 'Flemmis Kermesses,' neither are they revels like the Paris fairs. No, their attraction comes from a higher source. They are the last vestiges of the ancient feasts of the dead and there is little laughter in them, though much prayer."

In truth, pardon in Brittany signifies the feast of the patron saint of a church or chapel, at which an indulgence is granted. The pardons do not extend farther east in Brittany than Guingamp, the date of whose celebration occurs on the first Sunday in July. There are five distinct kinds of pardons in Brittany: St. Yves, at Tréguier—the pardon of the poor; Our Lady of Roumengol—the pardon of the singers; St. Jean-du-Doigt—the pardon of fire; St. Ronan—the pardon of the mountain, and St. Anne de la Palude—the pardon of the sea. The pardons begin in March and end in October, but the majority of them are between Easter and Michaelmas. We attended

in June, 1903, the pardon of St. Jean du Doigt, which is situated about twelve miles north from Morlaix, almost on the seacoast. The Church of St. Jean du Doigt is a very interesting one, consisting of a collection of structures such as were wont to be grouped about a parish church. There is a holy well, a Calvary, an ossuary and an open oratory, where Mass is celebrated before an enormous crowd on the occasion of the pardon. Again in July, 1913, we attended the great pardon of St. Anne D'Auray, which takes place on July 24, a few miles from Auray, a little town in Morbihan. This is decidedly the greatest pardon in Brittany. It continues for two days and closes on the afternoon of the second day with a procession of the pilgrims with banners around the Scala Sancta and a sermon by some well-known Breton ecclesiastic. On the occasion of the celebration in 1913 the sermon, which was a most eloquent one, was preached by Monsignor Duparc, Bishop of Quimper. The Bishop of Vannes and Monsignor Pichon, Archbishop of Port au Prince, in the West Indies, were also present. We have said that the Breton pardon resembles somewhat the patron of Ireland. Indeed, the Breton resembles very much his fellow Celt in Ireland in the dominance of his spiritual character, in the purity of his morals, in his deep attachment to his Church and his respect for her priesthood, in his kindness and hospitality, in his sensitiveness of nature, in his courage, in his candor and in his love of the simple joys of life. It should not be forgotten that almost every pardon has a character of its own and a description of one by no means attaches to all. To see the genuine pardon one should go to the Breton-speaking portion of the country. In many of the other parts this religious gathering has degenerated into an ordinary village feast.

It is very probable that another quarter of a century will see the last of the pardons. It will not, however, be due to the decay of religious feeling among the people, for this will never go out in Brittany, but rather the Governmental opposition and the ill behavior of the tourists. These combined will perhaps induce the clergy to discourage them. As to the conduct of the Bretons themselves at these pardons, it is beyond reproach. One may wander till late among the thousands there enjoying themselves—for a Breton pardon has at times a social as well as a religious side—and see neither rudeness nor drunkenness. "One marvels," says a writer, "at the wondrous faces that greet the eye at those pardons; the pure, sweet and modest countenances of the girls and those not less striking of the old folk." It is the soul which is everything in these people and their physiognomy is modeled by it. Goodness, kindness, as well as cloistral spirituality stream from their faces. Indeed, the people of Brittany are intensely religious. With them religion is a

passion. It enters into their everyday life. The great drama of Calvary is kept ever before the eyes of the people, and it is beautiful to see a Breton peasant make a supreme act of faith as he reverently uncovers his head in passing a cross by the wayside. There are those, it is true, who believe that the Catholic faith will finally die out in Brittany, but such people do not understand the spiritual constitution of the Celt. He is above all a man of faith—faith which at times crosses the borderland and reaches into the dim regions of the mystic. This strong spiritual life is evident everywhere in Brittany and it has had for fruit the fashioning of a people along moral lines, making the Bretons strong where other races more advanced in so-called civilization give evidence of decay. Truly the Breton is the Sir Galahad of France, for "his strength is as the strength of ten, because his heart is pure."

The genius of the Celt is subtle, full of feeling, full of magic and that witchery of the spirit which leads in captivity the senses. In truth, the Celt is a very literary necromancer, and the Breton is an exponent of all this Celtic enchantment. We do not wonder then that Brittany has been the mother of great thinkers and writers, of explorers, of great sea captains, of soldiers, of poets and of saints. Such a land of prayer and passion, of heroic actions and mystic dreams could not but create personalities of the highest order from the philosopher who treats profoundly of the essence and attributes of God to the idle dreamer who sits by the stream and builds with delicate and deft art a tender lyric fashioned from the lispings accents of his half awakened heart. A glorious array of names, then, crowd the memory as we think of Brittany in the past. Peter Abelard, dialectician, philosopher and theologian, who was born in the little village of Pallet, ten miles from Nantes, in 1079 and died in 1142, was among the great teachers and thinkers of his day. He became a wandering scholar, and among his teachers were William of Champeaux and Roscelin, the Nominalist. Abelard became a teacher at Paris and was idolized by his pupils, amongst whom were John of Salisbury and Arnold of Brescia. At a council held at Sens in 1141, St. Bernard being present, the teachings of Abelard were condemned, but the venerable monk, Peter of Cluny (Abelard's case being referred to Rome) obtained a mitigation of it and reconciled him with St. Bernard.

In the little town of Sarzeau, situated on the peninsula of Rhuys, between Morbihan and the sea, was born in 1668 the novelist and dramatist, René Le Sage, whose work, "Gil Blas," while not entirely original, is the finest example in literature of the picaresque romance adopted from the Spanish. Le Sage is the precursor of the modern romance and the legitimate ancestor of Balzac and Flaubert.

This gifted Breton writer died in 1747. Another Breton of distinction was Lavour d'Auvergne, soldier and author, who was born at Carhaix, in Finistère, in 1743, and was killed in battle while serving in the army of the Rhine in 1800. He was interred in the Pantheon in Paris in 1889. His chief work bears the title, "Nouvelles Recherches sur La Langue l'Origine et les Antiquités des Bretons." Between Combourg and Dinan is La Chenaie, the birthplace of Félicité Robert de Lamennais, political and religious writer, born in 1782, author of "Pardes d'un Croyant," "The Words of a Believer," but as Guizot, the historian, said, "the words of a believer who had lost his faith." Lamennais' life closed in sadness in 1854. St. Malo was the birthplace of the initiator of nineteenth century romanticism in France—François René de Chateaubriand, whose "Genius of Christianity" and "The Martyrs" entitle him to rank with the best French prose writers of the nineteenth century. Chateaubriand's life and lot were cast in stormy times. Born in 1768, he was an eye-witness of the French Revolution and all its attendant horrors. After his voyage to America in 1791, to which may be attributed something of the richness of coloring in his works, he enrolled himself in the army of the emigrés and entered Paris on the 18th Brumaire—that is, during the second calendar of the First French Republic—for at this time Danton and Robespierre were revising civilization, with, of course, the aid of the Goddess of Reason. In 1802 Chateaubriand became a member of the French Academy and Napoleon appointed him Secretary to the French Embassy at Rome. He died in 1848. In connection with the spirit which pervades the literary work of Chateaubriand at this time, it should be noted that nearly all the writers of this period embody in their work something of the same unrest, as witness the "Childe Harold" of Byron and the "Werther" of Goethe. It is what the French call *le mal du Siècle*. Perhaps Chateaubriand's great value in literature is that he delivered the world of his time from materialism. In 1828 Chateaubriand craved that the city of St. Malo grant him enough of space to contain his coffin. "I shall repose on the shore of that sea which I loved so well," wrote the author of "The Genius of Christianity." His tomb is on Grand Bay, which forms a little islet when the tide at St. Malo comes in. Nor must we forget to add to the distinguished names that belong to Brittany those of Brizeuc, the poet, and La Villemarqué, French antiquarian and Celtic scholar. Both belong to Brittany by birth and genius, and to Brittany and its people they devoted their fine gifts most generously.

A modern Breton writer of our own day whose scholarship, research and literary style have won the attention of many scholars

is Ernest Renan, philosopher and orientalist. He was born in 1823 in the quaint old town of Tréguier, where the foremost saint of Brittany, St. Yves, patron saint of lawyers, lies buried. His death occurred in 1892. Turning away from the Catholic Church, for whose priesthood he had pursued his first studies, Renan early joined that body or band of European scholars who about the middle of the last century sought to rob the Founder of Christianity of His Divinity. The German skeptic, Strauss, had already entered this field and had given to the world his "Life of Christ." The translation of this work from German into English by the English novelist, George Eliot, had been no small factor in ranging the author of "The Mill on the Floss" on the side of Positivism. Renan went to the Holy Land to search out for the beginnings of Christianity. His work, it may be said, is of much greater danger to Christian faith than is that of Strauss, because of its apparent fairness and his readiness to attribute to Christ the highest form of the divine in man while denying that the Founder of the Christian religion was the veritable Son of God. Renan's two chief works are "The Origin of Christianity" and "The Life of Jesus." It is worth noting that Renan's grandson, M. Psichari, who was killed in battle in the present great war, became an uncompromising Catholic and has left behind him a work, "Le Voyage du Centurion," which in a measure atones for the denial of faith in his father. Let us here add three more names to the illustrious past of Brittany—one a famous French warrior, Bertrand Du Guesclin, born at Dinan in 1320; another a great sea captain, René Duguay-Trouin, born at St. Malo in 1673, and the third the bold and renowned and hardy explorer and discoverer, Jacques Cartier, born at St. Malo in 1491.

A still greater name than all these belongs to Brittany, that of the Apostle of Ireland, St. Patrick. It is true that it has been claimed that St. Patrick was born in Scotland, but to-day it is generally accepted that St. Patrick was a Breton by birth. It is, however, difficult to establish in what part of Brittany Bonaven Taberniae, the birthplace of St. Patrick, was. Canon Fleming, of London, England, holds that Brittany in the days of St. Patrick included much more than ancient Armorica, that it extended across the north of France to Boulogne Sur Mer, and that it was in the latter place that the Apostle of Ireland was born. As regards Brittany and its extent, it is worth noting that Sulpicius Severus, the historian of St. Martin of Tours, in referring to the Council of Ariminum, held A. D. 359, tells us that three Bishops from Brittany attended it. If we only knew where these Bishops hailed from we might know something of the extent of Brittany.

We have already spoken of the religious side of Brittany, its

pardons and Calvaries and crosses by the wayside. From Breton faith have sprung up and taken form its temples dedicated to the service of God, but while its Cathedrals in some instances are very noble structures, they do not measure up to those in other parts of France, the finest Gothic specimen being decidedly the Cathedral of St. Carentin at Quimper. There yet remains the social side of Brittany—the music, the costumes and the dancing. All three are most individual and unique. No people in Europe have better conserved their traditions than the Bretons. They stand as a rock against the craze and vice of modernizing, and in this they are happily inspired and led by their Breton bard, Theodore Botrel, a man of genius and patriotism, who organized some years ago at picturesque Pont Aven, in Finistère, where the poet lives, a fête which is known as “Le Pardon des Ajoncs d’Or.” This is almost purely a social fête, and from every quarter of Europe tourists and visitors come to witness this charming festival, where prizes are awarded for the best Breton dancing, the best Breton plays, the best Breton singing and the most beautiful Breton costumes. We attended this delightful fête in 1913, the celebration of which always takes place on July 26.

As regards Breton costumes, they are certainly the most beautiful to be found anywhere in Europe. We have seen the costumes of the island of Zeeland, the Tyrolese and the Arlesian in Provence, but the costumes of Finistère in Brittany have more character in them and seem to be the outcome of the utility and taste of centuries rather than that of the caprice and fashion of a day. Of course these Breton costumes may be easily traced to the Middle Ages. Perhaps the isolation of Brittany and the tenacious and conservative character of its people have been the chief factors that have contributed to the conservation of the Breton costumes. And so varied are these costumes that it may be said that in Lower Brittany there are as many varieties in costumes as there exist parishes. The Breton dances are very individual and the Breton, like his brother Celt in Ireland, is fond of celebrating every fête and gathering with a dance. Whether it be in street or field or hall, one sees peasants dancing what is known as the *gavotte*. Two musicians usually supply the music, one with the binion, the Breton bagpipes, and one with an instrument known as the *bombarde*, which is a kind of flageolet. At an ordinary Breton country dance the musicians occupy the heads of barrels. The pipers are gaily decorated in broad-brimmed black hats, festooned with ribbons. At a warning scream from the pipes the couples begin to form for a new dance. A long line of dancers hand in hand stand motionless before the binions, who drone softly for an interval. Then all at once the tune begins and in a

moment the whole line breaks and forms into fours, moving in a stately manner in a sort of polka. The dancers keep good time, going through a variety of figures, but always returning to the "grand ronde," dancing together hand and hand with great precision and animation and sometimes with much grace. Emile Louvestre has traced this "grand ronde" dance of Brittany to Druidic origin and the movement of the stars.

No poet of any country has so entered into the spiritual and social life of the people as has Theodore Botrel, the bard of Brittany. He has felt the Breton pulse beat under every passion. Botrel is their true minstrel, striking every chord in their tender and sympathetic hearts. He has caught up the very soul of Brittany in song and he is welcomed and hailed everywhere as their prophet and leader. In his Introduction to Botrel's "*Les Chansons de Chez Nous*," Le Braz, author of "*The Land of Pardons*," gives us the following picture of a gathering of fishermen assembled at Port Blanc to hear Botrel interpret his songs of Brittany. "Particularly significant is the memory I have of a certain occasion at Port Blanc. Botrel had announced that he would sing for the fishermen and their families. They came in whole tribes—men, women, children, to the place of meeting, which was the principal room of an inn, lighted by tallow candles, the windows open to the night air, on which came softly the great organ notes of the sea. Strange faces were there, hardened by the northern cold or burned by the sun of the tropics. Only the women were seated, their hands crossed on their aprons. Everybody had come long before the time and was waiting with a rapt, eager air. The bard took his place. He had hardly begun singing "*The Paimpol Maid*" when suddenly, spontaneously the whole company joined in with a great crescendo of rough, nasal voices like the noise of the tide rushing in upon the rocks."

We have already spoken of how truly Theodore Botrel voices the Breton soul in song. He is the interpreter of every phase of Breton life and reveals it in all its heroic strength, in all its delicacy and tenderness, in the rugged aspect of its honest toil, in the strong and unswerving faith that upholds it in its great conserving force that makes for truth and justice and the perpetuation of those virtues whereby a people and a nation live. There is in the Breton as in the Norwegian something that links his nature with the mystery and drama of the sea. Mayhap his childhood has passed where the white sails come and go and in time he comes to regard the ocean with a feeling of filial kinship and reverence, not fear. Look at the great fleet of fishing boats that quit each year the Breton coast for Newfoundland and Iceland. The Iceland fleet starts on February

20 and is absent till the autumn. Its headquarters is at Paimpol, on the northern coast in the Bay of St. Brieuc. As many as one hundred and eighty vessels set out together, and a most interesting ceremony to witness is the blessing of the fleet, which takes place with solemnity before its departure. It may be worth noting here that Paimpol is the scene of Pierre Loti's novel, "*Les Pêcheurs d'Islande*."

In connection with these strong and daring-hearted Breton fishermen who annually set out from Paimpol for the waters of Iceland, leaving their Breton homes, their mothers and sisters and sweet-hearts behind, Theodore Botrel has written the following beautiful poem, which we give in translated form, though as such it is bereft of much of its true spirit and beauty:

"THE PAIMPOL MAID."

Leaving the country of the broom,
 The Breton lad must go one day
 As fisher in the Arctic seas
 To Iceland's banks so far away.
 Hark the poor lad's lay,
 Which he hums all day:
 "Fair Paimpol and its lofty cliffs,
 Its pardon—all are dear to me.
 And, oh, I love the Paimpol maid
 Who waits me there in Brittany."

 The boats are starting from the bay,
 The curé says, "My boys, good-bye.
 Pray often to Monsieur St. Yves,
 Who watches us from the blue sky."
 Hark the poor lad's lay,
 Which he hums all day:
 "Ah, be not angry, great St. Yves,
 The skies are not so blue to me
 As the eyes of the lovely Paimpol maid
 Who waits me there in Brittany."

 Well guided by the little star
 The Captain says it seems to him
 His snowy sails do often shine
 Like white wings of the Seraphim!
 Hark the poor lad's lay,
 Which he hums all day:
 "Thy snowy sail, my old Jean Blais,
 Can never shine so bright to me

As the white coif of the Paimpol maid
Who waits me there in Brittany!"

The sailor brave casts the long line,
Throws the harpoon and toils his best;
With fishy odors all around
Lies down to take a little rest.
Hark the poor lad's lay,
Which he hums all day:
"Before a cheerful fire of gorse
How much more happy should I be
Beside the pretty Paimpol maid
Who waits me there in Brittany."

At times the ocean, unsubdued,
Will waken with a cruel air,
And when at night the roll is called
Full many names are wanting there.
Hark the poor lad's lay,
Which he hums all day:
"To battle with the English fleet
Needs more than simple boys like me.
I'll tell my pretty Paimpol maid
Who waits me there in Brittany!"

And when the great wave comes for him
And with a mighty voice doth call
Making the sign of Holy Cross
The gallant lad resigns his all.
That fearful day
When death takes him away,
Clasping his medal with a kiss
He falls into the deep deep sea,
Still dreaming of the Paimpol maid
Who waits him there in Brittany!

In terminating this paper on "Brittany and Its People," may we say, with Mrs. Arthur G. Bell, in the closing lines of her "Picturesque Brittany." "Its warm-hearted, conservative people, with their tenacious idealism and their unworldly devotion to their primitive ways, have altogether won our affections. Long may it be before so-called progress stamps out their individuality or the growing skepticism of their French neighbors destroy the childlike faith that is the purifying leaven of their simple lives and thanks to which their country even at this late day still deserves her beautiful name of "Le Pays des Pardons."

THOMAS O'HAGAN.

Toronto, Canada.

A SUMMER TOUR OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA.

CALIFORNIA.

A sleeping beauty, hammock-swung,
Beside the sunset sea,
And dowered with riches, wheat and oil,
Vineyard and orange tree;
Her hand, her heart to that fair prince,
Whose genius shall unfold
With rarest art her treasured tales
Of life and love and gold.

THE Fourth of July stands out in letters of red on the American calendar, for on that important day in 1776 we declared our nation free from outside control, and on the same day in 1848 the far West was acquired from Mexico. Our acquisition of California came at a propitious moment; gold was being discovered and the inrush of the "Forty-niners" became the forerunner of that highway of transportation known as the Central Pacific Railroad. The construction of the "C. P.," which was completed in 1869, was regarded as one of the great wonders of the world—and it was, for the unknown West was looked upon as the habitat of wild men and wild beasts. Even some of our leading lights inveighed against the squandering of millions on an enterprise that was doomed to certain failure, and San Francisco bankers who invested in the project exercised great circumspection in talking with depositors, as the "C. P." was thought to be the creation of a Utopian mind, or perhaps a mind actuated by an itching and sordid palm, the new land being the mecca for legions such as these. However, it's an ill wind that does not redound to the benefit of some one, and 1870 marks the inauguration of the Commonwealth we see to-day. It is estimated that the 100,000,000 acres of the State are capable of sustaining the entire population of the nation, and her fruits are sold in almost every market on the globe. Agriculture is also a valuable asset, fields and orchards yielding products of an annual value of \$350,000,000; moreover, rich mineral lands, magnificent waterways and varied industries proclaim California as the future Empire State of the Union. Monterey, nearly one hundred miles below San Francisco, on the coast, was long the Spanish capital, but the newcomers moved the seat of legislation to Benicia, and later on to Sacramento, the new Capitol being regarded as the last word in imposing architecture.

A FORECAST.

Dared I but say a prophecy,
As sang the holy men of old,
Of rock-built cities yet to be
Along these shining shores of gold,
Crowding a-thirst into the sea,
What wondrous marvels might be told!
Enough, to know that empire here
Shall burn her loftiest, brightest star;
Here art and eloquence shall reign,
As o'er the wolf-rear'd realm of old;
Here learn'd and famous from afar,
To pay their noble court, shall come,
And shall not seek or see in vain,
But look on all with wonder dumb.

So sings Joaquin Miller, the well-known "Poet of the Sierras," and in order to fully understand the area of this province of magnificent distances, it becomes necessary to draw one or two comparisons. One we have in mind is the gap separating New York from Chicago; or again, if an aviator were to fly from Montreal, Canada, to the Southern city of Richmond, Virginia, he would be traversing about eight hundred miles, or the distance between the northern and southern lines of the Golden State, and it naturally follows that the aspect of the country is diversified in more ways than one. In the north, Mount Whitney flings its snowy crest 15,000 feet into the translucent blue, while down south in the Imperial Valley the farmer tills his acres a hundred feet or so below the level of the sea, and there is no spot this side of the Plutonian shore more caloric than the Imperial Valley in the festive days of August, when the mercury sometimes climbs to 125 degrees; however, the air is very dry, winter is beyond reproach and irrigation has made this part of the Colorado Desert bloom like the proverbial rose. Up at the lumber port of Eureka it is likely to sprinkle almost every day of the week; down at Barstow rain is worth its weight in wheat. Snowfalls are a *rara avis* on the northern coast, and this is due to the Japanese Current, which warms the atmosphere and converts the ivory flakes into rain before they reach terra firma. Hence it follows that while Portland, Maine, lying some distance from the Gulf Stream, is frequently snowbound, Portland, Oregon, farther north, has a much heavier precipitation of rain. Summer nights are tinged by wintry blasts at Redding; the oil fields of Bakersfield remain as warm as a baker's oven. At least a dozen peaks of the ragged Sierra Nevadas soar nearly two miles towards the celestial dome;

the Mojave Desert is as level as a billiard table. The traveler flashing the glass from an observation car speeding through San Bernardino county beholds waving fields of wheat and oats on the mountain ridges aloft, and the olfactory organs are regaled with the redolence of semi-tropical fruits and flowers carpeting the landscape roundabout him.

But before descanting upon the wonders and beauties of the Golden State, let us render homage unto those noble men who brought into being a vast empire within whose borders could be comfortably ensconced Italy and Portugal; and this reminds us that Estevan Cabrillo, though in the Spanish service and a confrère of Cortez, was born in Portugal. Cortez was the first to scan and survey the Gulf of California, but the expatriated Portuguese was the first mariner to swing the binoculars on the Pacific Slope, and this he did in the year of grace 1542. Owing to the paucity of European immigration to the vast province of Mexico and difficulties confronting northbound travelers, Spanish priests did not venture to the far North until 1769, when Father Junipero Serra established the first of a chain of twenty-one missions, extending from San Diego on the coast to Sonoma in the north. Nine of these stations lie close to Pacific's undulating roll, along the romantic "El Camino Real," and of course these missions on the King's Highway are better known to tourists than those beyond the beaten path. The Franciscans did fine work in redeeming the natives from paganism to Christianity, and these old-time missions hold an honored place in the life of modern California. A giant cross, erected by popular subscription, surmounts Mount Rubidoux, an eminence affording a magnificent view of Riverside and the fragrant orange valley and mountain ranges, eloquently testifying to the affection of the populace for the memory of California's favorite son.

A non-sectarian service is held on this mountaintop every Easter, and last year a vast concourse of twenty-five thousand people assembled there at sunrise to honor the Franciscan who blazed the trail for Christianity and civilization a dozen years before the founders of our Republic put into being the noblest Roman of them all. Our Western friends, many of whom dwell in palaces dwarfing to mediocrity the most ornate homes of Carthage, are temperamentally exuberant and generous of heart, and it is lamentable, to say the least, that they have allowed several of the good Serra's monuments to crumble into spectral mounds of débris; but let us hope that the day is not far distant when these old adobe walls shall once again resound with fervent supplications to Him in whose honor and glory they were erected in the days of eld.

Mr. George Clark, an ardent admirer of Father Serra, dedicated this beautiful elegy to Bishop Conaty, late Bishop of Los Angeles, in which diocese the Franciscan began his work:

THE CROSS ON MOUNT RUBIDOUX.

Alone in rugged strength upon the ridge
Of yonder mount, all boulder-strewn and bare,
There stands, defying all elements,
A cross whose arms extended bless the vale.
So stood the one to whom the cross is raised;
But look you, man; Serra did more than stand—
He bravely strove; why, had he been content
To sing his morning Mass—to lift the cup—
To break the sacred wafer in the air—
No cross would speak his name from yonder mount.
But Serra strove, thro' years of arduous toil,
To lift the sullen savage to the Christ;
To fold him in the arms of Holy Church;
To teach him ways of gentleness and truth;
To tame his passions, and to make a man
From an ignoble brute.
For this he strove,
And striving, gained a name that shall endure
When yonder cross is crumbled into dust.

Pullmans roll into the Slope on eight transcontinental railroads, excluding the Canadian Pacific, with its terminus at Vancouver, and the Grand Trunk Pacific, which is building its Western outlet at Prince Rupert, five hundred miles north of Vancouver. The most agreeable route in summer is the Western Pacific or the Northern Pacific, either of which connects at Denver with the Denver and Rio Grande, which runs through the gorgeous mountain canyons of Colorado to Salt Lake City. A comfortable winter line is the Santa Fé, which enters California at the Needles and runs via San Bernardino and Riverside into Los Angeles; the Southern Pacific runs via New Orleans and El Paso, crossing the Colorado River at Yuma and entering the Golden State from the south. The morning train on the Santa Fé passes through San Bernardino county shortly after sunrise, thus giving the visitor his first glimpse of California grandeur, and as the train rolls along through peach orchards, orange groves, grape vineyards and verdant fields of almost every product known to man, the tongue fails to express the majesty of the panorama stretching before the

fascinated eye. At 9 o'clock we descry upon a mission-like station the name "Los Angeles," a town much larger now than in the Andalusian epoch, when it was known as "Pueblo de Nuestra Senora, la Reina de los Angeles," or in plain American, "City of Our Lady, the Queen of the Angels," for such it was christened back yonder in 1781, when California was a province of New Spain. Jehus of every size and degree stood prepared to waft us away to the "best hotel in the city"—and that is saying volumes, as the town contains many fine hostelries and the prices are reasonable; in fact, even in this costly era a large room and bath may be secured for \$1.50 a day, an excellent breakfast for 50 cents and a good dinner for 75 cents. Up to two years ago perhaps the most appetizing meal in all the world was to be had at the big Hotel Roslyn for thirty-five cents! It is quite true that the more aristocratic cafés charge fancy prices, but it is not compulsory to patronize them, and the popular hospices are elegant enough for a prince of the blood. The tourist who uses judgment gets his money's worth, even though the town contains as many parasites as "boosters," and "boosting" is an attribute of every loyal Los Angelean; to be otherwise might result in an emasculated frame for the hapless individual who fails to proclaim in strident voice the superior merits of the Southern metropolis. Competition is terrific, and this redounds to the benefit of transients. What the half-million natives do for a living is one of the riddles of the universe, industries being as few as snowflakes, but many of the residents are "well-fixed," and this income from elsewhere, together with the fruit and tourist trade, accounts for a large part of the vast army who neither toil nor spin. However, it should be remembered that the climate brings many people to the Coast, and jobs are as scarce as rivers in the Mojave Desert. Discreet westbound place-hunters always secure a return ticket ere leaving their homes "back East."

The town grows so fast that the census men are always thousands behind the actual population claimed by the citizens thereof; and it should be recalled that the port of San Pedro, twenty miles from the old Mexican Plaza, is incorporated within the limits of the city, being connected by a narrow strip known as "The Shoestring," thus making Los Angeles an official port of entry. The street car system is said to be "the finest in the world," and it cannot be disputed that it has few equals; this undoubtedly applies to the Pacific Electric, which runs fast-flying excursion cars to the coast resorts, to the missions, to Mount Lowe and many interesting points at the very moderate fare of one dollar, and the ticket includes a reservation in a plush-seated car and a loquacious conductor whose prodigious knowledge would make

Pliny the Elder appear as vacuous as Banquo's ghost. One of the most agreeable trips is to San Bernardino, Redlands and Riverside. As climatic conditions are somewhat vacillating, the mornings and nights frequently being hazy and cool, cautious travelers fetch along their overcoats, especially when they spend a dollar on the "Balloon Route" trip, taking in Venice and Santa Monica on the coast and likewise the frigid yet majestic suburb of Hollywood, where dwell in rose-covered homes the *haute monde* of the city.

The natives assert that Westlake and Eastlake Parks are just a few acres torn from the elysian fields above, and it may in truth be said that Universal City, ten miles from town, is the most unique "city" on the map, for this is where the "movies" are made. In the 1,700 acres comprising the "city" (and it has its own civic functionaries) there are policemen, restaurateurs, postmen, telegraphers, canyons, mountains, vales, rivers—everything germane to making of first-class moving pictures, the investment representing millions of money, and the admission fee to the public, twenty-five cents, being perhaps the cheapest entertainment on record, for at mealtime we behold giants and pygmies, comedians and tragedians, lords and ladies, virgins and villains carrying their own dinner from the cafeteria and masticating it just like ordinary mortals eat theirs. Universal City is unique among the corporations of the earth, the only exception being the Garden of Hesperides, commonly alluded to as Pasadena, a pleasant hour's ride by omnibus or trolley. Many men of many millions dwell here in palatial homes, but it is only fair to say that the cosy bungalows of the struggling bourgeois are also there in countless numbers. Boulevards of exquisite beauty crowd each other at every turn, but Marengo avenue, not altogether satisfied with the stately palaces on either side, calls upon nature for assistance, and hence we find double rows of the most luxuriant pepper trees shading the lawns and the inquisitive rubber-necks who ride on top of the sight-seeing cars that are always passing up and down this famous thoroughfare. Moreover, the sunken gardens on the Busch estate represent the ransom of a king, and were very evidently planned by landscape gardeners of no mean repute. Mr. Busch was a brewer of ambrosia well known to revelers who sacrifice at the shrine of Bacchus, and he put the profits to laudable use when he flung his gates ajar to those who care to tread the fragrant aisles of his enchanted gardens. When Easterners are shoveling snow without and coal within our Pasadena friends are enjoying their Tournament of Roses; but there is consolation in knowing that the balmy climate of this section of the Golden State is not conducive to the best interests of the human race, at least we are so informed

by wise men whose high mentality is beyond dispute. However, the carefree natives seem oblivious to all admonitions regarding their physical well-being.

Another city that sprang up like asparagus after an April shower is handsome, prosperous and out-of-the-way San Diego, 125 miles by the Santa Fé route down on the coast, and it is advisable to be on the alert when the strident-voiced conductor announces "San Dee-ay-go!" for Old Town, that venerable patriarch founded by the Spaniards on the sunny shores of California in 1769, lies two or three miles this side of the rich San Diego watering place with which we are so familiar. There is a woeful contrast between Old and New, but every trolley from the *sang froid* town the other side of the hill brings its group of sightseers to gaze upon the time-honored site Fray Serra established seven years before we were yet a nation. Dilapidation and débris are on every hand; even the first mission is numbered among the things that have passed to perdition—and this, too, in a Commonwealth with the bulging purse of Fortunatus! The very best these poor rich could do to memorialize the coming of Christianity has been to collect some of the tiles from the fallen roof and shape them into a rude cross to mark the site of the early church, and this exquisite artistry is surrounded by a railing sadly in need of a coat of paint! Richard Henry Dana mentions Old Town in his "Two Years Before the Mast," and Ramona and her Alessandro were married here, according to Mrs. Jackson's well-known and charming fiction; perhaps this is why the trolleys are labeled "Ramona's Marriage Place." The present church was dedicated in 1813; and in order to disprove the charge that all the padres were a lazy lot, their olive orchard, cactus hedges and irrigation ditches still remain for those who wish to view them. Spanish is the prevailing speech of the few remaining aborigines, who dwell in adobe shacks that have seen better days. A résumé of New San Diego would require a volume to portray; suffice to say it is second to none on the globe as a summer resort, winter resort, or resort for all conditions of human kind, more especially those who possess a plethora of things mundane. There are the usual million-dollar inns, beautiful manors, attractive cottages, enchanting palm-lined drives, big stores, fruit warehouses and a widespreading beach, with a clientele drawn from the four points of the compass. The farmers of this section are numbered among the most affluent followers of the plough.

Northbound tourists may leave San Diego by sea or journey on to San Pedro and sail on the boats running to San Francisco and

Seattle, or perchance they may select the inside route via Bakersfield on the Santa Fé, in order to visit the Yo-semitic National Park, within hailing distance of Lake Tahoe; but a most agreeable ride is the Southern Pacific Ocean Route, stretching along the shore of the Pacific for miles and miles, while on your right the Santa Ynés Mountains soar up and up into the diaphanous reaches of space, to finally reach Santa Barbara, whose famous mission was founded in 1786. The present church is the fourth of its line, and though several million-dollar hotels and gorgeous homes dwarf it architecturally, "The Mission" towers above everything in the vicinity; the sombre-garbed Franciscan Fathers are held in high esteem by residents and visitors alike, and from the lofty belfry a captivating cyclorama greets the eye from every side. Towards the west we behold the low and greenish islands of Santa Barbara Channel and the foaming whitecaps perennially crashing against the gently sloping shore; immediately below us hundreds of automobiles roll along the palm-lined Ocean Boulevard; to the rear we scan the gray and emerald ridges known to the citizens as Sant-ee-ne's, Spanish nomenclature for St. Agnes. Fifteen thousand members of the human family dwell here in comfortable habitations, and a good baker's dozen of them, judging by their luxurious estates, are not greatly perturbed by a twelve per cent. levy on their incomes. Of course, down around State street we find the facetious shopkeeper and his ilk, just as we find them everywhere, and in the lower part of town there are still extant a few adobe structures that bring us back to the days of the *ancien régime*. but Spanishtown is slowly receding before the oncoming children of Cathay—and the Chinese farmers are, excepting the Japanese, the most energetic tillers of the soil in the Golden State. As an illustration of the floral wealth of the community, at the Flower Fair held last June one hundred and sixty-three varieties of roses were exhibited.

The auto route from Santa Barbara traverses an amphitheatre of orchards, magnificent farms, verdant hills that kiss the stars, vales exhaling ambrosial zephyrs and roads not outranked by the drives of England or France, for the suburban thoroughfares of California are counted among the very best on this continent; they are well oiled and kept in excellent condition, with the result that automobiling is a pastime indulged in by all classes of society, and motorists are frequently met who first saw the light in Japan, Italy, Portugal, Germany, Ireland, Russia and elsewhere, the Golden State being a cosmopolis of gigantic girth. Finally San Luis Obispo is reached, and in this quiet little inland town we find many traces of other days. "Obispo" was a Spanish trading post;

so let us pause to read a passage describing the happy life and charming manners of the Castilians ere the advent of the roaring siren of the rails. To quote from Nordhoff, the noted traveler:

"The people are kindly and amiable, and though their pursuits (chiefly cattle raising) might be thought to tend to loud and rough ways, and do so where our own people manage cattle, here all went on quietly and decorously as though it was Sunday. The animals are handled firmly, but with great care and humanity. Spanish Californian houses are always scrupulously clean; their life has the merit of fitting the climate and the pursuits of the people. There remains in it, too, something which is too often lacking in our Eastern houses, a degree of trust and confidence and affection between master and servant, with not the least familiarity, however. I saw men—Indians—whose fathers had been in the same service, and of whom the proprietor told me that he would not hesitate to trust one of them with \$50,000 to carry to the nearest town. The Spaniards know how to manage the Indians. Their self-restraint and courtesy have great effect."

The happy faculty which the Spaniards possessed of cultivating habits of industry among the Indians is thus illustrated:

"Life on one of the old Spanish ranches was not so simple as we have been accustomed to think. Various handicrafts had been introduced by the priests, and the Indians were employed not only at the mission, but by the more substantial rancheros. They milked cows and made cheese; they dressed and tanned sheep and calf-skins for clothing; they wove blankets; they made wine; they raised grain enough for their bread, and the Indian women ground this on stones; they preserved the hides of cattle for the Boston ships, and at the San Fernando Mission, near Los Angeles, I saw huge stone and cement tanks in which they melted down and kept the tallow, which was also sold to the Boston men." And a counterpart to this picture of a wholesome and industrious life—in which the Indians were a substantial part and from which they derived great benefits—is that of the beautiful spirit of hospitality shown by the Spanish rancheros of those days: "When I went out to see Don Tomas, he received me at the door; he showed me my room, and in a few minutes he came bearing in his own hands a basin of water for my use. But behind him came half a dozen servants, to show me that what he did he did out of respect and welcome to me and that servants were at hand to do it if he did not choose to trouble himself."

We have remarked that California is a land of contrasts, and here's irrefragable evidence that the statement is beyond all cavil

(more especially during this cycle of the high cost of living): "In those days men used to travel from San Diego to Monterey and never spend a cent of money. When night came, you stopped at the nearest house. After supper you were shown your room. In the morning a clean shirt was at your bedside, and if you were known to the family, it was customary to place near the bed, on a table, also a sum of money, a hundred or two dollars, from which the visitor, if he needed it, was expected to help himself. (Lest my readers might think this incredible, I will add that General Vallejo has fully confirmed to me these and other particulars.) The next day a fresh horse was brought out and the traveler went his way. He usually carried with him a blanket, a hair rope to stake his horse and a riata or lasso; and in a bag, tied to his saddle, a small supply of pinola (a nourishing food, popcorn, parched and ground on a stone)."

Such a picture of bygone days is full of charm. It reflects light on the faith which developed in the people of Spanish blood those virtues which found their expression in such habits and traits of character. A change, however, came with the coming of the railroad; but it was not so much the railroad as other influences which estranged the people from their inherited philosophy of life and thus also from their former ways.

Monterey lies off the main line, and the two-hours' wait at Watsonville is more than offset when the sightseer reaches the ancient capital, for here we behold in all its grandeur "the silver livery of advised age," as our friend Henry VI. was wont to say. The Spaniard handed over his dynastic rights in 1848, but the air of Castile still suffuses the atmosphere about us. Picturesque adobe houses of days ago are still in evidence, and the palpable carefreeness of the 6,000 inhabitants is antithetical of everything American. Some of the shops are of fair size, and the balmy climate and captivating surroundings have brought in families of affluence, and these, together with the farm products shipped to San Francisco, principally by water, keep the town in operation. All California resorts have "something different" to offer the visitor, and now de descry emblazoned on the windows of a clean and Oriental café the inviting words: "The best one-dollar dinner on the Coast;" but let the gourmet decide as to the truth or falsity of the claim: Abalone chowder, baked yellowtail and broiled salmon steak from the bay, roast goat from the hills, chili con carne and hot tomares, mushrooms, asparagus, figs, plums, grapes and claret from the garden—and the stoic-looking descendant of Confucius seems to be well up on the roster of income taxpayers,

too. Abalone is a shellfish that loiters around the coast, and though very tough in its pristine condition, a Chinese *chêf* can transform it into many delectable dishes. As regards the roast goat, all of us in song and jest through all the ages know that Billy has had most of the left-handed compliments. All that the goat has done to redeem his character counts for nothing, but the most fashionable men and women wear on their feet and hands the skin of the kid; the finest of shawls, some of the most popular winter garments are the product of the hill-browsers. Dainty offspring of the "upper ten" are fed with the milk of the goat; it produces the finest cheese, and its nether extremities furnish French lamb chops and English shoulders of mutton costly enough and luscious enough to grace the menu of the Grand Hotel. The old capital has its Parnassian songsters, but none more sublime than our good friend Daniel O'Connell:

MONTEREY.

In a mantle of old traditions,
In the rime of a vanished day,
The shrouded and silent city
Sits by her crescent bay.
Gardens of wonderful roses,
Climbing o'er roof and wall,
Woodbine and crimson geranium,
Hollyhocks, purple and tall,
Mingle their odorous breathings
With the crisp salt breeze from the sands,
Where pebbles and sounding sea-shells
Are gathered by children's hands.
Women, with olive faces,
And the liquid Southern eye,
Dark as the forest berries
That grace the woods in July.
Tenderly train the roses,
Gathering here and there
A bud—the richest and rarest—
For a place in their long, dark hair.
Feeble and garrulous old men
Tell, in the Spanish tongue,
Of the good, grand times at the Mission,
And the hymns that the Fathers sung;
Of the oil and the wine, and the plenty,
And the dance in the twilight gray—
"Ah! these," and the head shakes sadly,
"Were good times in Monterey!"

Monterey is one of the most picturesque of the historical cities in America. Under Franciscan rule the place thrived, but during the time Mexico was struggling for independence the Spanish ruler Cortez in 1822 deprived the friars of their authority and turned their possessions over to the secular clergy. The year 1845 completed the destruction of the Franciscans, and the war between the United States and Mexico ended Mexican rule; nor should it be forgotten that it was here in 1846 that John Drake Sloat raised the Stars and Stripes and claimed the soil as American in the name of the United States. Robert Louis Stevenson had a cottage near the bay, and the rose bush planted by General Sherman at the home of his sweetheart, Senorita Bonifacio, has flourished until it has covered the wall of the adobe house and falls to the ground in masses of bloom. The famous strategist never returned to Monterey, but his first love waited and tended the rose bush, and until the year she died she could be seen almost any day standing beneath the latticed arbor dreaming of the happy days of yore.

Every train and many automobiles frequently bring their quota to "look things over;" some take in the wonders of the Seventeen Mile Drive, a drive up hills, down dales, around curves, through forests, along cliffs and amidst scenery bewitching enough to send skeptics into ecstasies of delight. But all eventually visit quiet little Carmel Valley, five miles away, to view the second mission established by Junipero Serra, San Carlos on the Carmel, founded in 1771. Here the good Fray worked among the natives, and after thirteen years of arduous labors, closed his eyes in eternal sleep in 1784. He died alone and unattended, and thousands yearly come to kneel and pray above his tomb before the altar of the small stone chapel so dear to the heart of one who rendered faithful service to the living God.

CARMEL.

In Carmel pines the summer wind
Sings like a distant sea.
O harps of green, your murmurs find
An echoing chord in me!
On Carmel shore the breakers moan
Like pines that breast the gale.
O whence, ye winds and billows, flown
To cry your wordless tale?

A good auto road runs from Monterey to the prune-laden Santa Clara Valley, and we are agreeably surprised to find San José a

thriving and handsome city of 40,000 souls. The town is up-to-date in every respect, and the climate, comfortable homes and general surroundings are warranted to lift a croaker from his doldrums. Fast-flying electric cars radiate in every direction, even to San Francisco, and quiet but pretty Santa Clara is reached through a tree-lined avenue known as the Alameda; moreover, the trolleyite going to Los Gatos, a nice little spot amidst the hills, may from time to time stretch out a hand and steal a luscious orange from myriads of swaying branches that sometimes touch the car.

Mission San José de Guadalupe, contrary to popular belief, is twenty miles from the city of San José, which, by the way, was the first white man's town to be laid out in California. The Mission is merely a small settlement, and the old church has almost entirely disappeared, though the ruins have been restored in the past few years, until now the building has a new appearance with its roof of modern tiles and a coat of very white paint. The Franciscans and their work here and elsewhere are only dust, but the activities of the church are by no means at an end. Close to the street on the Mission land are a modern steepled church and a rectory, and in the rear stands the convent of the Dominican Sisters, set in a garden such as befits—

“Pensive nun, devout and pure,
Sober, steadfast and demure.”

A short distance away, near Irvington, we reach an ancient cemetery, and within the moss-grown walls we descry a cross with this inscription: “Here sleep four thousand of the Ohlone Tribe, who helped the Padres build this Mission San José de Guadalupe. Sacred be their memory.”

WILLIAM S. LONG.

Camden, N. J.

FRANCE IN THE LEVANT.

WHEN in 1783 Rivarol wrote his "Discourse on the Universality of the French Language," he was far from suspecting the nature of the chief service which his mother tongue, despite its relative decline, was destined to render France in the nineteenth century. Having conceived the future world as one vast philosophical federation of states without national aspirations and dominated by a universal tongue—the French of course—he foresaw neither the intense nationalism of the following century, nor its concomitant, commercial rivalry, which rapidly gave rise to a general scramble for colonies.¹ Great indeed would have been the astonishment of Rivarol and his contemporaries could they have returned to our "universal federation" a few years ago, during the period of keenest competition between the various peoples, languages and civilizations—a competition which is certain to be renewed, especially in commerce, after the world war. And inasmuch as commercial prosperity has come to be invariably associated with territorial expansion, one vital question for every great power will probably still be how to extend, or at least hold, its "spheres of influence" in disintegrating countries. For the coming treaty of peace, though it be framed by the master-minds of all time, cannot do away with the struggle for existence among nations. It does not lie within the power of men to alter the laws of political economy.²

To be sure, the old imperialisms will at first proceed cautiously with their plans for trade expansion. There will be a temporary lull in the struggle for seacoast and inland territory. But as soon as the nations have set their houses in order the rivalry is likely to be renewed along the same general lines as before: political, economic, intellectual. In the struggle for supremacy in decadent countries each expanding nation must still depend on its diplomacy, its commerce and its schools. More and more on its schools,

¹ Failure to understand the value of colonies was general in France in the eighteenth century. Montesquieu believed that they only weakened the mother country to no avail for either. Similarly Voltaire regretted that "two civilized nations should be at war over a few acres of snow-covered territory in Canada." Bernardin de Saint-Pierre declared that he would feel that he had rendered his country a great service if he succeeded in preventing even one compatriot from emigrating to the colonies. In short, the most influential French writers of the time regarded all the efforts at colonial expansion of Henry IV., of Richelieu and Colbert as "l'illusion qui berce nos politiques."

² "La guerre!" exclaims Victor Margueritte in "La Terre natale" (1917). "elle renaitra, c'est entendu, sous d'autres formes, celle de la concurrence et du libre échange. Lois de vie, et non de mort."

doubtless; for while the golden days of colony-grabbing in broad daylight are past, "pacific penetration" of a moral and intellectual nature bids fair to remain a favorite procedure. And in this form of expansion, teachers, physicians and missionaries can accomplish more than military and naval forces.

It is here that the propagators of the French language can be an incalculable asset to France after the war, just as they were in her marvelous colonial expansion. Most of us fail to realize to what extent France owes her present colonial empire—a territory equal to the United States without Alaska—to her foreign mission schools. As a rule, it was on their acquired rights that she based her territorial claims. Had it not been for her missionaries, who paved the way with their schools, hospitals and dispensaries, France would to-day possess neither Indo-China nor Madagascar, neither her most valuable islands in Oceanica, nor more than half of her territory in Africa. Without them her influence in Egypt and China would be greatly diminished. It was her missionaries who, continuing the traditions of the Crusades, and favored by the exceptional position of their country as protector of the Christians in the Levant, have established for France in Palestine and Syria, in Asia Minor and European Turkey spheres of "moral influence" which no other country can duplicate even approximately.

These conquests of the French language, though not made in the sense understood by Rivarol, have already done much to promote its "universality." Through no other agency has the civilization of France been so generally disseminated. Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu, our greatest authority on the subject, declares in all truth that "from the old countries of the Far East to the young States of the two Americas, French missionary institutions are the chief—often the only—centres of French culture and influence." Similar views have been expressed by such eminent writers as Brunetière, Albert Vandal, Gabriel Charmes, Etienne Lamy, Georges Goyau, Pierre Foncin, Gaston Deschamps, Georges Poignant and a score of others. That their opinions are justified will be the conviction of any one who takes the trouble to examine "*France Abroad*" ("*La France au Dehors*"), that monumental work in six volumes by J. B. Piolet. From books of this nature our misconception of still another side of French life becomes at once manifest. Here we learn that the missionary spirit of traditional France, far from being decadent, as frequently supposed, was never so active or so fruitful as in the second half of the nineteenth century, notwithstanding the shortsighted opposition of the home Government during the last twenty-five years of the period.

The noble work of the French mission schools in every part of the world is an attractive subject, but no other country so deserves to claim our attention at present as the Levant. This because of the uncertain fate of all Allied property in the Ottoman Empire since Turkey entered the war. Exactly what is happening to the property and institutions of France in Turkey nobody in the Allied countries really knows; but for that very reason their extent, their history and their prospects in the coming peace conference are a subject of timely interest.

The present unrivaled moral prestige of France in the Levant is her reward for a thousand years of apostolate, first as the bitter foe, then as the reluctant ally of Islam. France, as the founder of the Papal States in the eighth century, led the Crusades with a zeal unknown to the other peoples of the Occident. The courage of her knights, their chivalrous generosity and their heroic sacrifices naturally gave them the first claim to whatever conquests were made. In this way the foundation of French influence was established. During the relatively short existence of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, of the Latin Empire and their minor conquests the "Franks" made upon the Near East an impression which time has never completely effaced. For centuries after the withdrawal of the Western Christians certain of the subject peoples of Islam yearned for the return of their French liberators—a hope that probably would have been early realized had all the Christians coöperated, but in the following centuries France discovered in her Christian neighbors far more formidable enemies than the Moslems. Scarcely had she begun to recuperate from the disastrous Hundred Years' War with England when she found herself engaged in a life-and-death struggle with Charles V., whose mighty empire threatened to squeeze her as in the jaws of a vise. It is not surprising, therefore, that Francis I., who had been utterly defeated by the Emperor at Pavia in 1525, should have sought to enlist the aid of allies, regardless of their religious creed. For, after all, was not the equilibrium of Europe vastly more important to mankind than possession of the Holy Places, or even the fate of the Christians in the Levant? Such was Francis' justification for leaguings himself with the head of Islam, the only power prepared to strike Austria by land and Spain by sea. Moreover, the French, having found their Moslem adversaries valiant in combat and chivalrous in truce, had learned to respect them.

The intentions of Francis I. in concluding this momentous treaty with the Sultan Suleiman in 1535 were in reality not blameworthy. Far from abandoning the Christians in the Orient, he purposed to

become their protector—that is, at the same time the political ally of the Sultan and the natural defender of his Christian subjects. Yet the alliance grieved the French people, for they regarded any compact with Islam as a betrayal of Christian civilization, hence contrary to the traditions of their race. Still, the agreement was exceedingly favorable to France, since it virtually gave her a monopoly of the political, commercial and religious interests of all the Christians in the Ottoman Empire.

The political concessions, as the first category of the “Capitulations” may be called, not only granted the ambassadors of France precedence over all others, but placed her subjects under the jurisdiction of her consuls—a privilege not enjoyed by any other nation. The commercial privileges gave the French the right to carry on trade anywhere in the Sultan’s dominions, whereas other nations might do so only “sous la bannière de France.” Likewise in matters of religion: the French received the privilege both of practising their religion freely and of visiting the Holy Places. Of other nations only the “friends of the Emperor of France” might do the same.

This monopoly of privileges might be called the official consecration of a situation that had existed since the Crusades, for ever since that time the French, in spite of their failure to hold the Kingdom of Jerusalem against the Sultan Saladin, had been regarded throughout the entire Levant as the traditional representatives of Christian civilization. After the loss of Jerusalem contact with France had been maintained through the princes of French descent who ruled from the beginning of the twelfth to the end of the fifteenth century in the eastern basin of the Mediterranean. On the island of Cyprus eighteen successive Frankish sovereigns of the house of Lusignan reigned until 1489, governing in accordance with the famous “Assises de Jérusalem,” a code of exceptionally just laws, drawn up in French, which served also as a model for Rhodes, Antioch and other parts of Syria. Thanks to these circumstances, the tradition of France as the champion of justice had survived from the Bosphorus to the Red Sea. This enabled Francis I. to gather together all the threads of earlier French influence and weave them into the substantial fabric known as the Protectorate over the Christians. And though the Valois pact with the Sultan, always an anomaly—an alliance of crowns, not of peoples—grew distasteful to the last Bourbons of the Old Monarchy, yet the upright Louis XVI., tempted by Catherine II., who, of course, coveted Constantinople, refused to betray his Moslem ally for Egypt or the Netherlands. But after the Revolution the position of France in the Orient became less secure through the dissemination among Turkey’s

Christian subjects of the "principles of 1789." Greeks, Serbians, Rumanians, Bulgarians and Armenians, imbued with the spirit of liberty, demanded their national independence. This France hoped to obtain for them gradually by a policy of compromise—which naturally pleased neither side. Her attitude was the *juste milieu* between England's and Russia's, the former seeking in her own interest to save the Turkish Empire at all cost, the latter, for a like reason, to partition it, even though it were the best of governments.

Meanwhile for other reasons Turkish dissatisfaction with her former ally was growing. After France had herself seized Algeria (1830) and as the friend of Mehemet Ali declared that Egypt must be free, the Turk began to wonder what sort of people the French were, who at the same time protected, neglected and despoiled Islam. The famous words of Napoleon's proclamation from Cairo: "The French are the true Mussulmans," must have seemed bewildering to him. Owing to these events, France never fully recovered her former influence with the Porte, though up to 1870, especially after the Crimean War, her prestige in the Levant, all in all, was equal to that of England. Her moral prestige, indeed, is still predominant. Influence with the Sultan and prestige among his subject peoples are not necessarily synonymous.

After 1870 the Turkish question, hitherto chiefly diplomatic, began, as a result of the growing commercial rivalry among the nations, to assume more and more an economic aspect. Yet even then diplomatic influence remained essentially the key to commercial expansion in Turkey, at least in the sense of important industrial concessions. For ten years—until 1880—circumstances favored England; since 1880, owing at first to Gladstone's affront to the Turk, they favored Germany. For the influence of England once impaired, misunderstandings between Turkey and France naturally resulted to the advantage of Germany's expansion in the Orient, which became noticeable soon after 1870. In 1876 Prussia raised her legation in Constantinople to the rank of an embassy. Two years later, after the Congress of Berlin, Bismarck succeeded in filling with Prussian officers the Turkish military mission left vacant by France since her disasters of 1870. This diplomatic success brought the Germans orders for cannon and other supplies—practical compensations which they have insisted on rigidly in all subsequent relations with the Porte. They are not, like the French, content with mere "gloire."

Thus Germany, by pressing every advantage and not hesitating to use all phases of diplomatic intrigue, quickly made marvelous strides in Turkey. Starting from nothing, as Etienne Lamy ex-

presses it, in the thirty years following 1870 she not only built up in Turkey a commerce equal to that of France, but acquired such influence with the Porte that in 1902 Abdul Hamid granted her the Bagdad Railway concession. This, as Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., has recently shown in his admirable book,³ was one of the chief causes of the present war. For when the Kaiser unmasked his heavy artillery through the blatant Pan-German press, it became patent to the most naive observer that Germany aimed at nothing less than the complete economic and political control of all Asiatic Turkey. Even before the war she already regarded Syria and Mesopotamia as virtually hers.

This does not mean that the French had been idle in Turkey. On the contrary, their commercial interests—exports and imports, railway and mining concessions, port and harbor constructions, public utilities, flour mills, tanneries, silk mills, etc.—though not perhaps organized with German thoroughness, grew steadily from year to year. As to their schools and benevolent institutions, these far exceeded in value those of all other nations combined. In 1912, according to the latest statistics available, the exports of France to Turkey amounted to over 100 million francs. Her investments in Turkish railways (750 miles) represented 600 million francs. Her mining concessions, tramways, harbor improvements, schools, hospitals, public utilities and general commercial enterprises were valued at approximately 1,100 million francs. These sums, when added to the French holdings of Turkish securities, or about 1,800 million francs, make three and one-half billion francs (700 million dollars) as the grand total of French financial interests in Turkey. France has always been Turkey's chief creditor. Moreover, the new railway concessions obtained by the French just before the war would have doubled in length their previous lines had peace endured. Certain parts of Asiatic Turkey, especially Syria, are saturated with French influence, despite the ambitious pretensions of Germany.

These facts speak well for a country that has suffered so many political reverses as France. Though both her diplomatic influence and her commerce have declined, relatively, in Turkey since 1789, disfavor with the Porte was the inevitable consequence of her rôle as the champion of justice. No other nation could have succeeded even so well in the same capacity. The chief mistake made by France was her attitude of irresolution after 1870. This may have seemed dictated by necessity, but the Porte did not appreciate it.

³ "The War and the Bagdad Railway." Lippincott, 1917. To Professor Jastrow I am further indebted for numerous suggestions and valuable bibliographical information.

For example, her failure to prevent, or at least to exact reparation for the Armenian massacres could not but injure her prestige among the oppressed Turkish subjects, though they understood that France was herself a victim of circumstances. At any rate, Germany alone, who from the rôle of a silent witness to those outrages has adhered to our own days to that of a cynical abettor, profited from them, just as she did from the war between Turkey and Greece, in which she happened to stake on the winning horse.

Notwithstanding this partial relative decline of France's diplomatic prestige and commercial rank in the Levant, her moral influence, as previously noted, remains intact. With the exception of a slight check due to diplomatic weakness, it has flourished as the others have declined. France's protectorate over the Christians in the Levant—that is, Catholic Christians, since 1774, the year in which Russia obtained the right to “protect” the Porte's Orthodox subjects—has survived all the changes in her government. With the exception of the Third Republic, latterly, every régime, even the Revolutionary government, which sought to “dechristianize” France, apparently prized the protectorate as a valuable heritage. Its vitality is further attested by the assaults it has withstood at various times from Protestant and Catholic countries alike: Germany, England, Italy, Austria. One intrigue that for a time seemed to give serious promise of success was the effort to induce the Vatican to establish legations in Constantinople and Peking, so dispensing with the services of France. Germany in particular exhausted all the ingenuity of Prussian duplicity in her efforts to supplant France. But thanks to the good sense of Cardinal Rampolla and to Lefebvre de Béhaine, the able French representative at the Vatican, Germany's only substantial success (now happily nullified) was in China, where, as in the Levant, France had become the protector of the Christians. And in 1898, just before the Kaiser started on his pompous trip to Jerusalem, Leo XIII., in an autograph letter addressed to Cardinal Langénieux, Archbishop of Rheims, gave recognition anew to the French protectorate in the Orient.

In view of this loyalty of the Church to France, William II. could not dislodge her, though in 1901, with the aid of the Porte, he succeeded in violating temporarily her protective rights. This violation, however, was regarded as of no consequence by the French Government. After tearing up the Concordat (1905), France voluntarily permitted Italy to assume protection over those missions in the Levant where Italian subjects predominated. She even went farther. At a time when various nations were intriguing to annul the French protectorate, the spirit of violence at home, by expelling the relig-

ious orders, only played into the hands of her rivals. For where were the religious orders to train their personnel for their hundreds of schools and charitable institutions in foreign countries? When in the spring of 1914 this personnel had been reduced by one-half, anti-clericals of all shades realized at last that such a policy was national suicide. Parliament, apparently taking the view of Gambetta and Jules Ferry that "anti-clericalism should not be an article of export," adopted an amendment authorizing the seminaries necessary for training such missionaries to reopen in France. Though much harm had already been done, probably none was irreparable.⁴ At least so all friends of France sincerely hope; for even if the present war ends with a decisive victory for the Allied arms, the Eastern question will remain a contest for influence, though doubtless on a reduced scale. In that event France is likely to profit greatly from her schools and charitable institutions in the Turkish Empire, which for years have been inculcating in millions of Moslems respect for her ideals.

That she should so profit is only natural, for as Joseph de Maistre used to say, the French mind is truly apostolic. It is also the most universal, and hence truly catholic. France is at the same time the oldest and the most modern of the Latin nations. French missionaries have always sought to civilize mankind. And as they alone have in modern times fully succeeded in their difficult work, we infer that they, more than the others, possess the true vocation.⁵ At any rate, France has contributed proportionately far more both in workers and in money than any other country. Her 9,000 men and 12,000 women engaged in foreign missionary activity are respectively eight and twenty times the contribution of German Catholics, who are more than half as numerous as those of France. In other words, the French religious orders furnish two-thirds of all mission priests and four-fifths of the teaching and nursing Sisters. Equally generous is their contribution in money, which, for instance, amounts to almost three times that of Germany. Thanks to her large, well-

⁴ It is an undeniable fact that ever since the outbreak of the war France has had to bear the resentment that this unwise policy awakened in certain countries, particularly Spain and Canada. Louis Bertrand, who carefully investigated the attitude of the Spanish people in the second year of the war, came to the conclusion that this anti-religious policy of the French Parliament and Government had turned against his country not only the Catholics, but all the people with religious convictions in the world. Somewhat earlier Victor Giraud, in an article on post-bellum France, after calling attention to this same injury abroad, declared that the expulsion and proscription of patriotic Frenchmen could never again be tolerated.

⁵ Four-fifths of the 1,400,000 Catholics in China, according to Georges Goyau, are French converts.

trained force of zealous workers, French missionary activity has spread during the last sixty years to every country in the world, more particularly to China, India, Oceania, Africa and Turkey.*

Perhaps because of the historical associations we have noted, it is in Turkey that French missions have attained some of their best results. Prior to the Crimean War, to be sure, it was difficult to open schools there, though hospitals, dispensaries, asylums and orphanages had, with restrictions, been permitted for some time. These institutions, by helping to dispel Mohammedan prejudice and distrust, gradually paved the way for education, and after the war French religious orders, which already possessed property in every important centre of the country, hastened to organize schools, despite the vexing official delays that only those who have done business with the Porte can fully realize. From Constantinople to Bagdad, and from Salonica to Aden, at first chiefly in the coast regions, then farther inland, everywhere the network was extended. Thus after providing for such cities as Sofia, Adrianople, Constantinople, Smyrna, Angora, Sivas, Diarbekir, Van, Mosul, Bagdad, Aleppo, Antioch, Tripoli (in Syria), Beirut, Antura, Saida, Damascus, Jerusalem, Alexandria and Cairo, the missionaries, adopting a sort of zone system, opened schools in the minor towns around each nucleus. A methodical thoroughness worthy of German "efficiency" characterized this work.

All grades of instruction, from the most elementary to secondary and higher education, were offered, besides practical, technical and professional training. Thousands of waifs have been reclaimed by the Sisters from the dangers of starvation and disease and given a respectable start in life. Other thousands, after going through a practical school, have entered some one of the Government services: customs, post and telegraph, lighthouse, railways, the tobacco monopoly, etc. From still other schools have come engineers, doc-

* French missionaries, while devoting their lives to the pressing moral and physical needs of mankind, have at the same time done much for the advancement of learning. Besides making valuable contributions to linguistics, ethnology, anthropology, archaeology, botany (more than 200 new plants bear the name of Father Sacleux), zoology and entomology, they have enriched France with priceless collections of specimens. No other country possesses a collection of Chinese entomological specimens comparable to that of Messrs. Oberthür at Rennes. Nor is it likely that any other savant has produced a work equal to Father Zottoli's "*Cursus litteraturae sinicae*," a Latin translation in five stout volumes of the Chinese classics. Numerous French missionaries have distinguished themselves in the study of Chinese, Arabic, Syriac, etc. Particularly noted for their learned teachers are the Jesuit University of St. Joseph, in Beirut, and the Dominican College of St. Stephen, in Jerusalem, the two foremost French schools in the Levant.

tors, lawyers, consular and diplomatic officials, though frequently Turkish students desiring to prepare for one of the last-named careers prefer to study in France. In fact France, "*la grande pourvoyeuse d'idées*" for the Orient, constantly draws from Turkey and the Balkan States thousands of people who feel obliged to seek a counterpoise to German Kultur.

We do not mean to imply that the French alone support educational institutions in Turkey, though their enrollment of 120,000 pupils in 1914 was probably twice that of all the other foreign nations together. There are scores of excellent schools maintained by the Jewish society called the "*Alliance israélite universelle*;" these, however, from a linguistic point of view, count as French and their teachers are trained in France. Then, too, the English, Americans, Russians, Italians and Germans are all represented. Only the American institutions are of special interest to us. Besides their well-known colleges in Constantinople, in Beirut and Harput, the Americans conduct a number of less important schools. But in spite of great merits, these schools have not had the success of the French. Without the least intention of belittling our achievements, the French assert that our schools, albeit richly endowed, do not, like theirs, appeal to all races and creeds. It cannot be denied that the American School of Medicine at Beirut, though founded in 1866—seventeen years before the French faculty of the same place—was soon outclassed by the latter in enrollment. Fortunately, both sexes have enjoyed the rain of foreign manna. One of the most gratifying features of the French schools is the attention they devote to the education of girls, who represent about two-fifths of the enrollment. "Thanks to the French religious orders," declares Georges Poignant, "the education of girls has in the last fifty years become as thorough in Syria as in France." The same might be said without much exaggeration of certain other parts of Turkey. More than any other factor, the education of women has tended to raise the standard of morality and civilization in Turkey. In general the beneficent influence of the thousand or more French schools in the Turkish Empire has been many-sided and profound. Society everywhere reflects it. All the educated inhabitants of Syria, for example, speak and think in French, which has become not only the interracial language of Turkey, but also its official language in all foreign connections. Thus the Bagdad Railway concession, though granted to a German syndicate, bears an official French title. The Turkish language, except in administrative circles, is not understood in Syria (south of Aleppo). Italian, formerly much spoken in the Levant, has declined; and inasmuch as Greek is little

used in polite society, this virtually leaves only vulgar Arabic and French. Now that Russian is no longer a dangerous competitor, French may still become in all truth "queen of the Eastern Mediterranean."

Such is France's position in what remains of the Turkish Empire almost four hundred years after the Valois pact with Suleiman the Magnificent. During these eventful centuries, which have witnessed the varying fortunes of so many countries and peoples, France has maintained a remarkably constant policy in Turkey. In fact history records few, if any alliances that lasted so long. But even without the irreconcilable differences between the Turk and his oppressed subject peoples, which France so generously undertook to adjust, the rapid economic transformations of the nineteenth century would have made the unchanged continuance of the alliance impossible. How could France, with such powerful rivals, maintain a diplomatic and commercial monopoly in a vast empire like Turkey? Yet it is our conviction that after the war France can and will regain almost entirely her former diplomatic and commercial rank in the Near East. Her moral monopoly—the pacific primacy of charity—she still does hold and most worthily, thanks to the apostolic genius of her people.

This primacy German commercial travelers can never wrest from her, provided the French Government does not resume its unwise policy of fifteen years ago. Its greatest danger would be a reconciliation of the Vatican and the Quirinal, making it difficult for the Holy See to preserve the French protectorate in the Orient. This preponderant moral position, to say nothing of her vast financial interests in Turkey, assures for France a strong case in the coming peace conference, which will unquestionably have due respect for such claims. Everything, indeed, is in France's favor: priority of rights, dating from the Crusades and consecrated by international treaties; constant tradition; preponderance as a creditor; centuries of service in the interest of suffering mankind and as the champion of justice; respect and gratitude of the subject peoples; confidence of the Powers. Why should her legitimate aspirations not be realized? Has she not contributed more than any other in human lives and treasures to combat the material infirmities and intellectual cecity of Islam?

By the "legitimate aspirations" of France, I mean first of all an unrestricted protectorate over Syria—a Syria extending from the Taurus Mountains in the North to Palestine, and bounded on the east by the Desert, so including Alexandretta, Aleppo and Damascus. This territory, as we have seen, has become the economic and

intellectual patrimony of France. To give Syria to England, as recently suggested by Professor James H. Breasted,¹ would be not only unnecessary, but unwise and unjust. Unnecessary because the occupation of this territory by France would, by preventing invasion from the "bridgehead" in the north, remove the danger to Suez; unwise because it would make England disproportionately powerful in the Levant;² unjust because of France's well-earned claims to Syria. Unsatisfactory and unjust, too, would be the internationalization of Syria—a solution proposed by Professor Jastrow³—since such an arrangement likewise, by putting France in a class with the other Powers, would rob her of the fruits of her noble efforts. Moreover, after twice purchasing Morocco—which together with Algeria and Tunis makes her one of the leading Arab Powers—France should (to quote Count Cressaty)⁴ possess also "the heart and brain of the Mussulman world." Yes, France deserves Syria; she must not let it slip from her grasp, as she did Egypt, through unwarranted timidity. Besides, she must recover her former judicial rights implied in the "Capitulations," which the Porte, on entering the war, declared annulled forever. Her schools and charitable institutions can thus resume their beneficent work both in Syria and those parts of Turkey that shall continue under Ottoman rule. No other arrangement would do justice to France and at the same time so well safeguard the interests of mankind in the Levant.

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¹ *The Nation*, June 8, 1918.

² "The War and the Bagdad Railway." Professor Jastrow does not specifically mention Syria, but inasmuch as he suggests placing Mesopotamia, Palestine and Arabia under an international protectorate, I take it that he would include Syria also.

³ This eminent authority is extensively quoted by Charles Vincent in his article on Syria which appeared in the *Revue hebdomadaire* of May 15, 1915.

THE SINGER OF IRISH MELODIES.

"We found our hero in his study, a table before him covered with books and papers, a drawer half opened and stuffed with letters, a piano also, open, at a little distance; and the thief himself, a little man, but full of spirits, with eyes, hands, feet and frame forever in motion, looking as if it would be a feat for him to sit for three minutes quiet in his chair. I am no great observer of proportions, but he seemed to me to be a neat-made little fellow, tidily buttoned up, young as fifteen at heart, though with hair that reminded me of 'Alps in the sunset'; though not handsome perhaps, but something in the whole *cut* of him that pleased me; finished as an actor, but without an actor's affectation; easy as a gentleman, but without *some* gentlemen's formality; in a word, as people say when they find their brains begin to run aground at the fag-end of a magnificent period, we found him a hospitable, warm-hearted Irishman as pleasant as could be himself, and disposed to make others so."

THUS did Gerald Griffin describe the man who reproduced in English verse the rhythms of Irish folksongs, Tom Moore, whose melodies were as melancholy as the Irish mountains and as beautiful. For it is thus as a person rather than as a writer that we must always think of Tom Moore. In spite of their continued success, which has well endured even after many years, the value of the songs was largely in Moore's own singing of them. From the very boudoir education of his youth, his music lessons and his writing of verses were all pointed toward displaying his talent in the drawingroom. This he did so effectively on one occasion as to make Lord Byron weep by singing "When he who adores thee." With sweet pathos and a sincere sentiment he often sat down to a pianoforte and held spellbound a salon full of distinguished people. At one dinner his distinguished private audience included Rogers the poet, Lord Clifden, Charles Fox, Lord and Lady Gage, the Lubbocks, Lord Davy and Jekyll. At another it was Coleridge, Rogers, Wordsworth, Robinson and Charles and Mary Lamb. At fifty-four years of age he records singing a good many songs, and finally escaping amidst a general demand for more songs. But he was not at all vain about the attention given him; he could render "The Boys of Kilkenny" even without a pianoforte, "in order not to appear fine;" he could pay generous compliments to the true and solid merits of Wordsworth, Macaulay and Sydney Smith; he could be fêted in an Edinburgh theatre and speak only of his excellent host, Sir Walter Scott; he could even forego music altogether and carry on a bookish conversation with Dr. Parr on Erasmus and Homer. He was a poet, was Tom Moore, in the older and better sense of the word, a maker of rhythmical lines.

"Music!—oh! how faint, how weak,
 Language fades before thy spell!
 Why should feeling ever speak,
 When thou canst breathe her soul so well."

So it was that Moore awaked again the harp that he found on Tara's walls with the dark chain of silence hung round it. In the days when singing was all the vogue, when Vernon was rattling off rollicking hunting songs to Vauxhall crowds, when Dibdin was touring the provinces and alternately amusing large audiences with musical entertainments, nautical and otherwise (who does not remember "Tom Bowling"?). Tom Moore was being courted by "the first gentleman of Europe" and was paying pretty compliments to Frances Anne Kemble, was gracing the brightest salons of the land with his sprightly wit and charming voice, and in addition was grateful to know that his own countrymen in Erin were repeating his musical numbers even in the humblest cottages of Ireland. It may be true that, as he himself said of the "Irish Melodies," "It is impossible for these verses to be detached from the beautiful airs to which they were associated without losing even more than the *animæ dimidium* in the process;" yet it is likewise true that his own attractive personality brought them much of their fame. Not to a mere poet did a young lady at a country ball pay the compliment of wrapping up her hand in her shawl that no one else might touch it that evening; the compliment was paid to the Irish character which would not be blinded by a British social success, which several times publicly gave evidence of Celtic loyalty, of spirited independence and of that warmth of heart and open kindness so typical of all true sons of Erin. Living not far from London, he left his little cottage and his family from time to time to go up to town and sing his songs once in a while; and in similar fashion, with his heart across the water, he found, as so many others, that absence strengthens our love for the land where we were born, and brought to England the political sentiments of his people in sweet and melancholy music whose echoes have not died with a hundred passing years. Words and philosophy and picturesque portrayal all lose their interest; sincere sentiment never. The songs therefore live; and this Moore himself foresaw, for he told Longman in 1827 that "in a race to future times (if anything of mine could pretend to such a run) those little ponies, the 'Melodies,' would beat the mare 'Lalla' hollow."

There are no particularly romantic chapters in Moore's life, yet our whole thought of him is tinged with romance. The poems are romantic in one sense in the manner of the new so-called "romantic movement," for he introduced a tremendous number of new stanza forms and rhythms into English poetry, introduced and in his great success popularized them. Of the manner of the eighteenth century his work retains some traces. His Fancy, Virtue, Hope, Right,

Spirit of Love, Liberty and Treason were the conventionalized virtues of the time and had little of the airy fantasy of Blake nor the fiery philosophy of Shelley. Another characteristic of the late eighteenth century was the Oriental theme; and yet this links him up with the Southey of "Thalaba" and the Byron of "Lara" and "The Giaour." He read and liked Rogers' poems as early as 1793, and yet in many ways his work is more daringly original, more of the romantic movement itself. Although "The Corsair" preceded "Lalla Rookh," Moore's was the poem which gave the greatest impetus to Orientalism. The whole of the scenery was fantastic. Its mango trees, red lotus, tamarind, silken plantains, tower of dark superstition, its glare of tropical day and glow of tropical night, its picturesqualities—these set a fashion for many days. For one could not forget the vividness of such views as that of the veiled prophet in the midst of a combat, in which

"the Silver Veil

Is seen glittering at times, like the white sail
Of some toss'd vessel, on a stormy night,
Catching the tempest's momentary light."

This poem, which has now practically gone out of favor along with most other long narratives in verse, was for many years the most popular piece of poetry in English. It was, in the beginning, the subject of one of the most curious agreements ever made between poet and publisher, Longman undertaking to pay Moore three thousand guineas for an Eastern poem and to take it for better or worse, at any time that suited the author's convenience, and without any power to suggest changes or alterations. Yet the publisher must have been amply repaid, for the number of British editions was stupendous, not to mention the American piracies and the Continental translations. The tale itself, or rather series of tales, is typical of the class which imitated it; there are proud maidens, single warriors who accomplish veritable miracles; there are Oriental hangings, shaded lamps, gleaming scimitars, jeweled trappings, soft zephyrs, glittering veils and gold and precious stones by the score. However this poem "Lalla Rookh" charms because of its distinct flavor, it has within it two of the main qualities which stand predominant in the "Irish Melodies," qualities which give them the most of their charm and strength. For the lovely melancholy and for the proud spirit of liberty, we like the "Irish Melodies." "The Veiled Prophet" is a tale of lost love—

"The flashes of a bright but troubled soul,
Where sensibility still wildly play'd
Like lightning round the ruins it had made,"

and the haunting sorrow of it is one of the essential traits of the whole romantic movement. Nor need we be much reminded of the sentimental, fond regrets of the "Irish Melodies" dwelling on the last rose of summer, the shades of former years, the light of other days, remembrances of lips that bloom no more, the haunting sound of night music on the water, on gloomy and therefore to him romantic spots, past scenes of delight. Love to him was not a wild, "passionate thing," as Shelley depicted it in "Alastor" or in "Epipsy-chidion" or Byron in "The Siege of Corinth." It was not even the dangerous thing which Jeffrey thought he read and so assailed in the *Edinburgh Review*. It was not the light, flippant thing we would imagine from the poem, which begins:

"Oh! 'tis sweet to think that where'er we rove
We are sure to find something blissful and dear;
And that when we're far from the lips we love
We have but to make love to the lips we are near."

His love was a sighing for past happiness with but little strong desire; the girl of his soul is usually in tears, because love in poetry to him was not emotion remembered in tranquillity, if you please, but lorn, lost happiness remembered with emotion. As witness:

"She is far from the land where her young hero sleeps,
And lovers are round her, sighing;
But coldly she turns from their gaze, and weeps,
For her heart in her grave is lying."

The second essential quality in the work of Thomas Moore, which appears in "Lalla Rookh" as well as in the "Irish Melodies," is the call of liberty which has sounded clarion-like in the lines of every true Irish poet. It was also at that time a persistent motif to be found among the rhythms of the romantic movement. We find it thus even amid the Eastern splendor of "The Veiled Prophet," in which Azim even though a captive in Greece, imbibed there the spirit of liberty:

"Soon as he heard an Arm Divine was rais'd
To right the nations, and beheld, emblaz'd
On the white flag Mokanna's host unfurl'd
These words of sunshine, "Freedom to the World,"
At once his faith, his sword, his soul obey'd
Th' inspiring summons."

While Byron in "Childe Harold" and in "Don Juan" was con-

demning war and the horrors of war, and Shelley also in "Queen Mab," Moore was saying:

"Though foul are the drops that oft distil
On the field of warfare, blood like this,
For Liberty shed, so holy is,
It would not stain the purest rill."

And so should a true soldier fight for liberty, of a nation or of the world.

However, we should not make the mistake of including Moore among the vague poetical theorizers on the general subject. True it is that he was young in the days of the French Revolution, of which Wordsworth said, "To be young was very heaven." He was too young, only ten years old. Furthermore, his name will always be immediately identified in a practical fashion with Irish freedom. Freedom was the motive of his passion; but Ireland was the object. We should not forget his activity in the Trinity College debating and historical societies where Robert Emmet early held forth. Nor that Emmet's dramatic refusal of an epitaph was made famous more by Moore's song "Oh! breathe not his name" than by the speech of the condemned man himself. Nor that in "Corruption and Intolerance" (1808) he attacked the anti-Irish administration, including Castlereagh. Nor that in 1811 a forceful discontinuance of his writings was rumored on account of his "purely Irish work." Nor that in 1814 Byron said: "Ireland ranks you among the finest of her patriots." Nor that in 1815, the year of the reactionary Congress of Vienna, he wrote in the Sixth Number of the "Irish Melodies," "'Tis gone, and for ever," a regret at the passing of the hopes of freedom for Ireland. Nor that in 1824 in the "Memoirs of Captain Rock" he epitomized in the life of a single rebel the struggle of Erin to escape from the long years of bondage. In fact, there is no exaggeration in the statement, often made, that Ireland held him as her first national poet. From the time when English was adopted as the language of political leadership by the Nationalists, as Stephen Gwynn says, Ireland deprived of a Parliament found a poet. And the Irish poets of the rest of the nineteenth century from Moore, through Davis, Mangan, Callanan, Walsh, to "Æ," Seumas O'Sullivan and Patrick Pearse—these all rank Moore as their pioneer, a pioneer in the cause of liberty whom the mid-century group were glad to follow in rhythms and in themes. Nor is it exaggeration to speak thus. Moore was not a mere sweet sentimental songster, nor did he merely long vaguely for old times like Yeats. "Oh, for the swords of a former time" rings as lively

and as dangerous as does Lionel Johnson's "The Ways of War." This was not merely a "reflection of the ideas of the French Revolution," as professorial pedants are so fond of telling us. Byron attacked Castlereagh because he was a Prime Minister; Moore attacked Castlereagh because he was a British Prime Minister who insisted on oppressing Ireland. It was a fact that Moore actually dabbled in rebellion in 1797: though we have never learned why, thereafter it was only in verse that he

"Fought for the land his soul ador'd,
For happy homes and altars free—
His only talisman the sword,
His only spell word Liberty!"*

To those who insist on Moore as a singer of pretty love songs there is due some measure of enlightenment, to wit: many of these same seemingly harmless love songs are really stirring patriotic pieces. For example, the one already quoted in part, "She is far from the land," was in reality written to immortalize the love of Robert Emmet and Sarah Curran. Its last stanza runs thus:

"He had lived for his love, for his country he died,
They were all that to life had entwin'd him—
Nor soon shall the tears of his country be dried,
Nor long will his love stay behind him."

I came upon an original edition of the "Irish Melodies" which had been marked up by some amorous swain in such a fashion as to show that he completely misunderstood the import of verses of this sort. Which is what I meant by saying that liberty was to him a passion, and Ireland was its object. That was no mere figure of speech. No lover ever swore his heart and soul more devotedly to a lovely lady than have the long line of Irish poets sworn theirs to Kathleen in Houlihan, old and distressed and poverty-stricken as she was. For her did the minstrel boy sing. For her was the bumper at parting. For her they refused to let the harp remain silent. For her did they thrill at the tear of trouble and the smile of hope. For her were the sweet dreams of other days. For her were the hopes of some bright isle of rest. For her did Tom Moore phrase thus the thoughts of Robert Emmet:

"When he who adores thee has left but the name
Of his fault and his sorrows behind,

* From "The Fire Worshipers" in "Lalla Rookh" on the subject of Moslem tryanny.

Oh! say wilt thou weep, when they darken the fame
Of a life that for thee was resign'd!
Yes, weep, and however my foes may condemn,
Thy tears shall efface their decree;
For heaven can witness, though guilty to them,
I have been but too faithful to thee.

"With thee were the dreams of my earliest love;
Every thought of my reason was thine:
In my last humble prayer to the Spirit above,
Thy name shall be mingled with mine!
Oh! blest are the lovers and friends who shall live
The days of thy glory to see;
But the next dearest blessing that heaven can give
Is the pride of thus dying for thee."

ELBRIDGE COLBY.

CARDINAL NEWMAN'S THEORY OF KNOWLEDGE.

TO ASCRIBE a definite theory of knowledge to a man is to imply and to assume that he is a philosopher. But after the evidence published in the "Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman" by Wilfrid Ward and more especially in the "Last Lectures" by the same author, no apology is required for the assumption. Assuming, then, that Newman is a philosopher, our only problem is to analyze the content of his philosophy. And it is here, perhaps, that an apology might be demanded of one who seems to be attempting to do what has been well done before, to analyze the theory of knowledge that underlies Newman's philosophy. It would seem that all that could have been said of Newman's philosophy has been said in the scores of magazine articles and books in which the question is dealt with. Still, I venture to say that not half has been discovered of what is the backbone of Newman's philosophy; his theory of knowledge and half of what is put forward as Newman's theory of knowledge has no existence beyond the brains of those who put it forward. Wilfrid Ward, certainly the greatest exponent of Newmanism, confirms my assertion that not all of Newman's contributions to philosophy have been discovered. In his "Last Lectures" (page 15) we read: "An immense amount of unraveling has to be done in order to isolate Newman's contributions to objective history or theology or philosophy from the special place they occupy in the closely woven network of his own Weltanschauung, which included in his later work a belief in the Roman Catholic Church." That half of what is offered as an analysis of Newman's theory of knowledge really is non-existent outside the minds of those who offer it can be proved by reading such books as Bremond's "Mystery of Newman" and the preface to it by George Tyrrell. These two Modernists arrive at the conclusion which they evidently wanted to infer, that Newman's theory of knowledge is the antithesis of the scholastic theory.

Wilfrid Ward has investigated for the most part Newman's theory of knowledge in its relation to modern philosophy. I have tried to investigate Newman's epistemology in its relation to scholasticism, and have come to a conclusion the opposite of Bremond's and Tyrrell's. The aim of this essay is to offer evidence that Newman's theory is in all essentials the same as that of the scholastics. The scholasticity, to use Professor De Wulf's term, of Newman's sources is apparent to the careful reader. Aristotle is the philosopher he always quotes with approval, while Bacon, Hobbes,

Bentham, Locke and Hume are cited for misdemeanors only. Bishop Butler, the reading of whose analogy was an era in the Cardinal's religious opinions, is also quoted approvingly. Now, it cannot fail to impress a scholastic that Butler's ideas on philosophy and apologetics are basically Thomistic. For Newman, as for Aquinas, the philosopher par excellence, the master of those who know is Aristotle. In the "Idea" he says: "Do not suppose, gentlemen, that in thus appealing to the ancients I am throwing back the world two thousand years and fettering philosophy with the reasonings of paganism. While the world lasts will Aristotle's doctrine on these matters last, for he is the oracle of nature and of truth."¹ To prove that not only the sources, but also the content of Newman's epistemology is scholastic, I will briefly sketch the scholastic ideas on truth, certitude, the sources of knowledge and evidence and parallel them with passages from Newman's writings.

The first question in scholastic ideology is, "What is ontological and logical truth"? Ontological truth means for the scholastic the conformity between existing things and the mind of the Creator. That Newman held the same view, without expressing it so accurately and technically, is clear from a sentence in the "Idea." "And when we inquire what is meant by truth I suppose it is right to answer that truth means facts and their relations."² For the scholastics a thing has ontological truth merely because it exists, merely because it is a thing or fact. Newman is therefore correct in saying that by truth he means facts. Logical truth is defined by the scholastics as "the conformity of the intellect with its object." I have not been able to find any definition of Newman's regarding this most basic notion in any system of criteriology. However, Newman's idea of logical truth and its coincidence with that of the scholastics can be inferred from passages like the following:

"The fact of the distinctness of the images which are required for real assent is no warrant for the existence (that is, the extra-mental existence) of the objects which those images represent."³ For Newman, then, an image in the mind of an idea is meant to be a representation of reality. But it cannot be a representation of reality unless there is a conformity between the idea in the mind and the reality imaged. Another quotation brings out the notion still more strikingly: "The idea which represents an object or supposed object is commensurate with the sum total of its possible aspects, however they may vary in the consciousness of individuals ;

¹ "Idea," p. 109.

² "Idea," p. 45.

³ "Gram.," p. 80.

and in proportion to the variety of aspects under which it presents itself to various minds is its force and depth and the argument for its reality. And as views of a material object may be taken from points so remote or so opposed, that they seem at first sight incompatible, and especially as their shadows will be disproportionate, or even monstrous, and yet all these anomalies will disappear and all these contrarieties be adjusted on ascertaining the point of vision or the surface of projection in each case, so also all the aspects of an idea are capable of coalition and of a resolution into the object to which it belongs."⁴

From these citations and the others which could easily be found in the "Idea" or the "Essay on Development" it is fair to infer that Newman held logical truth to be the subjective representation of objective truth, the conformity of the intellect with its object. For a definition of certitude, the second topic in the scholastic theory of knowledge, we are not reduced to mere inferences from Newman's writings. In agreement with the scholastics, he defines it quite categorically in the following words: "Let the proposition to which the assent is given be as absolutely true as the reflex act pronounces it to be, that is, objectively true as well as subjectively, then the conviction may be called a certitude."⁵ In another place Newman shows that real certitude must be reflex, must involve the consciousness of being an assent to truth. "Certitude, as I have said, is the perception of a truth with the perception that it is a truth or the consciousness of knowing, as expressed in the phrase, 'I know that I know.'"⁶ He also insists upon the fact that real certitude must exclude the possibility of the contradictory proposition. "No man is certain of a truth, who can endure the thought of the fact of its contradictory existing or occurring."⁷ The scholastic definition of certitude is "The firm assent of the mind to the known truth, given from a motive that excludes the possibility of the contradictory and is clearly known to exclude it." That Newman's definitions of certitude comprise the elements of the scholastic definition is clear at a glance. If, then, Newman's views on truth and certitude are so orthodox, how could Huxley say with any show of plausibility: "If I were called upon to compile a primer of infidelity, I think I should save myself trouble by making a selection from Newman's 'Tract 85,' 'Essay on Miracles' and 'Essay on Development?'"⁸

⁴ "Devel.," p. 34.

⁵ "Gram.," p. 195.

⁶ "Gram.," p. 197.

⁷ "Gram.," p. 197.

⁸ *Nineteenth Century*, June, 1889.

As both this view of Huxley and the method by which he tries to support it are not original with himself, but common to anti-Newmanites in general, it is necessary to notice it at some length. The first thing that strikes the reader of this criticism is that its author either has not read thoroughly the very books from which he would make his primer of infidelity, or that if he has read them he has utterly missed their significance. The second noticeable feature of Huxley's method is that it bases a general verdict of infidelity on a single citation. He quotes Newman as follows: "Some infidel authors advise us to accept no miracles which would not have a verdict in their favor in a court of justice; that is, they employ against Scripture a weapon which Protestants would confine to attacks on the Church; as if moral and religious questions required legal proofs, and evidence were the test of truth."⁹ Huxley makes the following comment on the passage: "As if evidence were the test of truth, although the truth in question is the occurrence or non-occurrence of certain phenomena at a certain time or place. This sudden revelation of the great gulf fixed between the ecclesiastical and the scientific mind is enough to take away the breath of one unfamiliar with the clerical organ."¹⁰ We may admit that Huxley has a right to criticize Newman for an inaccurate expression, but we do not admit that he has any right to generalize from this one expression the characteristics of the ecclesiastical mind as such or Newman's mind in particular. The assertion of Newman is, as it stands, false; but with the qualifications of the context and with the preceding 200 pages of the "Essay on Miracles" to color its meaning, it is defensible. As a first step in Newman's vindication we must show that he recognized two kinds of evidence, coercive and merely sufficient. He talks of "evidence sufficient to subdue our reason."¹¹ This is coercive evidence. In another place he says: "An instinctive sense that the mediæval intellect could not write the classics and a faith in testimony are the sufficient argument on which to ground our certitude."¹² Again in the "Essay on Miracles," speaking of Douglas, he says: "Writers, however, like Douglas, are constantly reminding us that we need not receive the ecclesiastical miracles, though we receive those of the New Testament. But the question is not whether we need not, but whether we ought not to receive the former as well as the latter" (p. 178). Here it is clearly implied that there is one kind of evidence that compels assent, another kind which merely makes it the duty of a

⁹ "Essay on Miracles," p. 231.

¹⁰ *Nineteenth Century* for June, 1889.

¹¹ "Essay on Miracles," p. 230.

¹² "Gram.," p. 286.

prudent man to assent. Again, Newman censures those whose opinion it is that "there is no medium then; the testimony must either prevail or be scouted; it is certainly a fraud, if it is not an overpowering demonstration."¹³ Evidently, according to Newman, there is evidence less than coercive or demonstrative and still sufficient to warrant assent. Had Huxley noticed Newman's clear distinction between the two kinds of evidence, he would have seen that, in the context, Newman's remark about evidence is equivalent to "as if evidence alone were the test of truth, as if a prudent and critical mind were not part of the testing machinery."

Besides the evidence available for the proof of a miracle, there are certain justifiable presumptions in a religious mind which cause it to accept a miracle on less evidence than would cause a skeptic to accept it. To instance one such presumption mentioned by Newman: "On the other hand, if we believe that Christians are under an extraordinary dispensation such as Judaism was, we shall in mere consistency be disposed to treat even the report of miraculous occurrences with seriousness, from our faith in a present Power adequate to their production."¹⁴ Such a presumption as Newman makes would not be valid, unless the fact of our belief that Christians are under an extraordinary dispensation had been proved by previous miracles accepted without any such presumption. And when these justifiable presumptions are multiplied, they really become a part of the evidence. There is a passage in the "Essay on Development" which shows how unnecessary such indirect evidences are from the nature of the case. "But it is otherwise with history, the facts of which are not present. In such sciences we cannot rest upon mere facts if we would, because we have not got them. We must do our best with what is given us and look about for aid from any quarter, and in such circumstances the opinions of others, the traditions of ages, the prescriptions of authority, antecedent auguries, analogies, parallel cases, these and the like, not indeed taken at random, but, like the evidence of the senses, sifted and scrutinized, obviously become of great importance."¹⁵ A great part of the "Essay in Miracles" is occupied with the discussion of the influence of the factors just enumerated, and Huxley was blind in failing to see how this discussion modified Newman's remarks on evidence. Newman's language should have been qualified and limited in the text attacked by Huxley. Then it would be seen that, far from making an absolute and unlimited assertion that in general evidence is not the test of truth, Newman's remark, if interpreted by its

¹³ "Essay on Miracles," p. 180.

¹⁴ "Essay on Miracles," p. 185.

¹⁵ "Devel.," p. 111.

context and antecedents, would be something like this: "In moral and religious matters, where from the nature of the case prudent assent is persuaded by evidence that is not often coercive, and where justifiable antecedent presumptions must supply part of the evidence, evidence is not the sole test of truth."

But not only is this particular specimen of Huxley's criticism unscientific, rather his entire method is at variance with the critical attitude he professed to practice. Newman has written thirty-seven volumes and a mass of correspondence, in all of which are embedded valuable portions of his philosophy; several volumes, however, especially the "Grammar of Assent," "Idea of a University," "Oxford Sermons," "Apologia," "Essay on Development" and "Miracles," are more professedly philosophical. Huxley having read, as his quotations show, but a veritable fragment of this extensive body of doctrine, presumes to pronounce a verdict of infidelity and skepticism against the Cardinal. Obviously the scientist seems to care less about evidence than he accuses the Cardinal of. Take a parallel case. Let us suppose that Huxley wrote a study on the historical method of Tacitus or the ethics of Sophocles, and his quotations evinced a familiarity with merely the minor works of the former and with one drama of the latter; would the Olympians of the learned world refrain from that "asbestos gelos" which greeted the limping cup-bearer as he bustled through the palace of Zeus? Besides, even if it were possible to compile a primer of infidelity from Newman's works, it is not evident what inference must be drawn. There are at present more than one hundred so-called Christian sects in this country, most of which have compiled a primer of religion from one book, the Bible. Does it follow with inevitable logic that the Bible induces a skeptical bias? Such a conclusion as is little warranted as Huxley's conclusion about Newman. I have drawn out Huxley's procedure at some length because it is a type of a great deal of criticism of Newman's theory of knowledge. Finally, let us see what Newman himself has to say of the skepticism which is generally imputed to him by those least familiar with his writings. "Resolve," he says, "to believe nothing and you must prove your proofs and analyze your elements, sinking farther and farther, and finding in the lowest depth a lower deep, till you come to the broad bosom of skepticism. Life is for action. If we insist on proof for everything, we shall never come to action. To act you must assume."¹⁶ Newman is here in perfect accord with the neo-scholastic theory of knowledge which asserts that at least three self-evident certitudes are the assumptions on which all

¹⁶ "Gram.," p. 95.

knowledge rests, certitudes which are indemonstrable, because every attempt at proof necessarily moves in a circle. These three self-evident certitudes are one's own existence, the principle of contradiction and the capacity of the mind to acquire true knowledge of objective reality. These certitudes we are compelled to retain as spontaneous certitudes even while we are making a critical investigation of the problems of epistemology. Newman's reason for the necessity of some assumptions, "to act you must assume," is, it must be confessed, somewhat weaker than Aristotle's reason taken from the impossibility of a regressus ad infinitum. Aristotle says: "It is altogether impossible to have a demonstrative proof for everything: because one would go on to infinity, and not even then would he have a demonstrative proof."¹⁷

Now that we have freed Newman from the charge of skepticism, we have to ascertain his attitude towards the sources of knowledge which scholastic realism recognizes, consciousness, external or sense experience, ideas, especially universals, ratiocination and human testimony. Consciousness is defined by the scholastics as "an intellectual cognition of interior events, inasmuch as they are modifications of the subject." That Newman maintains the existence of this faculty is clear from the following: "We not only feel and think and reason, but we know that we feel and think and reason; not only know, but can inspect and ascertain our thoughts, feelings and reasonings."¹⁸ That Newman considered consciousness a valid source of knowledge is plain from the fact that he bases an argument for the existence of God on data which are observable only by means of consciousness. The argument is thus enunciated: "As from a multitude of instinctive perceptions, acting in particular instances, of something beyond the senses, we generalize the notion of an external world, and then picture that world in and according to those particular phenomena from which we started, so far from the perceptive power which identifies the intimations of conscience with the reverberations or echoes of an external admonition, we proceed on to the notion of a Supreme Ruler and Judge, and then again we image Him and His attributes in those recurring intimations out of which, as mental phenomena, our recognition of His existence was originally gained."¹⁹ These, then, are Newman's views on the first source of knowledge in the scholastic system. We are now ready for a consideration of his ideas on sense experience, the second source of knowledge. Sense experience is in Newman's theory of knowledge precisely the same as in the scholastic system.

¹⁷ "Metaphysics," 11., 3, c. 4.

¹⁸ "Oxford University Sermons," p. 256.

¹⁹ "Gram.," p. 100.

He agrees with the scholastic in asserting that the origin of our knowledge is in the sensible world. "We have recourse to reason or authority to determine facts when the senses fail us, but with the senses we begin. We deduce, we form inductions, we abstract, we theorize from facts."²⁰

With the neo-scholastic doctrine on the relativity of sense cognition Newman is in perfect accord. "When we speak of our having a picture of the things which are perceived through the senses, we mean a certain representation, true as far as it goes, but not adequate."²¹ Neo-scholasticism affirms that the sensible qualities of bodies are not perceived as complete images of what they are in reality; it maintains them to be inadequate, relative. This view wherein Newman and the neo-scholastics agree must not be tortured into an affirmation of the relativity of all knowledge, since neither Newman nor the neo-scholastics ever tried to deduce the relativity of truth in general from the evident relativity of sense-cognition. Even Aquinas, who was not a neo-scholastic, might be made to stand sponsor for the relativity of sense cognition in his saying, "*Naturas autem sensibilibus qualitatibus cognoscere non est sensus, sed intellectus.*"²² Finally, the objective validity of sense cognition is asserted in Newman's theory as the following quotation proves: "Physical facts are present; they are submitted to the senses, and the senses may be satisfactorily tested, corrected and verified."²³ Newman's orthodoxy on the subjects of consciousness and sense perception is now sufficiently established to allow us to enter upon his view of universal ideas, the central problem of epistemology. Here again Newman and Aristotle are in perfect agreement. The following paragraph on universals is Aristotelian and scholastic to the core: "Experience tells us only of individual things, and these are innumerable. Our minds might have been so constructed as to be able to receive and retain an exact image of each of these various objects, one by one, as it came before us, but only in and for itself, without the power of comparing it with any of the others. But this is not our case: on the contrary, to compare and to contrast are among the most prominent and busy of our intellectual functions. Instinctively, even though unconsciously, we are ever instituting comparisons between the manifold phenomena of the external world, as we meet with them, criticizing, referring to a standard, collecting, analyzing them. Nay, as if by one and the same action, as soon as we perceive them, we also perceive that

²⁰ "Devel.," p. 111.

²¹ "Gram.," p. 94.

²² "Summa Theol.," 1, p. 78, a. 3.

²³ "Devel.," p. 111.

they are like each other or unlike, or rather, both like and unlike at once. We apprehend spontaneously, even before we set about apprehending, that man is like man, yet unlike; and unlike a horse, a tree, a mountain or a monument, yet in some, though not the same respects, like each of them, and in consequence we are ever grouping and discriminating, measuring and sounding, framing cross classes and cross divisions, and thereby rising from particulars to generals, that is from images to notions."²⁴ Notional or notion has the meaning of abstract or universal in Newman's terminology. Again Newman says: "What the human mind does is what brutes cannot do, to draw from our ever-recurring experiences of its testimony in particulars, a general proposition."²⁵ Universals, finally, are "conclusions or abstractions from particular experiences."²⁶ Universals, however, are, in at least one sentence in Newman, almost a synonym for what is baseless and non-existent. "All things," he says, "in the exterior world are unit and individual and nothing else; but the mind has the gift, by an act of creation, to bring before it abstractions and generalizations, which have no existence, no counterpart out of it."²⁷ Here Newman seems almost to resort to Kant's idea of universals as something fabricated entirely by the mind and devoid of objective validity. But it is clear from the following citation that Newman recognizes the objective basis of universals, and that by "non-existent" he means not existent formally as such in the exterior world. "It is the characteristic of our minds to be ever engaged in passing judgment on the things which come before us; no sooner do we apprehend, than we judge, we compare, contrast, abstract, generalize, connect, adjust, classify: and we view all our knowledge in the associations with which these processes have invested it."²⁸ Now to say that we generalize from things is to say unscientifically: "Universals are fundamentally in things." In other places Newman shows that, though he felt with Kant the unreality, if we may so speak, of universals, and felt a great leaning towards the phenomenal, the real, the concrete, yet he is always conscious that universals have objective reference. Perhaps there is no Catholic philosopher so subjective, so pragmatic, as Newman, who is at the same time so utterly un-Kantian.

It is now our task to seek Newman's views on ratiocination, the fourth source of true cognition. First of all his definition must be given. "We reason when we hold this by virtue of that."²⁹ In

²⁴ "Gram.," p. 25.

²⁵ "Gram.," p. 58.

²⁶ "Gram.," p. 60.

²⁷ "Gram.," p. 7.

²⁸ "Devel.," p. 33.

²⁹ "Gram.," p. 248.

the following citation we have a fuller definition of the method of ratiocination: "The first step in the inferential method is to throw the question to be decided into the form of a proposition; then to throw the proof itself into propositions, the force of the proof lying in the comparison of these propositions with each other. When the analysis is carried out fully and put into form, it becomes the Aristotelic syllogism."³⁰ That the preceding account of what reasoning really is coincides with the scholastic view is clear at a glance. But it is not at all clear how Newman can be justly accused of belittling formal logic, since he not only understood what ratiocination is, but that it has objective validity. For the formal logic of Aristotle is meaningless unless it is understood to be based on and to imply the metaphysics and epistemology of Aristotle. That Newman appreciated the logic of the schoolmen and granted its validity is evident from the following: "The uses of this logical inference are manifold; ratiocination is the great principle of order in thinking; it reduces a chaos into harmony; it catalogues the accumulations of knowledge; it maps out for us the relations of its separate departments; it puts us in the way to correct its own mistakes. It enables the independent intellects of many, acting and reacting on each other, to bring their collective force to bear upon one and the same subject matter or the same question. If language is an inestimable gift to man, the logical faculty prepares it for our use."³¹ Still, in spite of its advantages, logic has the great drawback that it can only go a certain distance into the tangles of any concrete problem. "Logic, its chain of conclusions hangs loose at both ends; both the point from which the proof should start and the points at which it should arrive are beyond its reach; it comes short both of first principles and of concrete issues. As I said when I began, thought is too keen and manifold, its sources are too remote and hidden, its path too personal, delicate and circuitous, its subject matter too various and intricate to admit of the trammels of any language, of whatever subtlety and whatever compass."³²

Finally, we have to consider Newman's estimate of human testimony, the fifth source of knowledge enumerated by the scholastics. And since a man's ability as an historian is shown in his handling the two factors in human testimony, the veracity and competency of his witnesses, we are naturally led to say something in this connection about Newman the historian. A brief defense is required here against Professor Saintsbury, who impugns Newman's historical ability. The professor says "Newman was distinctly deficient in

³⁰ "Gram.," p. 252.

³¹ "Gram.," p. 273.

³² "Gram.," pp. 272-273.

the historic sense;"³³ moreover, "Newman's mind, as is well known, was overfurnished with logic and extremely underfurnished with the historic sense."³⁴ As Saintsbury, like Huxley, considers his sweeping general statement sufficiently proved by a vague reference to an isolated passage, we consider the statement to be sufficiently refuted by what we said of Huxley, who used the same method. Besides, most people have humor enough to see that in such a subject matter as critical history a literary critic like Saintsbury is merely a curiosity. We should rather take the opinion of a great historian like Dollinger, who considered Newman the greatest expert in the history of the first centuries of the Church. A man who read the Greek and Latin sources of his histories chronologically and exhaustively, who took a critical survey of the entire history of the Church, who wrote such exquisite historical monographs as the "Church of the Fathers," the "Benedictine Schools," "The Turks," "The Northmen and Normans," could hardly have been "distinctly deficient" in the historic sense. Assuming, then, that Newman was a good historian, we are led directly to his views on testimony, the principal source of history. First of all, it is clear that he believes that there is such a source of knowledge and that it is, with certain restrictions, a true informant. "The tradition of 'testimonia,' such as are prefixed to the classics and the fathers, together with the absent of dissentient voices, is the adequate groundwork of our belief in the history of literature."³⁵ This testimony can be certain to have objective value. "As to this world, we are certain of the elements of knowledge, whether general, scientific, historical."³⁶ "An instinctive sense that the mediæval intellect could not write the classics and a faith in testimony are the sufficient, but the undeveloped argument on which to ground our certitude."³⁷ But what need is there of multiplying quotations to prove that Newman believed in the reality and objective validity of historical testimony? Such an expert historian as Newman surely believed that the sources and authorities he consulted were, at least in the principal facts they testified to, trustworthy foundations of knowledge. The final topic of the realistic theory of knowledge is the criterion of truth, objective evidence. It is defined by the scholastics as "the truth of a thing manifested by such motives and with such clarity as either to compel or at least to persuade a firm assent." That objective evidence is for Newman as well as for the scholastics the ultimate criterion of truth can be established by several texts.

³³ "History of Nineteenth Century Literature," p. 368.

³⁴ "Cambridge History of English Literature," p. 190.

³⁵ "Gram.," p. 286.

³⁶ "Gram.," p. 226.

³⁷ "Gram.," p. 286.

"The exhibition of credentials, that is, of evidence, is essential to Christianity as it comes to us."³⁸ "If so, the hypothesis which I am advocating is at once shattered; but, till I have positive and distinct evidence of the fact, I am slow to give credence."³⁹ "Again, we take the evidence for them as forming a combined proof."⁴⁰ From such citations we conclude that objective evidence is the ultimate reason why Newman assents to any proposition.

But as Newman's attitude towards objective evidence has been misrepresented, we must seek to explain his position more fully. This is what he says about the criterion of truth that has given room for criticism. "Instead of devising what cannot be, some sufficient science of reasoning which may compel certitude in concrete conclusions, we must confess that there is no ultimate test of truth besides the testimony borne to truth by the mind itself."⁴¹ This criterion of truth has been attacked as an altogether subjective one, as a denial of objective evidence, as a restatement of Descartes' criterion of a clear idea. And while verbally it might pass for an enunciation of the purely subjective clear idea, yet, if taken in its original context, it demands a different interpretation. I can do no better than quote Father Leslie Walker, S. J., on this subject, who thus summarizes Newman's attitude relative to this seemingly subjective criterion. "Newman treats the subject of truth psychologically, whereas I have treated it epistemologically. He does not ask 'How comes it about that we can be certain?' He accepts certitude as a fact and then enquires what is its nature, what its conditions, what the processes that lead up to it as a psychical act of the mind."⁴² It is evident from the entire method in the "Grammar of Assent" that Newman considers the clear idea as a criterion only when the clear idea has had its genesis in objective evidence. The seeming disparity of his relegating the test of truth to the mind alone comes from the fact that in the "Grammar of Assent" Newman is treating truth from the personal, the psychological standpoint. He thus differs radically from the founder of modern subjectivism, who holds that a clear idea in itself, independently of external reality and objective evidence, as no realist will deny, is the last reason in the ontological order for the truth of a cognition. But the clear idea in subjective evidence generated by objective evidence is the last reason in the psychological sphere where the cognition takes place.

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³⁸ "Gram.," p. 382.

³⁹ "Devel.," p. 121.

⁴⁰ "Devel.," p. 101.

⁴¹ "Gram.," p. 337.

⁴² "Theories of Knowledge," p. 647.

NOTE AS TO AUTHORSHIP OF "PETER PARLEY'S
UNIVERSAL HISTORY."

SINCE writing the article for the January *QUARTERLY*, "The Dark Ages in America," with regard to the "Peter Parley's Universal History," my attention has been called to the fact that the first edition of the book is classed by booksellers who are interested in Americana as a Hawthorne first edition. As these command a good price, the tradition has probably been thoroughly investigated and found well grounded. This tradition among book collectors and dealers in rare books that "Peter Parley's Universal History" was by the Hawthornes has existed for many years. Mr. John E. Scopes, of Albany, who first called my attention to it, wrote me with regard to it: "I cannot recall who is an authority for the statement that Hawthorne wrote the book, but it has been an acknowledged Hawthorne item among rare dealers and collectors for at least twenty years." The "Universal History" was originally compiled by Elizabeth Hawthorne, assisted by her brother Nathaniel, while Hawthorne himself was doing hack work for Goodrich. One hundred dollars is said to have been the total amount received for the writing of the two volumes, containing over 750 pages of over 200 words to the page. Altogether there were surely over 150,000 words, and the compensation was therefore at the rate of, let us say, a fifteenth of a cent a word. In these days, when there are a number of men who command a dollar a word and when scarcely anybody who writes wants to take less than five cents a word, it is rather interesting to see the Hawthornes accept such pitiable remuneration. Of course, money was worth five to ten times as much, at least, if not more in their New England surroundings, and I have known lots of young medical men perfectly willing to work for a fifth of a cent a word within a few years, so that it is all a matter of circumstances rather than of absolute conditions.

It is extremely interesting to realize that such clever people as the Hawthornes should have been so thoroughly persuaded of the magnificent advance of their time over the Middle Ages, though the Middle Ages possessed literature, architecture, sculpture, painting and social developments such as were almost undreamt of in America at that moment. The writing was done under the influence of the old tradition that before the Reformation so-called men were utterly ignorant, kept so by a designing Church, and that it was only in the modern time that the free spirit of man had soared

to heights of achievement. It is rather amusing in the light of this persuasion to measure the *heights of achievement* (!) in America, for instance about 1840, when all the æsthetic factors of life, architecture, sculpture, poetry, music, painting were negative and not positive. Indeed, American æsthetics were so negative in the mid-nineteenth century that even the most intelligent among us in this country scarcely realized our lack, and as a consequence were making fun of ages that we were afterwards to come to know as immortal leaders, exactly in those accomplishments in which we were only a scant generation later to find ourselves so deficient in, yet so anxious to excel. It is all the more interesting to note in this connection that while the Hawthornes, or, at least, Elizabeth, wrote so confidently of the disappearance of the religious orders, that is of monks and nuns from the modern world, that as a matter of fact the United States was to prove a wonderful fostering ground for "religious, both of the male and female sex," to use the expression from "Peter Parley's" history. There are actually approaching 100,000 members of religious orders in the United States and its dependencies at the present time. Perhaps it is even more striking to note that Nathaniel Hawthorne's favorite daughter, Rose, as he loved to call her, "The Rose of all the Hawthornes," was to be herself a founder of a religious order, the Servants of Relief for the Care of the Cancer Poor, which has in recent years deservedly attracted so much attention. Rose Hawthorne Lathrop founded it as the result of an inspiration which came to her when she found that patients suffering from incurable cancer were not kept in the hospitals and had no place to go, yet often needed the greatest care. She established her little institution for the care of them, and then soon realized that if it were to do its work properly it would have to take the form of a religious order and thus spread out and be self-perpetuating, and so her little community was aggregated to the Third Order of St. Dominic, and their white habits are eminently suitable for their work as nurses of these chronic sick patients.

I am quite sure that the Hawthornes would have been proud of this development of real charity which came to take place under their daughter and niece and would have appreciated from it better than in any other possible way what the real place of monks and nuns is in life. It requires some such experience as this, however, to make people appreciate properly the significance of an institution. The poor New Englanders of the mid-nineteenth century had no personal knowledge and only the old calumniating traditions created by men who wanted to justify their confiscation of the property of

the religious orders at the Reformation or their retention of it after it had been conferred on them by monarchs whose one idea was the strengthening of their personal following in their contest with the Church. The book becomes all the more interesting for this fact of the authorship of the Hawthornes, for it makes it clear that the traditions which it contains were those of the better educated classes in New England at the time it was written two generations ago.

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Book Reviews

A DEFENSE OF DANIEL.

In a Biblical publication of recent date we find a review of a book entitled "Studies in the Book of Daniel." This review is concluded in the following words: "The historical critic will be grateful for such a well-planned and executed attempt to overthrow his position, for it makes it quite evident that he has nothing to fear from the best scholarship that can be trained upon him."

The reviewer intends to state that the position taken by the historical critic is that the book of Daniel is not authentic. But why should not the historical critic be satisfied with the conclusion that the book of Daniel has merely been altered? The reviewer affirms that the writer of Daniel did not possess the right historical information, as "the whole book shows." Because of this blind and wrong conclusion, the historical critic boasts with absolute assurance of having overthrown the claim to authenticity of the book in question. The chief historical error in the book of Daniel is its reference to Darius the Mede. To mistake the individuality of one Darius of history with that of another may merely be the effect of insufficient or wrong information. But to invent a Darius who never existed is not a casual mistake, and cannot be due to wrong information. There must have been some motive and some interest to cause an author to invent a Darius the Mede.

It is a fact of history that the Jews were divided into two parties, each holding a different opinion in regard to this matter. One party counted seventy years from the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar to the first year of Cyrus. This opinion appears to have been prevalent since it has been adopted in the Antiquities of the Jews by Josephus; however, it is historically wrong. The reason of this historical mistake is obvious. Jeremiah (xxv., 11) had foretold that the Jews were for seventy years to serve the King of Babylon. In the First Book of Esdras, i., 1, we find these words: "In the first year of Cyrus, King of the Persians; that the word of the Lord, by the mouth of Jeremiah, might be fulfilled, the Lord stirred up the spirit of Cyrus, King of the Persians; and he made a proclamation," etc. Since Esdras has referred to this decree of Cyrus as being an accomplishment of the prophecy of Jeremiah, it was understood that seventy years of the captivity were accomplished from the destruction of Jerusalem to the first year of Cyrus. No other reason can be imagined to explain this historical mistake.

In Daniel ix., 2, and Zacharias i., 12, these seventy years foretold by Jeremias are referred to as having been concluded in during the first and second year of the reign of Darius. Hence the conclusion was derived that in the book of Daniel, as well as in that of Zacharias, some colleague of Cyrus was referred to as Darius.

However, the more orthodox of the Jews could not be satisfied with so easily reached conclusion. A second opinion among the Jews held the actual historical truth, namely, that (nearly) fifty years elapsed from the destruction of Jerusalem to the first year of Cyrus. ("Josephus Against Apion," i., 21.) From the account in I. Esdras v., 1, it appears that Zacharias prophesied at the time of Darius of Histaspes, and seventy years in Zacharias i., 7, 12, can only be understood as referring to the second year of this king. Moreover, Zacharias refers to the rebuilding of the Temple, but not to the return from captivity of the Jewish people. Therefore, it must refer not to the accounts related in I. Esdras, chapter third, but to what is related in I. Esdras, chapter fifth. Orthodox Jews rightly maintained that Zacharias refers to Darius of Histaspes. They counted seventy years from the destruction of Jerusalem and of the Temple to the time of Darius, when the Temple was rebuilt. But in Jeremias xxix., 10, the words, "When seventy years shall begin to be accomplished in Babylon, I will visit you," etc., are addressed to the Jews of the first captivity, before the destruction of Jerusalem. The above referred passage from I. Esdras i., 1, evidently testified that the word of Jeremias was accomplished in the first year of Cyrus. The same thing is testified to in II. Paralipomenon xxxvi., 20, 21, 22. All these passages give an apparent evidence that according to the sacred writers seventy years elapsed from the first captivity of the Jews to the first year of Cyrus.

Orthodox Jews, desiring not to contradict the prophet Jeremias, the author of II. Paralipomenon, and Esdras, accepted the view of their opponents in regard to the Darius mentioned in the book of Daniel and admitted that he had been colleague of Cyrus. Moreover, in Daniel i., 1, we find the expression in the third year of Jehoiakim (the father). But some one must have made a change in the prophet's words, as truly the event took place in the third month of King Jehoiakin (the son: IV. Kings xxiv., 8 sqq.). This change had evidently been made in order to give from the first exile of the Jews to the destruction of Jerusalem the same length of time that elapsed from the first year of Cyrus to the second year of Darius of Histaspes. Thus the period of seventy years were equally true when counted from the third year of Jehoiakim to the first year of Darius the Mede; and again, from the destruction of

Jerusalem to the second year of Darius of Histaspes. Then the year of Nebuchadnezzar referred to in Daniel ii., 1, evidently was altered in order to call attention to the fact of Daniel having explained the dream in the second year of his captivity. It is a fact that in the present form of the book of Daniel is counted seventy years from the first year of Nebuchadnezzar and from the third year of Jehoiakim to the first year of a supposed King Darius, colleague of Cyrus. It is also apparent that the intention was to give from the third year of Jehoiakim to the destruction of Jerusalem the same length of time that intervened between the first year of Cyrus and the second year of Darius. It is finally clear that all this forms a sufficient harmony with the prophecy of Jeremias as confirmed by Esdras. The necessary conclusion is that the historical errors in the book of Daniel manifest a cleverly calculated design. These errors are due to religious prejudice, not to ignorance or wrong information.

Jeremias foretold that "all these nations shall serve the King of Babylon seventy years" (Jeremias xxv., 11). Each nation had a period of seventy years. "When the seventy years shall begin to be accomplished at Babylon, I will visit you" (Jeremias xxix., 10); that is, when the first of these several periods of seventy years shall be expired, the Jews of Babylon shall be freed from captivity. A first period of seventy years was accomplished from two years previous to the first year of Nebuchadnezzar to the first year of Cyrus, when the Jews were allowed to return to Palestine. However, this first period belonged to one of "all these nations" (Jeremias xxv., 11), not to the Jewish people. The Jews were freed from captivity when the punishment of God fell on Babylon. But the Jewish nation still remained so much subject that the rebuilding of the Temple was not allowed. Yet the Jews afterward understood that this first period of seventy years had begun with the first captivity of the Jewish people itself, and in good faith they concluded that the Darius of Daniel was contemporaneous with Cyrus, and accordingly they made changes and addition to the words of Daniel. Probably this happened after the book of Daniel was brought into Palestine, where it was supposed that the Jews of Babylon had left the book to be altered. They meant to give not forgery, but explanations and corrections. This was, of course, an unfortunate and mad undertaking. A latter writer of the book of Daniel would have gained his purpose by referring the end of seventy years to the first year of the reign of Cyrus. It was because Daniel referred to the first year of Darius that this King was supposed to be a contemporaneous colleague of Cyrus. So also in Daniel i., 1, a latter

writer would, in order to harmonize with the account of Jeremias xxv., 1, have referred to the fourth year of Jehoiakim. It was because Daniel used the expression, in the third month of Jehoiakim, that his words were altered so as to read the third year of Jehoiakim.

The first verse of chapter nine, containing the chief and leading historical error, does not agree with any one of the several other similar passages in the book of Daniel. This author notes a date always in a most simple manner, and in no other place does he give circumstances to determine which king he refers to, and he never repeats the expression "In the first year of . . . In the first year of his reign." Compare Daniel i., 1, ii., 1, vii., 1, x., 1. This fact creates the strongest presumption that the said verse first of chapter ninth is not by the author of the book; but it is interpolated. As to Belshazzar, in Daniel v., 11, this king is spoken of as being the son of Nebuchadnezzar. The same affirmation is made in Baruch i., 11. The whole chapter fifth in Daniel refers to Evilmerodach and to no one else. The expression "Thy Kingdom is divided, and is given to the Medes and the Persians" foretells the decree of God of what should happen twenty-two years afterwards. The interpolation, or perhaps alteration of verse thirty-first of the same chapter, was made to emphasize the supposed fact of Darius the Mede being the first King of Babylon at the time of Cyrus. Jerusalem was besieged by Nebuchadnezzar in the sixteenth year and was destroyed in the nineteenth year of his reign. The Jewish period of seventy years was accomplished from the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, to the first, second, third and fourth year of the reign of Darius of Histaspes.

FRANCIS VALITUTTI.

THE NEW CANON LAW: A Commentary and Summary of the New Canon Law. By *Rev. Stanislaus Woywod, O. F. M.* With a Preface by Right Rev. Monsignor Philip Bernardini, J. U. D. professor of canon law at the Catholic University, Washington, D. C. Complete in one volume, large 8vo., 436 pages; cloth, net, \$3.50. New York: Joseph F. Wagner.

It may be said without exaggeration that from the moment that Pope Pius X. announced a new and complete codification of Canon Law, until the work was completed thirteen years later, the whole ecclesiastical world awaited it with unabated interest. Canonists, professional and amateur, knew only too well the many difficulties in the way of the cleric whose duties required him to study and interpret and enforce Canon Law. These difficulties were caused

principally by the lack of codification and the necessity of studying the various codexes which had come into existence at various times in the history of the Church. To gather together the legislation of the Church on any particular question; to give proper value to each particular law; to decide which had ceased to have binding force and which had continued—was no easy matter.

Now all these difficulties have disappeared and we have before us in one compact volume the law of the Church from the beginning down to the present time, unified and codified, and, moreover, we have the assurance that the future legislation of the Church will not form a new collection of laws, but that all future enactments will be embodied in this code, in proper order, so that this will always be the one authoritative and complete law book of the Church.

As the author of this commentary truthfully says: "The new code is truly a monumental work, the magnitude of which will be apparent when thought is given to the truly gigantic task of revising and coördinating all the existing Church laws, including the laws of all ages since the times of the primitive Church, eliminating all those that have dropped out of use, or that have been revoked or suspended in the course of the centuries. Never before in the history of the Church was such a compilation on the same immense scope attempted."

The purpose of the new code is to supersede all existing collections of Papal laws, whether contained in the various official compilations published with the approval of former Popes, or in the volumes of decrees and declarations published by the various Roman congregations, or in the many existing private collections of Papal laws. Only in those instances in which the new code expressly declares that a former law on a specified subject is to be retained are former laws to continue in force.

The purpose of the present volume is, mainly, to give to the clergy engaged in parish work, in a handy volume, all that which is of practical importance for them in their daily life in the exercise of their sacred duties that must be guided by the laws of the Church. It does not go into long discussion of the subject matter, nor into lengthy comparisons with other laws. The author informs us that he has under consideration a complete and thorough commentary on the code.

Some of the matter has already appeared in the "Ecclesiastical Review," but in brief form. It is now been augmented and supplemented. Those who read the articles in the "Ecclesiastical Review" will remember the interest which they excited and will be glad to have them in this extended form. The book is very compact; expla-

nation and comment are given only when necessary, and in as brief a form as possible. Chapters which are less urgent are passed over with briefer notice, and the fourth and fifth books are treated most briefly. A complete index is a very important feature.

As the code is the most interesting subject among clerics at the present time, this summary and commentary must have also a widespread and deep interest.

THE MYSTERY OF THE HOLY TRINITY IN OLDEST JUDAISM.* By *Frank McGloin, LL. D.* 12mo., pp. 232. Philadelphia: John Joseph McVey.

Cardinal Gibbons says: "It is with great pleasure that I recommend Dr. McGloin's masterly work, entitled 'The Mystery of the Holy Trinity in Oldest Judaism.'"

The late Archbishop Blenk writes a lengthy and instructive Preface to the book, in which he outlines the subject, at the same time recommending the author in the warmest terms. A good idea of the scope of the work may be gotten from these words of the Preface: "From the reading of Dr. McGloin's work we draw the following conclusions: First, the patriarchs, prophets and other great personages among the Jewish people had an explicit faith in the mystery of the Blessed Trinity; second, the doctors of the law, without arriving at so distinct a knowledge of the mystery as the patriarchs and prophets possessed, yet understood it with some clearness, as evidenced by rabbinical literature; third, that the Jewish people in general had not an explicit knowledge of the Blessed Trinity; for the great mass of them, in spite of their marked superiority over the pagan nations around them, had their share of the grossness of mind and customs prevailing everywhere in the ancient world, a grossness which Moses, their inspired law-giver, had to take so largely into account in framing his code of legislation and which caused them to lapse so often and so easily into idolatry. And for this reason apparently the mystery of the Blessed Trinity, both in the Sacred Scriptures and in rabbinical literature, was enveloped in the obscurity of symbolism." He then adds: "We unhesitatingly believe the present work to be a splendid contribution to theological studies, one that will hand the name of Dr. McGloin down to posterity and make him figure worthily among those thinkers whose personal labors have contributed to build up the great edifice of religious science."

While it is true that Dr. McGloin has made Dr. Drach's "*De l' Harmonie entre l' Eglise et la Synagogue*" the starting point of

his own work, he has not done so without carefully sifting his facts and conclusions and bringing them out into stronger relief by the addition of new data and giving them also a new support by cogent arguments of his own. Before taking up the subject matter proper, the author has an introductory chapter, entitled "Some Thoughts on the Holy Trinity," in which he deals principally with the reasonableness of belief in this mystery. He then treats of the question of tradition in the Old Law, and finally considers the texts of the Old Testament that in whole or in part indicate a knowledge of the Holy Trinity and a belief in it. There are evidences throughout the work of deep interest in the subject and love for it. The author states everything very clearly and succeeds in making a hard question comparatively easy. The book will appeal not only to scholars, whether Catholic, Jew or Protestant, but even to the student of average ability. It is well worth while.

EIGHT-MINUTE SERMONS. By *Rev. William Demony, D. D.* Two vols., 12mo., pp. 288 and 289. New York: Benziger Brothers.

The author was very fortunate in his sponsors. The book begins with a warm letter of congratulation, confidence and approval from His Excellency the Apostolic Delegate, and this is followed by a Preface from the pen of Bishop Allen, who testifies to the author's "scholarly and deeply devotional sermons," and to "his remarkable zeal in preaching the Word of God" when he was engaged in the active work of the ministry. Unfortunately his health gave way under the strain of a large and busy parish, and he was forced to retire. These sermons were written and published in a Catholic paper during this retirement, and the favorable notice which they received induced the author to publish them in book form.

He tells us himself that they were "written or dictated spontaneously and hence are lacking in many of the technicalities and much of the elegance that generally adorns the written sermon." This is probably the reason why there are very few quotations from the Sacred Scriptures or other sacred writings.

There are two sermons for each Sunday, each beginning with a text from the Gospel or Epistle of the day. No attempt is made to analyze or explain the Gospel or Epistle as a whole, but some useful lesson is drawn from the text or the occasion. The sermons are not all of equal length, and therefore the term "eight-minute sermons" is not to be taken literally. They are plain, instructive, attractive and may be preached to any congregation with the assurance that they will be well and profitably received.

THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW

"Contributors to the *QUARTERLY* will be allowed all proper freedom in the expression of their thoughts outside the domain of defined doctrines, the *REVIEW* not holding itself responsible for the individual opinions of its contributors."

(Extract from *Salutatory*, July, 1890.)

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THE ECCLESIASTICAL TRAINING OF THE RUSSIAN CLERGY.

THE most trying problem of the national church of New Russia will be the training of a clergy adequate to the needs of these trying days. I believe that no nation, Catholic or Protestant, has in our day grappled with the question of the education of the younger clergy to such an extent as Russia. All the shortcomings of her clergy; apparent as they are in the very religious and social life of Russian Christianity, are due to defective methods of moral and intellectual preparation prescribed for candidates for the priesthood. A survey, therefore, of the schools in which Russia's priests have in the past been trained will give us a deeper insight into the religious consciousness of Russia and a keener comprehension of its gaps.

It is needless to say that the future destinies of the Russian clergy are a matter of great concern to the Catholic Church. We Catholics are firmly convinced of the validity of Russian ordinations. However great the sin of schism may be, we regard Russian Bishops and priests as endowed with the sacramental power. We are fully

¹ "Rélégués dans notre schisme," writes P. Tchaadaef, the great Russian philosopher, "rien de ce qui se faisait en Europe n'arrivait jusqu' à nous. Nous n'avions rien à démêler avec la grande affaire du monde. . . . Malgré le nom de Chrétiens que nous portions quand le Christianisme s'avavançait majestueusement dans la voie qui lui était tracée par son Divin Fondateur, et entraînait les générations après lui, nous ne bougions pas. . . . Chrétiens le fruit du Christianisme ne murissait pas pour nous." "Oeuvres choisies de Pierre Tchaadaeff, publiées pour la première fois par le P. Gagarin." Paris, 1862; p. 30.

aware of the decay of their apostolic life.¹ Yet, according to our Catholic doctrine, the sources of that life are not exhausted. The day will dawn when the fresh and limpid waters of Catholic piety, doctrine and tradition will fill them to the edge. And then Russian Christianity will recreate its lost energies and contribute powerfully to the revival of Christian spirit throughout the world.

However dark the horizons of social and religious Russia are at present, we have faith in a spiritual rebirth of the Russian people. And our faith should not be fruitless. We need not to lose our interest in the trials of the Russian Church. She has already begun to write with blood the pages of a new era of her history. And blood, in the Christian conception of life, is a purifying element, a powerful instrument of resurrection. A free Church, a Church which is forced to struggle for the defense of her doctrinal inheritance and the continuation of her redemptive work, cannot but feel a spontaneous attraction towards Rome. God grant that our belief may be fulfilled and that the efforts of Leo XIII. and of Benedict XV. may draw the Eastern Churches nearer to the centre of Christian unity!

The topic we are dealing with embraces the several periods of the history of the Russian Church. For the sake of accuracy, we will treat successively of the schools for the training of Russian clergy: First, before the institution of the Holy Synod; second, under the Holy Synod at the time of Peter the Great and under his successors; third, during the period of reform in the nineteenth century (1808-1880), and fifth, during the time of the Russian revolutionary movement.

THE RUSSIAN SCHOOLS FOR PRIESTHOOD BEFORE THE INSTITUTION OF THE HOLY SYNOD.

"Ancient Russia," writes Peter Vasilevich Znamensky at the beginning of a famous work on Russian ecclesiastical schools, "had only one type of elementary teaching, that given in the parochial schools, consisting of reading, singing and writing. The teachers of those schools were members of the local parochial clergy, or even of the laity. Both classes received their education in the same schools, so that their culture always stopped its ascent at the same point. The schools, to be sure, were open to all, without discrimination because of social conditions, or because of the future career of the pupils. Their courses were imbued with a frankly religious character. This was due to the religious tendencies of Russian society at that time. But they could not be qualified as ecclesiastical seminaries, as schools instituted for the training of the youth with the hope that they might become priests. The ancient Russia had

no special training for candidates for the priesthood. Yet this negligence was not without its good side. The bond between pastors and the common people was closer. On the other hand, it was prejudicial to pastoral life and the development of religious culture, wherein the clergy were on the same footing as their flock. They could not retain the leadership of their people in the great task of assimilating Christian truths. They became rather the representatives, the embodiment of those religious conceptions prevailing among the uncultivated masses. The only way to gain the ascendancy over the common people and to reach a higher degree of religious culture was by self-instruction. Priests were able to achieve a high standing as men of learning by assiduous conning of liturgical literature—a term which embraced all the religious books of that time.”²

The national chroniclers of Russia have passed on to posterity no information as to the earliest intellectual preparation of the clergy. They tell us that Vladimir the Great (980-1015) did a good deal to encourage instruction of children. But his measures were limited to the education of the sons of the nobility. Yet few of the nobility went to the ranks of the clergy. From the earliest times Russian priests were chosen from the poorest classes, for even rich peasants felt a repugnance for the sacerdotal life. In the religious history of Russia, from the outset, the Russian clergy appear as a caste, and a caste recruited from the poor, who often saw in the priesthood merely a means of gaining their livelihood.³ They were chosen by their fellow-peasants. They had the same religious culture. They knew only the rudiments of the Christian faith and the reading of liturgical books.⁴

So far as its clergy were concerned, primitive Russian Christianity took the shape rather of a liturgical body than that of a moral and religious one. The ignorance of the clergy may in large degree be accounted for by the predominance of that ritualistic formalism which characterizes Russian orthodoxy. The dogmatic and ethical teaching of Christian faith took but shallow root in Russian hearts. No dogmatic controversies, but ritualistic trifles, gave rise to the schisms of the Russian Church.

² P. V. Znamensky, “*Dukhovnyia shkoly v Rossii do reformy 1808 goda*” (“The Ecclesiastical Schools in Russia Down to the Reforms of Peter the Great”); Kazan, 1881; pp. 1-2.

³ E. Golubinsky, “*Istoriia russkoi tserkvi*” (“History of the Russian Church”), Vol. I., 1; Moscow, 1901; pp. 445, 448, 704. Sergiei Mikhailovich Soloviev; “*Istoriia Rossii s drevnieishikh vremen*” (“History of Russia From the Most Ancient Times”). Book V., ch. 8, Vol. I., pp. 253-254.

⁴ A. Mikhailov, “*Osnovy narodnago obrazovaniia v Rossii*” (“The Foundations of Popular Instruction in Russia”), *Dielo*, Petrograd, 1874; Vol. I., pp. 180-226; 199.

According to Metropolitan Macarii, in the twelfth century, Roman Rotislavich (d. 1180), prince of Smolensk, attempted to raise the intellectual level of the Russian clergy. He opened schools and called Greek and Latin scholars. He spent all his riches for the purpose of spreading religious instruction among his subjects.⁵ That his attempts, however, met with failure may be judged from the council held at Vladimir in 1274, which found it necessary to stress the occasion for a higher clerical culture and the overcoming of the vice of drunkenness, so prevalent among priests.⁶

The Tartarization of Russia for a period of two and a half centuries (1240-1480) made the intellectual condition of the clergy worse, if anything. Muscovite Russia in the sixteenth century is crowded with priests who by their ignorance abase the dignity of their ministry. This is the conclusion to be drawn from the acts of the Council of the Hundred Chapters (Stoglav), held in Moscow in 1551. It was asserted in the council that the candidates for deaconship and priesthood scarcely could read and write. Russian Bishops were at a loss. If they consented to ordain them, they would be contravening the ecclesiastical canons; if they refused, the churches would remain without pastors and the faithful without sacraments. The Bishops asked the ordinands why they were so illiterate. The ordinands answered them: "We have studied in our schools under the guidance of our parents and masters; they are the only teachers we have. What knowledge they had they imparted to us. If they do not know well the meaning of the Holy Scripture, why should we pay the penalty for their ignorance?"⁷

The council recommended that learned priests be chosen, and have entrusted to them the training of the candidates for ordination. They were charged with explaining to them the Bible and teaching the sacred chant and the fear of God. At the beginning of the same century, Gennadii, Archbishop of Novgorod (1484-1504), wrote that popular instruction was in the hands of unlearned peasants, who called themselves masters. There was a lack of candidates for priesthood. The peasants were requesting him to ordain illiterate men so that they might receive the sacraments of the Church.⁸

All the foreigners who visited Russia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries describe in the darkest colors the ignorance of the

⁵ Macarii Bulgakov, Metropolitan of Moscow, "Istoriia russkoi tserkvi" ("History of the Russian Church"), Petrograd, 1868, Vol. III., pp. 122-125.

⁶ "Opredeleniia Vladimirskago sobora 1274 goda" ("The Decisions of the Council of Vladimir in 1274"). Pravoslavnyi Sobesiednik, Kazan, 1863; Vol. I., p. 232.

⁷ "Stoglav," ed. Subbotin. Moscow, 1890; p. 122. (The text is published in Slavic characters.)

⁸ Macarii, op. cit., Vol. VII.; Petrograd, 1874; p. 113.

Russian clergy. Adam Olearius (1599-1671) refers to the fact that many priests and monks did not know the "Our Father." A few of them had learned the Ten Commandments, and thought themselves thus to have reached the highest summits of knowledge.⁹ "The seventeenth century was an epoch of the deepest ignorance. The clergy shared in the darkness of the age. They were on the same footing with their flock. A special knowledge of the liturgical books was not required. They were ordained if they were able to read and write. The ritual and the psalter were the only books that they should know. Even Bishops could not boast of a high degree of culture, and if they distinguished themselves by their learning, they incurred the suspicion of heresy."¹⁰

Because of the ignorance of the Russian clergy, laymen writers began to sneer at the Russian Church, and even at Russian Christianity. In his famous work, "On Poverty and Riches," Ivan Tikhonovich Posochkov (1670-1726), the first economist of Russia, branded the darkness spread over his own country by the clergy. "There are priests in Russia," he wrote, "who are not acquainted with their spiritual mission; priests who are illiterate; priests who ignore the rudiments of Christian faith and what God asks from them. The light of faith is being extinguished by the ignorance, drunkenness and the other vices of the clergy."¹¹ He suggested the foundation of ecclesiastical schools in the dioceses, to be attended by the sons of the priests from the ages of ten to twenty-five, the circulation of the Bible and liturgical books among students; the diffusion of polemical works against Protestantism; the exclusion of unlearned men from the ranks of the clergy; the teaching of philosophy.¹² The great historian, Basil Nikitich Tatishchev (1686-1750), in his fiercest attacks on the Russian clergy, declared that the only means to heal their ignorance was to eradicate superstition, viz., the Christian faith.¹³ And even Teofan Prokopovich, the author of the "Spiritual Regulation," lamented that the clergy who claimed

⁹ "Opisanie putesthestviia v Moskoviu" ("Description of a Travel to Moscow"), ed. A. N. Loviagin; Petrograd, 1906; p. lxi., 332; S. M. Seredonin, "Sochinenie Fletchera of the Russian Commonwealth," Petrograd, 1891; pp. 296-297. The work of Fletcher was published in 1591, reprinted in London, 1856. See "La Russie au XVII. siecle; par Giles Fletcher, ambassadeur d'Elisabeth d'Angleterre, avec une introduction par Charles du Bousset," Leipzig, 1864; pp. 89-90.

¹⁰ V. Th. Ikonov, "Nakanunie reform Petra Velikago" ("On the Eve of the Reform of Peter the Great"). Moscow, 1903; pp. 152-153.

¹¹ "Sochineniia Ivana Posochkova" ("Works of Ivan Posochkov"), ed. M. Pogodin; Moscow, 1842; p. 2.

¹² Ibid., p. 25, A. Tzarevsky, "Posochkov i ego sochineniia" ("Posochkov and His Writings"). Moscow, 1883; pp. 71-75.

¹³ "Istoriia rossiskala" ("Russian History"), Vol. I.; Moscow, 1768; ch. xlviii., p. 576.

the right of teaching and guiding their flock were unacquainted with the rudiments of Christian faith, and comported themselves like the blind leading the blind.¹⁴ The same expressions are to be found in the acts of the great Council of Moscow in 1666-1667. The priests are frowned upon as teachers of immorality, superstition and prejudices. They are held responsible for the estrangement of the laymen from the Church.¹⁵

It was not enough for the Russian clergy to be uncultured. They strongly opposed the intellectual rebirth of Russia. They knew that the raising of the level of public instruction would have weakened the moral influence of the Orthodox Church. A Russian ecclesiastical historian writes: "The tendency of Russian society to remain in ignorance, the fear of falling into religious errors through scientific research, the proud conviction that Russians ought to be orthodox without learning, were a strong obstacle to the development of culture. Russians hated the Latins, the tricks of grammar and the learning of philosophers like an evil heresy. Even the Patriarchs at times refused their blessings to Russians who were anxious to be taught the Latin or German language by foreigners."¹⁶

The idea of raising the intellectual level of the Russian clergy¹⁷ was conceived by the famous Jesuit, Antonio Possevino, in his first legation to Ivan IV. (Vasilievich the Terrible), 1533-1584. Possevino conferred with the Tsar at Moscow in 1582. He proposed to him the foundation in Rome of a seminary where ecclesiastical students would be faithfully instructed in the Greek faith of the ancient fathers. Pope Gregory XIII. was even ready to open Russian seminaries at Vilna and Polotzk, or to admit Russian students in the seminaries of Olmutz and Prague.¹⁸ Ivan the Terrible refused

¹⁴ Tzarevsky, op. cit.; p. 76.

¹⁵ A. G. "Opredielewila moskovskago sobora 1666-1667 goda" ("The Decisions of the Council of Moscow of 1666-1667"). "Pravoslavni Sobeslednik," Kazan, 1863; t. III.; p. 234.

¹⁶ A. Dobroklonsky. "Rukovodstvo po istorii russkoi tserkvi" ("Handbook of History of the Russian Church"), Vol. III.; Moscow, 1889; p. 181.

¹⁷ Nulla enim sunt in Moscovia gymnasia in quibus liberalibus doctrinis juvenus instituat, nulli item sacri doctores, qui populum pro concionibus erudiant. Moscorum doctissimi habentur ii, qui Ruthenicis litteras calleant. Orationem dominicam perpauci novere. Symbolum apostolorum, decem capita veteris legis, Salutationemque angelicam paucissimi Christianae praeterea religionis, eam unusquisque habet cognitionem, quam domestica, puerilique institutione cum nutricis lacte hauserit. "Antonii Possevini missio moscovitica ex annuis litteris Societatis Jesu excerpta et adnotationibus illustrata, curante P. Pierling." Parisiis, 1882; pp. 72-73.

¹⁸ In a speech to the Senate of Venice (April 11, 1581), Antonio Possevino mentions the efforts of Pope Gregory XIII. to found seminaries for the training of Russian Seminarists: "Et Sua Santita havena tratto fuori diversi giovini, istituito varii seminarii, et andava con questi semi fomentando in modo quel picciolo lume, che si era introdotto, che poteva sperar-

to accept the proposals of Rome. His purpose was to feign the desire of the reunion of the Churches in order to turn the influence of the Papacy to his own profit in his feuds with Poland.¹⁹

The Greek Orthodox Patriarchs were informed of the attempts of Possevino, and strove to reestablish their influence over the Russian clergy by taking an active part in the intellectual awakening of the Russian clergy. In 1585, Silvestr, Patriarch of Alexandria, in a letter addressed to Feofan Ivanovich (1584-1598) urged him to open a school where pupils might be instructed in the Greek language and "draw from many divine books all the divine wisdom of the Orthodox Church."²⁰

The question of ecclesiastical schools in Russia was taken up by the Synod of Constantinople in 1593. The Greek hierarchy confirmed the institution of the Russian Patriarchate and exhorted the Russian Bishops in every possible way to help the candidates for ordination to study the Holy Scriptures and the liturgical books. Meletios Pighas, Patriarch of Alexandria (1590-1601), wrote a personal letter to the Tsar, soliciting him to establish a Greek school, "a living sparkle of sacred learning," for, in the East, the source of wisdom seemed near being drained.²¹ The letter, according to Russian writers, testifies to the zeal of the Eastern Patriarchs for the cultural development of Russia and the characteristics of the learning they wished to bring to Moscow. They wanted to spread Greek ecclesiasticism of the strictest type as a means of consolidating the Orthodox Church and traditions not only in Russia, but in the whole Christian East.²²

In 1600 Sigismond III., king of Poland, expressed to Boris Godunov (1598-1605) his desire to build Catholic churches for Poles

sene l'aiuto di molte anime et luce a più lontane provincie." Paul Pierling, "Bathory et Possevino. Documents inédits sur les rapports du Saint Siège avec les Slaves," Paris, 1887; p. 45. In his "Missio moscovitica" he alludes to the foundation of a Russian seminary at Vilna: "Vilnam P. Possevinus discessit, ut ibi Pontificis maximi auctoritate Ruthenorum, Moscorumque seminarium institueret, qui ad eos alendos 1200 scutatorum annum vectigal attribuit." Ed. cit.; p. 58.

¹⁹ L'intentione del Mosco non era in altro, ch di liberarsi dalla guerra. "Mémoire du Cardinal de Come au secrétaire de la Propagande" (1585), Pierling, "Possevini Missio moscovitica;" p. 113.

²⁰ A. Muravev, "Snocheniia Rossi s Vostokom po dielam tzerkovnym" ("The Relations Between Russia and the East in Ecclesiastical Matters"); Petrograd, 1858; Vol. I.; p. 158.

²¹ I. Malychevsky, "Aleksandriiskii Patriarkh Meletii Pighas" ("Meletios Pighas, Patriarch of Alexandria"); Kiev, 1872; t. II.; p. 10.

²² M. Smentzovsky, "Bratia Likhudy: Opyt issledovanii iz istorii tzerkovnago prosviesheniia i tzerkovnoi zhizni kontza XVII. i nachala XVIII. viekov" ("The Brothers Likhudy: An essay on the history of ecclesiastical culture and ecclesiastical life at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century"); Petrograd, 1899; p. 4.

in Moscow, Pskov, Novgorod and Smolensk; and he wanted to establish along with them schools for Russian pupils, on the pattern of Polish schools in Poland and Lithuania.²³ Boris Godunov declined the proposal. He had already conceived the plan of endowing Moscow with a Russian university and calling to Russia learned men from Western Europe. In 1602 he sent some young Russians to England and Germany. His plans, however, met with open hostility from the clergy. They called his attention to the fact that, in spite of her considerable extent, Russia already possessed unity of faith and custom. If the divergencies of languages were introduced, Russia would face the danger of internal dissolution and the loss of time-honored concord.²⁴ "The pious spirit of antiquity," comments the Russian historian of the Ecclesiastical Academy of Moscow, "took alarm at Western novelties. For that reason our culture at the beginning of the eighteenth century was confined to a little more than the study of the A B C."²⁵

The first Russian ecclesiastical school for the higher education arose in 1632, under Patriarch Filaret (1619-1634). "A few years ago," wrote Adam Olearius in his "Reisebeschreibung," "with the consent of the Patriarch, there was established in Moscow a public school, where the Greek monk Arsenius taught Greek and Latin."²⁶ Probably there is a confusion of names. The master of Greek in this school, set up by Filaret and closed at his death, was a certain Joseph, protosyncellus of the Patriarchate of Alexandria.²⁷ In 1645 Theophanes, Metropolitan of Patras, went to Moscow as legate of the Patriarch of Constantinople and exhorted Tsar Alexiei Mikhailovich (1645-1676) to set up a school and to charge a Greek scholar with the teaching of Greek, theology and philosophy. The

²³ Theodor Pavlovich Elenov, "Istoriko-kriticheskoe razsuzhdenie o stepeni vliianiia Polshi na yazyk i na ustroistvo uchiish v Rossii" ("Historical and Critical Inquiry Into the Degree of the Influence of Poland Upon the Language and the Organization of Schools in Russia"); Petrograd, 1848. Id., "Polskaya tsivilizatsiia i eia vlianie na Zapadnuiu Rus'" (Polish Civilization and Its Influence Upon West Russia); Petrograd, 1863.

²⁴ Karamzin, "Istoriia Gosudarstva rossiskago" ("History of the Russian Empire"); Vol. XI.; Petrograd, 1824; pp. 88-91.

²⁵ Sergiei Smirnov, "Istoriia Moskovskoi slaviano-greko-latinskoi akademii" (History of the Slavo-Greco-Latin Academy of Moscow); Moscow, 1855; pp. 3-4. This is the only Russian work which treats of the earliest period of the history of the Ecclesiastical Academy of Moscow. We shall have frequent occasion to use it.

²⁶ Ed. cit., p. 297.

²⁷ Sergiei Bielokurov, "Adam Olearii o Greko-Latinskoi shkole Arseniia Greka" ("Adam Olearius and His Report on the Greco-Latin School of Arsenius the Greek"); Moscow, 1888. V. Kolosov, "Starets Arsenii Grek" ("The Monk, Arsenii the Greek"). "Zhurnal Min. Nar. Prosv.," 1881; t. CC., XVII; pp. 67-93.

Archimandrite Benedict was chosen as teacher. He was a starving "Græculus," who because of ceaseless complaint of the smallness of his salary finally earned an imperial safe conduct for an inglorious return to his native country.

In 1649 Arsenius the Greek went to Moscow and undertook instruction in rhetoric in an ecclesiastical school. He also took an active part in the correction of liturgical books. The latter enterprise encompassed his ruin. He was accused of altering the Christian Orthodox faith, and condemned to lifelong exile into the monastery of Solovka.²⁸ It was at this epoch that the Catholic influence began to play an important part in the intellectual formation of the Russian clergy. The earliest seminaries and academies of both Little and Great Russia are due to the powerful scientific impulse given by the schools of the Society of Jesus in Poland and Lithuania. It was at Vilna that in 1570 the Jesuits founded a famous academy, which was transformed into a university in 1578.²⁹ The Vilna academy played an important part in the history of Polish and Lithuanian culture. The activity of the Jesuits put an end to the tranquil indifference of the Russian Orthodox clergy. At Kiev, Peter Moghilas (1633-1646) established an academy, which became a flourishing centre of culture for orthodox Little Russia. The academy prospered under a frankly Latin régime of instruction and discipline. Philosophy and theology were taught in Latin, and on several points, for instance, in the doctrines of the Immaculate Conception and the sacramental value of the Eucharistic formula, the best scholars of the academy subscribed to the conclusions of Latin theologians.³⁰ Russian writers, unwillingly or willingly, are forced to recognize that the literary revival of Great Russia was the product of Catholic influences which reached Moscow through Malorussian channels. "South and Western Russia, earlier than Northern Russia, glistened in the sunshine of enlightenment, and that happiness is due to unhappy circumstances—it is due to the proximity of Papalism. North Russia felt the need of the sword to repulse the foe more than any necessity for verbal weapons; and

²⁸ Smentzovsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8. N. Th. Kapterev, "Slledstvennoe dielo ob Arsenie Grekle i ssylka ego v Solovetskii monastyr" ("The Trial of Arsenius the Greek, and His Exile to the Monastery of Solovka Island"), in "Lectures of the Society of Friends of Spiritual Progress" ("Chtenia obsshestva liubitelei dukhovnago prosvlesshenia"); 1881; t. II., pp. 70-96.

²⁹ M. Balinski, "Dawna Akademia Wilenska" ("The Ancient Academy of Vilna"); Petrograd, 1862.

³⁰ See our work, "Theologia dogmatica orthodoxa," Vol. I., pp. 154-156, and our notice, "De Academiae ecclesiasticae kioviensis doctrina Beatam Mariam Virginem praemunitam fuisse a peccato originali, Acta II. conventus Velehradensis;" Prague, 1910, pp. 39-41.

besides, the ancient prejudices against the West had not disappeared."⁸¹

In 1640 Peter Moghilas applied to Tsar Mikhail Romanov (1613-1645) for the foundation in Moscow of a monastery of Malorussian learned monks in order to set up an academy like that of Kiev. His request was not granted. His wishes, however, were fulfilled nine years later, when Prince Theodor Mikhailovich Rtischev founded near Moscow the monastery of St. Andrew,⁸² and gathered there thirty Malorussian monks. They opened a school for the teaching of Greek and Russian, rhetoric and philosophy. At the same time Tsar Alexiei Mikhailovich asked Silvestr Kosov, Metropolitan of Kiev (1647-1657), to send to Moscow some learned monks to help in the translation of the Bible and in the Greek education of Russian pupils. The choice of the Metropolitan fell upon Arsenii Satanovsky, Epiphanii Slavinetzky and Damaskin Ptitzky. They applied themselves to the translation of Greek and Latin books into Russian. At the same time they found pupils eager to assimilate the knowledge of their masters. Thanks to their influence, several young men of Moscow, yearning after a higher education, went to Kiev. The success of the Malorussian monks awoke suspicions as to the firmness of their orthodox beliefs. They were looked upon with feelings of distrust, for they did not confine their teaching to the explanation of liturgical books. Prince Rtischev was accused of heresy and Kiev defamed as a seat of heterodox novelties. The hostility of the conservative element of the Muscovite orthodoxy grew to such an extent that the Malorussian monks were about to be expelled from Moscow had not Patriarch Nikon taken them under his protection. He transferred Slavinetzky and Ptitzky to the monastery of Miracles (Chudov Monastery), and confided to the former the leadership of a school, which lasted till 1674.

The above quoted monks represented the so-called Greek tendency in the Russian Church. They were strongly opposed to Latin infiltrations in orthodox theology. Although well acquainted with the Western theological literature, they boasted of an unshakable fidelity to Byzantine religious traditions. Soon, however, the Latin tendency made its way into Moscow. Its best representative was also a learned Malorussian monk, Simeon Sitianovich Polotzky (d. 1680). He established himself at Moscow and started spreading his teaching, wholly imbued with the spirit of Western Latin culture. He took up his quarters at the monastery of the Saviour

⁸¹ S. Smirnov, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

⁸² P. Stroev, "Spiski ierarkhov . . . rossiskaja tserkvi" ("List of the Hierarchy of the Russian Church"); Petrograd, 1877; pp. 245-246.

(Spassky monastery). A school was opened there for the teaching of the Latin language. Pupils were instructed in Latin versification and eloquence. The most celebrated student of the school, Silvestr Medvedev, wrote beautiful Latin poems and orationes.³³ The antagonism between the two tendencies—the Latin and the Greek—fills the literary history of Russia in the three last decades of the seventeenth century. While Epiphane Slavinetzky in the Chudov monastery fostered a school of rigid followers of the Greek tradition in the Russian Church, Simeon Polotzky quite neglected the study and the teaching of the Greek language at the school of the Spassky monastery.

The Greek tendency had an ephemeral ascendancy in 1660-1670. It was due especially to the efforts of Paisios Ligarides, a Greek metropolitan of Gaza. He witnessed in Moscow all the difficulties due to the liturgical reform of Patriarch Nikon and frankly declared that their origin was to be found in the religious ignorance of both the clergy and people. "I inquired," he wrote, "into the roots of those spiritual diseases which now affect the Christian body of the Russian Empire and I strove to discover whence came that flood of heresies, the ruin of the whole Church, and at last, after a thorough meditation, I found that all evil springs up from two sources, namely, from the lack of libraries and public schools. If any one asks me what are the bulwarks of the Church and State, I could answer: First, the schools; secondly, the schools; third, the schools."³⁴ Paisios wished Moscow to become the centre of intellectual life for Russia and the whole Christian East. "It is with bitter tears that I am forced to avow that in the Eastern Church culture is on the wane. The Greeks are under the yoke and fiercely persecuted. Even in the seat and centre of tyranny the schools have been closed." Paisios urged Russian Bishops and monks to coöperate in the education of the younger clergy, for learned priests would restore the prestige of the Russian Church.³⁵ The exhortations of Paisios met with the full approval and support of Paisios, Patriarch of Alexandria, and Macarius, Patriarch of Antioch, who

³³ L. N. Malkov, "Ocherki iz istorii russkoi literatury XVII. i XVIII. stolletii" ("Essays on the History of Russian Literature in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries"); Petrograd, 1889, pp. 1-162. J. Kozlovsky, "Silvestr Medvedev: Ocherk iz istorii russkago prosvieshcheniia i obshchestvennoi zhizni v kontse XVII. veka" ("Silvestr Medvedev: An Historical Sketch of Russian Culture and Social Life at the End of the Seventeenth Century"); Kief, 1894.

³⁴ S. Smirnov, p. 6.

³⁵ N. I. Subbotin, "Materialy dlia istorii raskola" ("Materials for the History of the Raskol"); Moscow; Vol. IX.; pp. 280-284.

visited Moscow in 1666. In a sermon, written by them, and pronounced by Hilarion, Archbishop of Riazan, on Christmas Day, 1666, they warned the Russians "to search for learning, the eye of the wise and the rule of human life." They complained of the ignorance of the Greek language in Moscow, while the heretic nations of the West and even the semi-barbarous Arabs were learning it. They urged the Tzar to open schools for the teaching of the Greek, Latin and Russian languages and invited the pastors of the Church to give their material support to such a foundation.³⁶

The warnings of the Greek Patriarchs were not altogether without effect. Alexiei Mikhailovich at least decided upon the foundation of a Greek ecclesiastical school in Moscow. The Russian Patriarch, Joasaph II. (1667-1672), threatened with anathema the opponents of the plans of the Tzar. Yet nothing was done to realize them. The attempts were renewed under Theodor Alekseevich (1645-1676) and Patriarch Joachim (1674-1690). At this time they were crowned with success. First of all, a Greek school was founded in 1679 and placed under the direction of a Greek monk, Timotheus. Both the Tsar and Patriarch visited it almost every week and rewarded the students with clothes and money. Dositheus, Patriarch of Jerusalem, wrote a congratulatory letter to the Tsar. He magnified the excellency of the Greek language in the history of sacred literature: "The Gospels and the letters of the Apostles were written in Greek; in Greek language were drawn up the acts of the Councils and the writings of the fathers and all the sacred books of the Church. It is then a work of God to learn Greek. The knowledge of Greek will help us to understand the books of the orthodox faith as they were written and to interpret them rightly and to keep afar from Latin books, which are crammed with ruses, seduction, heresies and atheism." The Tsar, however, did not feel satisfied with a school frequented only by thirty students. Simeon Polotzky had outlined to him the plan of a higher institution for the education of youth and the Tsar had charged him to draw up its rules. The learned monk wrote the statute of the Academy of Moscow ("Privilegia"). They were modified, probably after his death (1680), by his disciple, Silvestr Medvedev. The goal of Simeon Polotzky was to endow Moscow with a university whose organization would imitate closely that of the Western universities.

According to the statutes, the academy was centered about the Zaikonospassky monastery. New buildings were to be added to it

³⁶ S. Smirnov, p. 10.

for the teachers and students. Their expenses were to be covered by the income of the above quoted monastery and seven others. The Tsar granted to it large properties of the crown and the privilege of receiving gifts and legacies. The inspector and the professors of the academy were charged with a full control in matters of faith and popular instruction. Students were forbidden to have recourse to private teachers—foreign and heterodox. The inspector and professors were called upon to give testimony to the purity of faith of the teachers coming from abroad. The value of their testimony was so great that without it foreign teachers were liable to expulsion from Russia. They were required also to denounce to the Tsar the disseminators of false doctrines among the people. All recent converts from other denominations were placed under their inspection. If it was proved that they wavered in their orthodox beliefs they were liable to the exile to Terek or to Siberia. If they were found guilty of abjuring the orthodox faith they were unmercifully condemned to be burnt alive.

The academic council was charged also with the supervision of astrologers, fortune-tellers and impious books and writings. Among the forbidden books the privilegia mention Polish and Latin, German, Lutheran and Calvinistic books. All of them were to be annihilated by the academy. The proprietors of books of the former class, once their guilt was shown by competent authority, were to be condemned without reprieve to be burnt alive, while possessors of books of the second class were also declared to deserve an unmerciful chastisement. Stern judgment was to be passed upon those Russians and foreigners convicted of bad faith, that is those who rejected the worship of the saints, icons and relics. All these transgressors were doomed to perish at the stake. Even Roman Catholics who might pass over to Protestantism were to be punished by exile to Siberia.

After what we have quoted from the statutes of the Academy of Moscow, we need hardly comment upon its character. We may, however, cite the word of the great historian of Russia, Sergii Soloviev: "The school of free knowledge was organized for the defense of the orthodox faith, which was confronted with dangers from every side. Its foes, the followers of Luther and Calvin, were gathering at Moscow, many of them in the Government's service. The Orthodox Church, therefore, felt the duty of fighting unweariedly against them. The chief weapon of defense was the academy. It was invested with the right of following all the movements of the enemy and of sounding the alarm at the first shadow of danger.

According to the scheme of Simeon Polotzky the academy was not only a school, but a terrible tribunal of inquisition. It was enough for the inspector and professors to pronounce the words: "He is guilty of heterodoxy," and the funeral pile was at once fired for the culprit.⁸⁷

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⁸⁷ Op. cit., XIII., ch. II., p. 885. See also: A. V. Gorsky, "O dukhovnykh uchilishshakh v Moskve v XVII. stolietie" ("The Ecclesiastical Schools at Moscow in the Seventeenth Century"), Moscow, 1845; Nikolai Alexievich Lavrovsky, "O drevne-russkikh uchilishshakh" ("The Ancient Russian Schools"), Kharkov, 1854; D. Mordovtzev, "O russkikh shkolykh knigakh XVI. v." ("The Text-books in the Russian Schools of the Seventeenth Century"), Moscow, 1862; M. Pogodin, "Obrazovanie i gramotnost v drevnem periode russkoi istorii" ("Culture and Instruction in the Ancient Russia"), "Zhurnal Ministerstva russkago osviescheniia, 1871, C. L. III; N. A. Lebedev, "Istoricheski v glaz na uchrezhdenie uchilishh" ("Historical Outlook on the Foundation of Schools"), Petrograd, 1874; S. H. Brallovsky, "Ocherki iz istorii osviescheniia v Moskovskoi Rusi XVII. v." ("Essays on the History of Culture in Muscovite Russia in the Seventeenth Century"), Moscow, 1890; N. Th. Kaptelev, "O Greko-Latinskikh shkolykh v Moskve v XVII. v. do otkrytiia Slaviano-Greko-Latinskoi Akademii" ("The Greek and Latin Schools at Moscow in the Eighteenth Century Before the Opening of the Slavo-Greco-Latin Academy"); "Pribavleniia" ("Supplements to the Russian Version of the Writings of the Fathers"), Moscow, 1889, t. 11, pp. 588-681; Id., "Kharakter otnosheniia Rosii k pravoslavnomu Vostoku v XVII. i XVIII. stolietiiakh" ("The Character of the Relations Between Russia and the Orthodox East in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries"); Sergiev Posad, 1914 (second edition).

THE AMPLEFORTH BENEDICTINES.

THE foundation of the Benedictine monastery at Ampleforth, in Yorkshire, of recent years erected into an abbey, dates back to the year 1802, when the dispossessed community (formed of English with Spanish and Cassinese Benedictines) of St. Lawrence's, Dieulouard, or Dieulward (Dieu le garde), in Lorraine, who were driven towards the close of the eighteenth century to seek a refuge in England after being dispersed by the French Revolution, were reunited at Ampleforth under Prior Marsh, the last prior of Dieulouard. The seizure and sequestration of that monastery, the expulsion of the religious, commonly called "the black monks," to distinguish them from the white-robed Cistercians, their escape from the European continent, their return to England and their reestablishment in that country, which is so much indebted to the Benedictines since the landing of the first monk missionaries of that order at Ebbsfleet, over thirteen hundred years ago, form a most interesting episode in the history of modern monasticism.

"Of the orders and congregations now established in England," said the late Bishop Hedley, himself an illustrious Benedictine, at the opening of the new college on November 17, 1886, "the Anglo-Benedictines alone, I suppose, can claim a strict continuity with the period before the great religious revolution. The others have renewed themselves from abroad or they have come into the country in the freshness of their youth. But the old English Benedictine congregation has never altogether died out. November 21 is with us a dies memorabilis—the anniversary of the day in 1607 when the last monk of Westminster Abbey passed on the religious habit to those who founded the present congregation. And the English Benedictines have, in many respects, gone through the hardest times of any. Other orders had been outcasts from their native land and had suffered and bled for the faith; other orders had struggled to keep up their nurseries upon the continent. But the Benedictines were peculiar in this, that having been driven to establish their homes abroad because they were Catholics, they were also driven back to England because they were Englishmen. The great French Revolution, which destroyed so much, uprooted the English Benedictine mother homes in France and Lorraine, and eventually in Prussia; the members of St. Gregory's, St. Lawrence's, St. Edmund's and Lambspring had to flee for protection to the very land which had exiled them. It will be readily understood that they fled in disorder. For many years the two communities of St. Gregory's and St. Lawrence's lived together under the roof of a Catholic baronet in

Shropshire. Then St. Lawrence's wandered from spot to spot in Lancashire until at last they settled in Yorkshire, in the small presbytery or lodge which forms the centre of the present monastery. Community life in its essentials has been carried on from that day to this. The divine office has never ceased, the succession of priors has been kept up, the discipline has been maintained, the holy rule and the constitution has been observed. But the country was very Protestant; it was impossible at first even to wear the habit. The resources of the community were small; the church, chapter house, refectory, cloister existed only in name, and the complete monastic circle of observances, on which so much of the monk's happiness and progress depend, necessarily remained for many years incomplete. . . . This silver jubilee finds the principle of order thoroughly recognized, the details clearly worked out and the system in the most admirable operation. Thus after nearly a century—for it will be a hundred years in a year or two since St. Lawrence fled from Dieulouard and became a wanderer in England—after nearly a century of trials, weakness and opposition and uncertainty, we stand on this memorable day in a definite and legitimate position, resting upon the old traditions, in touch with the Holy See and the hierarchy, with our way straight before us to do what is in us for the monastic ideal and the carrying to our countrymen of the Gospel of Jesus Christ."

The collegiate church of St. Lawrence, Dieulouard, a town in Lorraine—one of the provinces recovered from France by Germany as one of the results of the war of 1870—had been vacant since Cardinal Prince Charles of Lorraine had, with the sanction of Pope Clement VIII., removed the canons who served it, with all its revenues, to the then newly created cathedral of Nancy. On December 2, 1606, the Rev. Arthur Pitts, an English priest, obtained a grant of it from His Eminence and the dean and chapter of Nancy to form a monastery for the expatriated English Benedictines, who were to labor for the re-conversion of their native land and the renovation of their order in England. Eighteen months afterwards the Rev. Dr. Gifford, a distinguished secular priest, resigned the deanery of Lisle to become a Benedictine and was admitted to the habit on July 11, 1608, at the Abbey of St. Remigius at Rheims for the new house of St. Lawrence, Dieulouard. Within a month two other secular priests, Rev. Lawrence Reyner and Rev. Francis Walgrave, and two laymen, Joseph Haworth and Robert Bapthorpe, entered the novitiate at the same abbey for the same purpose. Two of these, Fathers Reyner and Walgrave, accompanied by Father Nicholas Fitzjames, a monk

lately professed at Douai, who was appointed their superior and novice-master, proceeded to Dieulouard to make a beginning of the new monastery and to live conventually. On their arrival, on August 9, 1608, the eve of the feast of St. Lawrence, they found the church destitute of any ornaments and the house very small and entirely unfurnished, so that they were obliged to live in the town until it was made habitable. On April 23, 1609, Father Gabriel Gifford arrived, and on completion of his year's probation, July 11, was the first to make his profession as a member of St. Lawrence's community. He was soon after appointed the first prior of the monastery which for half a century continued to be noted for its strict observance of religious discipline.

Father Bennet Stapylton, cathedral prior of Canterbury, who had been twice prior of St. Gregory's, died at Dieulouard on August 4, 1680, in the eleventh year of his presidency and the fifty-eighth year of his age. In 1681 there were ninety-eight priests belonging to the Anglo-Benedictine congregation, of whom thirty-four had been professed at St. Gregory's, fifteen at St. Lawrence's, twenty-two at St. Edmund's and twenty-two at Lamspring. At the twenty-fifth general chapter, in 1717, Father Lawrence Champney was elected prior of Dieulouard. Soon after his installation the monastery was completely destroyed by fire, along with all its archives.* The religious were quartered in other convents

*In the archives of the Abbey of St. Dominic de Silos, in Old Castile, Spain, among other records of great interest to English Benedictines, such as the Capitular Acts of the Valladolid Congregation, with which the English monasteries for a time were intimately connected, are several original letters from a Princess of Lorraine to the Spanish superior in reference to the foundation of St. Lawrence's, Dieulouard. "As authentic records of its princely founder's intentions with regard to our community," says the *Ampleforth Journal* (April, 1897), "these are bound to be interesting and valuable; they are only waiting the reverent hand of some Laurentian pilgrim to recall them to vitality and the light."

of the congregation, and four years were to elapse before a few could be again collected at Dieulouard. Father Francis Watmough, elected prior by the chapter of 1721, built a new and more commodious monastery on the site of the old one, and after an interval of six years novices were admitted and regular discipline restored. He held office for twelve years and was reelected by the chapter of 1733, when he suddenly died the day after the chapter closed. He is numbered amongst the greatest benefactors of his convent. He came to its assistance when it was a heap of ruins and on the eve of being dissolved; he left it in a more flourishing state in spirituals and temporals than it had been since its foundation. In 1725 the community consisted of three priests, two professed monks and three lay Brothers.

Not many years elapsed before it fell a prey to a still more destructive force than fire. Stormy times for monks and monarchs, for priests and princes were coming. The distant rumblings of the revolutionary tornado which ended in the downfall of the Bourbons and the Bastille must have been heard even in the silence of those Benedictine cloisters far away in Lorraine. On the 8th of March, 1793, the convention passed a decree ordering the sale of the goods belonging to the Order of Malta, and in general whatever belonged to any corporation, whether secular or regular, such as all colleges and seminaries. To this general confiscation, however, were attached two articles—the first excepted the English from the decree, and the second declared that the convention intended to issue another in a short time to decide what was to be done with the English establishments. As it was evident to Father Richard Marsh, the prior, that the doom of the monastery was approaching, he endeavored to sell some of the land belonging to it; but as soon as this came to the knowledge of the department, orders were issued forbidding any body to purchase and declaring all such purchases to be void, should any be made. Each particular member of the department, it was added, might be made personally responsible for whatever was wanting in case the convention passed a decree for the sale of the property belonging to the English. Baffled in this attempt, the prior quietly removed the silver, linens and some of the books from the library; but when he began to sell some of the best horses, the municipal authorities hastened to obtain power to prevent him. His movements were closely watched, and the district officials, who had already been accused of being too favorable to the Benedictines, determined not to expose themselves any longer to this reproach, ordering a squad of twenty-five men to be placed round the monastery, with strict instructions not to let anything be removed. In vain the prior remonstrated. Though it was admitted that the order was not strictly legal, he was informed that many measures were necessary for the public safety which were not positively authorized by law. Notwithstanding their vigilance, the prior had two of the church bells taken down and sent to Toul with some other articles to be sold. The men on guard after a while found it irksome duty to be keeping watch, and as the vintage time was approaching gradually withdrew of their own accord.

The aspect of the times growing daily worse, the prior considered it necessary to provide for the safety of his community. A decree was passed in September, 1793, allowing all children of foreigners who were in France for the purpose of education, and not otherwise,

to be sent back to their parents. Upon the strength of this he solicited passports for them, but was told that the decree had not yet been sent officially. When it was subsequently received, he again applied for and obtained them for all the community except himself, although it was evident that grown-up members were not actually included in the decree. But no opposition was raised by the municipality, as they were anxious to get rid of them in order that they might obtain possession of the monastery, or at least have the administration of it in their own hands. On the following day all the monks left in two parties, except the prior (Father Marsh), Father Maurus Barret, an old, infirm priest; Father Oswald Talbot, Father John Dawber and the lay brothers, who were for remaining a little longer and who proceeded without delay to solicit certificates of hospitality, in accordance with the decree of the convention of September 22, intending to leave in case these were refused and to make use of their passports, which were available for a fortnight. With much difficulty, however, they succeeded in procuring them; so, considering themselves now secure, they decided to remain. But in three or four days they discovered their error when it was too late.

On Saturday, the 12th of October at about half-past 9 at night, the people were notified by beat of drum that every man capable of bearing arms was to present himself at the house of the commandant. The prior, who had retired to his cell for the night, did not pay much heed to this, thinking it was the people assembling for the apprehension of some suspected persons. He withdrew, however, to another room and placed himself at a window from which he could see into the town. Some time before this he had prevailed upon the Mayor, who was favorably disposed, to let him know, if he possibly could, should any orders be received for the arrest of the members of his community. The Mayor, true to his word, had sent his sister to communicate the fatal information; but seeing so many persons about the monastery, she returned without delivering her message, contenting herself with telling the wife of one of the monastery laborers to give notice of what was going to take place. This woman, on seeing the prior at the window, beckoned to him to come down, and told him that orders had arrived to arrest all the monks. Father Marsh, at first incredulous, hesitated. Having so recently received letters of hospitality, he thought it unlikely, but, if true, that it might prevent any one escaping if he alarmed the house; that perhaps he was the only person aimed at, the only one who had any reason to fear, the others having their passports. He therefore quietly quitted the monastery without raising any alarm, telling the porter where he was going to and to let him know later what was

the meaning of this assembling of the people. He concealed himself in a ravine not far from the house. When he heard the rabble making towards the monastery and heard the convent bell rung, he soon perceived that the news was too true; so, lest patrols should be sent after him, he determined to cross the Moselle that night. The town clocks were striking 12 when he reached the riverside, and after crossing the river at a fordable point he repaired to the village where the monastery porter lived. There he learned that upon the rabble breaking into the monastery, they ran at once to his cell, but not finding him there, broke down every closed door on the pretense of searching for him. One of the first places they went to was the church steeple, where, finding two of the bells missing, they gave utterance to the most violent exclamations.

A little above Dieulouard the Moselle divides, and flowing some distance through separate channels, encloses an island nearly two miles in circumference. The prior crossed the second branch of the river in a boat, and about 3 o'clock on Sunday morning reached a small village, where he took up his quarters at the house of a person upon whom he knew he could depend. At daybreak this man, at his request, proceeded to the monastery on the pretext of seeing his brother, who was there, and on his return brought word that Father Oswald Talbot and William Sharrock, a lay Brother, had escaped; that Father John Dawber, Father Maurus Barret, James Johnson, a lay brother, and Charles Allen, a novice, had been conducted to the college at Pont-à-Mousson, to be imprisoned there along with all suspected persons; that the monastery had been given into the custody of the municipality and that guards were posted around it.

On hearing this sad news the prior deliberated whether he should surrender himself a prisoner or try to effect his escape. In either eventuality the most imminent dangers confronted him. To give himself up was almost certain death, as he felt assured he would be tried on the capital charge on account of the removal of the bells, church plate and furniture. To attempt to escape, unprovided with a passport, appeared, owing to his ignorance of the country, the troops stationed along the frontiers and the distance from Germany, almost impracticable. If he should be taken by the military, instant death would probably be his fate, or if brought to trial there was a decree which condemned all foreigners to the guillotine who were taken within two leagues (about six miles) of the frontiers. A third plan which suggested itself to his mind was to remain and try to conceal himself in the country; in that case he would probably die of hunger or at the hands of the revolutionists or of the rabid

populace. Besides, a decree had lately been passed which condemned any one who harbored a foreign resident or concealed any of his property to twenty years' imprisonment in chains, so he considered it would be impossible for him to hide for any length of time, as no one would venture to give him shelter. After weighing the matter well in all its bearings, he resolved to try and escape. Late on a Sunday night he left the house and set out on his hazardous enterprise. His great presence of mind, combined with his natural shrewdness, enabled him to escape from the most imminent perils which beset him on all sides. After a wearisome and anxious journey of some days, he at length reached Treves in safety and there was rejoiced to meet his brethren, who had previously left the country with their passports, as well as Father Oswald Talbot and William Sharrock, the lay Brother who had escaped and joined the others two days before that. From thence he proceeded to Ostend, leaving the remnant of his community behind to await further directions, and from Ostend sailed to Deal, which he reached with a joyful and thankful heart, having narrowly escaped imprisonment and death.

For nearly fifty years after the English Benedictines began to live conventually at Dieulouard, that is from August 9, 1608, the community rose at midnight to recite the divine office, and observed universal abstinence from flesh meat according to the strict letter of the rule of St. Benedict. As it was the only monastery of the congregation which adhered to this rigid discipline, it was brought to the eve of extinction before the superiors would consent to place it on the same footing as the other convents. From that time it gradually revived. One of the Ampleforth monks, who made a pilgrimage to the old home of the Benedictines in Lorraine in 1894, describes the site of the former monastery as undesecrated. A high wall, with a tall gateway in the Place des Moines—the very name of which recalls its monastic associations—marks the northern boundary of the conventual enclosure. A long low building parallel with it is the only relic of the ancient monastery. After the sale in 1795 it was adapted by its purchaser to farm uses. The inner wall of the cloister was pulled down and the first floor made more lofty by the destruction of the story above, but the cloister, buttresses and pointed windows of the cloister and the British arms moulded on the ceiling of the old calefactory remain to show its former monastic and English character. Of the rest—the venerable church and the east and west wings—nothing is left to save the bones of the exiled brethren who died there and were buried near the church in the quadrangle; these remained undisturbed until a few were uncov-

ered, not irreverently, by the gardener of the nuns who purchased the site for a convent and school. Among the relics of olden times which the visitor discovered were a picture of St. Hyacinth which once hung in the refectory of Dieulouard, the great seal of the congregation, Prior Marsh's chair, the complete woodwork of the sacristy used as paneling in a house in the Rue de Metz, carved woodwork from the monastery church, now in the church of Ville du Val, four miles away; a pulpit with reliefs of the four Evangelists, a confessional and an altar with a panel representing the washing of the disciples' feet by our Lord.

The museum at Nancy contains the old Laurentian archives, all the papers found by the revolutionists at the flight of the monks. The history of old St. Lawrence's is there, and much more than its history. The first Laurentian professed at Dieulouard, Dr. Gabriel Gifford, became afterwards Archbishop of Rheims and Primate of France. The old Latin name for Dieulouard was "*Dei Custodia*"—the keep of God, the place that God protects. Monastic nomenclature has been always noted for its happy expressiveness.

"Probably there never was a sadder day in the history of St. Lawrence's," says a writer in the *Ampleforth Diary*, "than St. Wilfrid's day, in 1793, when the community saw it surrounded by a raging mob of sansculottes, and looking back in their flight, saw the red flames shooting towards the autumn sky; they might well believe that all was over with their beloved monastery. For well nigh two hundred years it had been their home. There, in the heart of Lorraine, in the quiet little town of Dieulouard, they had found the home denied to them in England; it had been their 'refuge in the rock,' their *caverna maceræ*, while the storm swept over that persecuted land. Unknown to the busy world, its peaceful cloisters had had no ignoble history. They had been the home of saints like Baker, of martyrs like Roe, of great prelates like Gifford, of historians like Reyner and Cressy; and year by year they had sent their quota of earnest men, trained in monastic discipline, to labor and to die for the old faith in the old country. All the traditions of a peaceful past—traditions so formative of monastic spirit—clustered round its walls; all their hopes of a fruitful future centred on them. Now, one bitter day had dashed all their aspirations. The past was swept away; the future was denied them. Their monastery was in flames, and they, a few scattered monks, were fleeing for their lives from a foe that gave no quarter. In twos and threes they landed in England in the last days of 1793 and the early ones of 1794, but it was long before they found 'a

lasting city,' or saw any prospect of a settled home. From Acton Burnell, in Shropshire, where kind friends gave them hospitality, they went to Tranmere, on the Mersey; thence to Mount Vernon, then near Liverpool, now part of that great seaport; from Mount Vernon to Scholes, and then to Parbold Hall, where their footsteps have since been blessed. But it was not till 1802 that they finally settled down in Yorkshire, midway between the villages of Oswald Kirk and Ampleforth, and almost in sight of the old abbeys of Rievaulx and Byland."

On the sequestration or confiscation of the property of the Benedictine monasteries in France at the time of the great French Revolution such members of the communities as were fortunate enough to escape imprisonment returned to England, but they were without adequate means to found new houses. In this emergency Sir Edward Smythe, a baronet, generously offered to receive the Benedictines on his property of Acton Burnell, in Shropshire, and set apart a portion of the family residence for their use. To this house the conventual members of St. Gregory's, Douai, and St. Lawrence's, Dieulouard, had directions to repair, and there they soon began again to live monastically and to open a school for the education of youth. As Father Jerome Sharrock, the prior of St. Gregory's, was in prison in France, Father Richard Marsh, prior of St. Lawrence's, took charge of both communities. They were still residing there when the general chapter in 1794 voted the grateful thanks of the assembled fathers to Sir Edward Smythe for affording the Benedictines an asylum in the distress which had overtaken them. This chapter, before separating, determined that the monastery of St. Lawrence's, formerly at Dieulouard, should be reconstituted at Acton Burnell, and that all the constitutions should be observed as far as circumstances would allow. When Father Sharrock soon after regained his liberty and returned to England it was deemed advisable for many reasons that the two communities should separate. At a meeting held by the president general, Father Cowley, at Vernon Hall, Liverpool, on the 2d of April, 1795—which was attended by Bishop Sharrock, Dr. Brewer, Father Mitchel Lacon and the two priors—it was decided that the community of St. Gregory's should remain at Acton Burnell and the brethren of St. Lawrence's be translated, by an order of the regimen, to Brindle, in Lancashire; but the idea of carrying into effect the latter portion of this decision was afterwards abandoned. In the following September the St. Lawrence's community went to Mr. Chamberlain's house at Tranmere, Birkenhead, where they remained until May, 1796, and then removed to Scöles, near

Prescot, from whence, a little over a year afterwards, they joined President Cowley at Vernon Hall in July, 1797.

While the *familia* of St. Lawrence had been tossed about from place to place, without any prospect of increasing their numbers, the community of St. Gregory's remained stationary at Acton Burnell. It was seriously debated at this time whether it would be worth while for the remnant of the family of St. Lawrence, a veritable *pusillus grex*, to found a new monastery in the island of Madeira. But it was not long before they found a permanent settlement at home, and then the Madeira scheme dropped altogether out of view and was never revived. At the general chapter of 1798 the small community at Vernon Hall consisted of Father Richard Marsh, prior; Fathers Bennet Simpson, James Calderbank, Francis Cooper, Alexius Chew and Dunstan Tarleton; Brother Bede Slater and William Sharrock, lay Brother. At the meeting of the next chapter, in 1802, they were at Parbold, in Lancashire, to which they had removed in the previous May. The most serious apprehensions were entertained whether they would be able to perpetuate themselves as a distinct community or *familia*. They had only an income of £220 a year, and the hope of obtaining new subjects was gradually dying out. The three or four conventual members who composed the community were anxious to be called to the mission. At this critical juncture, the president general, Father Brewer, stepped forward and by his exertions saved St. Lawrence's when on the eve of apparent extinction.

Father Anselm Bolton had been long officiating at Gilling Castle as chaplain to Lady Anne Fairfax. This good Catholic lady, a few years before her death, determined to reward the long and faithful services of her chaplain by building a handsome residence for him at the other side of the valley of Mowbray; and as soon as it was erected she made it over to him, along with thirty-two acres of land, besides settling upon him an annuity of £200 or £300, intending to ultimately endow the place for the maintenance of a succession of Catholic priests there in perpetuity. She died in 1793, bequeathing £2,000 to endow it as a missionary residence. But this sum was claimed by a cousin of hers on the ground of its having been left for "superstitious purposes," and was ultimately given up on condition that £500 willed to the nuns at Cambrai should be secured to them. On the death of his benefactress, Father Bolton left the castle for his new residence, Ampleforth Lodge, where he resided for several years, beautifying the grounds, which were much admired. The Benedictines thought it would

be a very desirable settlement for the St. Lawrence community, if Father Bolton could be induced to give it up, he having originally been professed of the monastery of St. Lawrence. Though he had ceased to mix himself up in the affairs of the order, he had been the recipient of many marks of kindness from Father Fisher, one of the presidents general. As old age crept upon him, his love for his old community and order revived and he consented to Dr. Brewer's proposal to give up his house to form the new monastery of St. Lawrence, saved by his self-sacrifice from threatened extinction. The transfer was completed soon after the chapter of July 29, 1802. Father Bolton retired to Birtley, where he lived with Father Bernard Slater, and died on December 22, 1805. Dr. Brewer took possession the day after the agreement was signed.

Father Anselm Appleton, the prior-elect of the new St. Lawrence's, repaired to Ampleforth some time later to assist in making the changes necessary to adapt the house for the reception of a small community. As soon as these were complete, Father Appleton went to Parbold, where he was installed prior on the 29th of November, and about a fortnight later returned to Ampleforth with Father Alexius Chew and William Sharrock, lay Brother, to commence the new monastery. In the following spring, Brother Clement Rishton, who had finished his noviceship at Lambspring, and who had been privately professed there a member of the house of St. Lawrence after the dissolution of the monastery in Lorraine, with several other promising subjects from the same establishment, arrived. As three of these were sufficiently advanced in their studies to be admitted to the religious habit, Father Bede Slater went to Ampleforth to act as novice master to Brother Alban Molyneux, Brother Augustin Baines and Brother Bennet Glover, who were clothed on the 27th of May, 1803. In the course of the summer they were joined in the novitiate by Brother Gregory Robinson, who had served as a surgeon in the navy, and who was now disposed to embrace the religious life. After three years these four were solemnly professed and were the first fruits of the monastery at Ampleforth. From that time forward a fresh supply of students gradually repaired thither to receive their education, so that at the close of this quadriennium the community of St. Lawrence's was composed of seven monks. At the end of 1814 the community had increased in numbers, and the school had so far progressed as to require the superiors to enlarge the house by the addition of two wings to the original building. It now began to assume the appearance of a regular college. The progress made in forwarding the studies from 1810 to 1814 was brought under the notice of the next chapter, and the prior

and his community received the thanks of the Capitular Fathers for their great and successful exertions. "Soon after the community had settled at Ampleforth Lodge," says a writer in the *School World* for April, 1891, "the celebrated educational reformer, Dr. Von Feinagel, was summoned to take charge of the studies of the boys; consequently the institution rose in public esteem and continued to be for a long time one of the most fashionable Roman Catholic schools in England. In an evil hour for Ampleforth, Dr. Baines in 1829, in order to carry out his great scheme of founding a Catholic university, withdrew some of the ablest of its masters and all the most promising of its students to Prior Park, near Bath. The time was not ripe for the movement, and his attempt failed, but not before it had inflicted a blow on the prospects of the older college, under which it rested for many years. However, the strenuous efforts of the masters at length restored it to its old popularity." "There was once a time," said Bishop Hedley in 1886, "when St. Lawrence's seemed to be bidding for the highest place among the Catholic educational institutions of this country. That was about the year 1829. But our situation, as it has always been against us, was against us then. Some of the best men in the country were tempted to leave us with the hope of setting up in a more favored spot a second Ampleforth monastery and school. I say advisedly 'monastery and school,' for it was many years after they left that at last the leaders of that emigration accepted the secularization which against their will had been procured for them from the Holy See. It is a mere matter of history that St. Lawrence's has never recovered the ground it lost then." The progress Ampleforth has made since those words were uttered and the greater progress it is certain to make tend to reverse that verdict. But this is anticipating. A collegiate church was built from the plans of the late Charles Hanson, of Clifton, in 1854. Its most striking features are a set of Stations of the Cross, exquisitely carved in stone, after the pictures of the great masters; a fine series of carved oak stalls, a high altar of chaste and simple design, with representations of the seven sacraments in the panels, and flanked by statues of the Blessed Virgin and St. Lawrence; six private side chapels with beautifully decorated stone work, a stone rood-screen of graceful design and a stained-glass window in the Lady chapel which depicts the crowning of the Blessed Virgin and is reckoned one of Hardman's masterpieces. The Earl of Carlisle, who married a sister of Monsignor Stanley, presented three valuable oil paintings to the monastery and church.

The foundation stone of a new college was laid on the 11th of July, 1859, the feast of the solemn commemoration of St. Benedict,

by the prior, Very Rev. W. R. Cooper, the hymn of St. Benedict, "Laudibus cives resonent canoris," having been sung as the monks went in procession to the site. The blessing of the great Patriarch of the Monks of the West must have descended upon his English children, for the influx of scholars was so great that, in 1860, the community decided on building a new wing of imposing dimensions. It is in the geometrical Gothic style and was erected in 1862 from the design by Joseph Hansom. Meanwhile, on St. Wilfrid's day, 1852, Ampleforth kept the golden jubilee of its foundation. Immediately after the solemn Mass of thanksgiving a fervid address was delivered from the predella by a member of the community, who, recalling the fact that twice on previous feasts of St. Wilfrid their old monastery of St. Lawrence was burned, said: "Wherefore do we of St. Lawrence's recite on this day the Seven Penitential Psalms to avert a like disaster." Two other addresses were spoken by two other students in the large newly erected cloister before the company assembled to hear various passages of music, selected from the compositions of the great masters, executed by the young collegians in celebration of the day. One of the students who took part in that celebration was the future Bishop of Newport, Dr. Hedley, who in his address on November 17, 1886, on the occasion of the silver jubilee of the opening of the new college, recalled the circumstance in language both playful and pathetic. "It is not the first time," he said, "that I have spoken within these walls on the theme of a jubilee of St. Lawrence's. My first, and, I believe, my only attempt was in 1852, when we kept the golden jubilee of the house's foundation. But on that occasion I had to speak in verse; on the present I hasten to assure my apprehensive hearers that I intend to use the very plainest of prose. In 1852—and the date recalls many a name that we hear no longer, except each on its own day of the year before the morning "De profundis" in the church—three of us (we were students in rhetoric or poetry) were appointed to treat respectively of the past, the present and the future of alma mater. The gentlemen who had to discuss the past and the future were allowed to employ prose; I believe their orations are still extant in a back number of *The Student*. For some inscrutable reason, the fates—which in a college is equivalent to saying the masters—arranged that "the present" was to be honored in what we fondly in those early days called 'poetry.' I am not sure that I could not see here present, if I presumed to look at him, the reverend and now venerable master who coached me through that poetry." And glancing back at the joys and sorrows, the friendships, the meetings and partings of

those fifty years, the Bishop went on: "Where is the prior who sat in that chair in 1861, when the ode we have heard was sung for the first time? There were five honored Bishops here on that day. Where are four out of the five? Where is the venerable prelate who stood in this very room and delivered a jubilee address, as it is my turn to do to-day? How many of the community—I could name names dear to myself—how many of the students, how many of the guests who gathered then now rest, let us hope, with God? And I recall what affection will never allow me to forget, that at least two of the little choristers who on that day sang that 'alma mater never dies,' have died themselves in their vows and their early priesthood. It is not that these are memories wholly sad. They are pathetic and touching, but they are sweet because they bring back to us our bygone years, our early hopes, the lessons we have learned, the kindnesses which have made our hearts glow, the sorrows which have softened us, and the whole of that varied experience which, like the pressure of a gentle guiding hand, has brought us—may we not say it?—nearer to God." The prior Dr. Hedley alluded to was Dom Wilfrid Cooper; the five Bishops: Bishop Morris, O. S. B. ("the venerable prelate"); Bishop Cornthwaite (then Bishop of Beverley), Bishop Roskell, Bishop Goss and Bishop Amherst. The Bishop of Leeds (Dr. Cornthwaite), whose episcopal silver jubilee was kept on November 10, 1886, pontificated at the High Mass, celebrated in presence of the Bishop of Middlesboro, on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the opening of the new college, after which the prior, Very Rev. T. A. Burge, received a numerous company in the study hall, where the "Ode to Alma Mater" was sung and the Bishop of Newport delivered the beautiful address from which the above passage is quoted. Bishop Hedley's ode has been set to music by Mr. Oberhoffer, of York, one of the lay professors, who has skilfully elaborated it into a regular cantata.

The golden jubilee of the monastery was followed the next year, May 3, 1853, by the jubilee of the president, Very Rev. Dr. Molyneux, greeted in an address as "the first and eldest offspring of a house which had given to religion many and, they hoped, not unworthy children." Among these the first place is to be assigned to the Rev. Dr. Richard Marsh, the prior of old St. Lawrence's during the stormy times of the French Revolution, and the wanderings of the community over whose interests he watched with fatherly solicitude until they were enabled to settle down in the midst of the Yorkshire wolds and dales. He was prior again from 1806 to 1810, provincial of York from 1806 to 1822, president

general from 1822 to 1826, procurator in Rome from 1829 to 1831; again president and abbot of Westminster from 1837 to 1842, dying in 1843 at Rixton, where he built a chapel. He wrote the "Biographies of the Presidents General of the Anglo-Benedictine Congregation" and an account of his escape from France during the Revolution, to which the present writer is indebted for the facts embodied in the narrative of the dissolution of St. Lawrence's, Dieulouard, and the dispersion of the community.

Among other distinguished Amplefordians were Bishop Baines, Monsignor Brindle, V. G., of Clifton and rector of Prior Park, who died in 1871; Father Peter Hutton, of the Order of Charity, who was thirty years rector of Ratcliffe College; Father Moses Furlong, another well-known priest of the Institute of Charity and a great preacher; Monsignor Thompson, of Hexham and Newcastle; Rev. Dr. Rooker, second president of Prior Park; Monsignor Benoni, of Clifton; Monsignor Slater, titular Bishop of Ruspa and Vicar Apostolic of the Mauritius; Right Rev. Dr. Thomas Burgess, Bishop of Clifton; Monsignor Shepherd, of Prior Park; Father Edward Metcalfe, a great linguist, a Benedictine Mezzofanti, who translated the "Garden of the Soul" and other works of Bishop Challenor into Welsh, who went with Dr. Baines to Prior Park, petitioned to be recalled to Ampleforth and died on his way thither in 1847. Father Athanasius Allanson, the annalist of the order, who has left many bulky volumes of manuscripts with unique and valuable information regarding the history of the Catholic Church in England since the Reformation, was a great friend of Dr. Lingard, the historian, to whom he gave material assistance in the compilation of his "History of England," and who died provincial of York in 1876, and Mr. Joseph Holdforth, the first Catholic Mayor of Leeds since pre-Reformation days. Among the most widely known and esteemed of Ampleforth's celebrities are Bishop Hedley, who was hardly ever absent from his beloved alma mater at the annual exhibition week gatherings, and Abbot Bury, one of the most learned Thomists of his day.

Ampleforth has had the advantage of being governed by a succession of priors of great ability, prudence and zeal, each of whom has contributed in some degree to the building up of the great monastic and collegiate institution which is such a valuable possession to the order and such a benefit to Catholic higher education. Mention has already been made of some. Father Adrian Towers, who was prior from 1830 to 1834, was a noted controversialist, who went about the neighborhood delivering lectures on Catholic doctrine and practice and who suffered some ill-treatment at a time

when Catholics and Catholicism were not much in vogue and aggressive Protestantism was everywhere rampant. He was the pioneer of platform lecturers. Father Bede Day, who was prior from 1834 to 1838, was succeeded by Father Anselm Cockshutt (1838-1846), who joined the community in its early days, and during his term of office made extensive plantations on the property, of which the monks now reap the full benefit, and after his priorship, was chaplain to Mr. Philips, of Longworth, Hereford, one of the founders of St. Michael's, Hereford. Father Ambrose Prest (1846-1850) was followed by Father Wilfrid Cooper, the great builder of St. Lawrence's, who erected the beautiful collegiate church, opened in 1857, adorned it in 1860 with four side altars and screens in Caen stone, built the college, opened in 1862—one of the boldest architectural attempts of that day—and resigned, in 1863 owing to ill health. Father Maurus Anderson (1863-1866) erected the statue of St. Benedict in front of the central building, built a stone bridge over the highway and added a clock tower. Father Bede Prest (1866-1874) erected the chancel screen in the church, and, after very arduous and perilous works, made good the structural defects caused by a landslip, which nearly destroyed the new college. He enriched the church plate by the addition of a magnificent Gothic monstrance, constructed a series of hot water baths and purchased and added to the grounds a large farm adjoining the college. Father Stephen Kearney (1874-1880) was succeeded by Father Placid Whittle (1880-1883), who added new choir stalls. After him came Father Basil Hurworth (1883-1885), who was followed by Father Anselm Burge, who was the recipient, on behalf of the community, of a precious relic, the forearm of St. Lawrence, the martyr, presented to the monastery by Bishop Hedley. His long term of office was signalized by most important works, prosecuted with great vigor and resolution, the most notable of which was the erection of the new monastery, begun by him and completed in 1897 by his successor, Right Rev. Joseph Oswald Smith, raised from the rank of prior to that of abbot when, in 1890, the monastery was erected into an abbey by the bull "Diu quidem." It is a spacious building of four stories and basement joined to the old monastery by a cloister, and is of striking architectural beauty. The monastic library, which fills the whole of the basement, contains more than thirty thousand volumes, many of them of extreme rarity. The refectory, lecture halls and priests' rooms are on the first floor, and above are the cells of the monks, forty-eight in all. The present community consists of ten professed monks and sixteen priests, besides the abbot and cloistral

prior. Ampleforth is the lineal descendant and representative of the pre-Reformation Abbey of Westminster, whose last abbot in possession at the time of the dissolution was Feckenham, who, after a long captivity, died a natural death, although the Protestant prelates, who were his practical jailors, clamored for his execution, for which they were rebuked by Elizabeth, not unmindful of the fact that he had saved her life, imperiled during the reign of Mary Tudor. The lineal continuity was preserved through Father Sibert Buckley, the last surviving monk of Westminster Abbey. The titular abbacies of Westminster and York and the cathedral priories of Durham, Worcester, Chester and Rochester are attached to Ampleforth Abbey.

A more suitable site for a monastery or college could not be found in all England. Standing on a gently rising ground, it is well protected from the north and east winds by a barrier of hills—the Hambleton range, while the wood behind forms at once a picturesque background and an additional safeguard. Midway between the ancient Yorkshire villages of Ampleforth and Oswaldkirk, partly in the North Riding and partly in the wapentake of Birdforth, it is “far from the madding crowd,” and at the same time within easy reach of postal, telegraphic and railway communication with the outer world. Stretching out before it is the beautiful vale of Mowbray, dominated on the opposite side by Gilling Castle, the historic seat of the Fairfaxes. Newburgh Park lies to the west, and not far distant are the still magnificent ruins of Byland Abbey, founded by Roger de Mowbray in 1134 for twelve monks of Furness Abbey, and to which, after he returned from the Crusades, he retired, and where he died and was buried under the arch on the south side of the chapter house, near his mother. The De Mowbrays were also patrons of Rielvaux Abbey, the parent house of the Cistercian Order in Yorkshire, founded by Sir Walter Espec, whose son and heir, who was killed by a fall from a horse, resolved “to make Christ heir of part of his domains,” and endowed three monasteries, that of Rielvaux, another at Kirkham and a third at Warden, in Bedfordshire. The De Mowbrays, an old Catholic family, whose head bears the title of Earl of Mowbray and Stourton, have always befriended the monks, the later scions of that house receiving their education at Ampleforth. The Hon. Mrs. Anne Fairfax, to whom the Benedictines owed their settlement at Ampleforth, was a descendant of the famous General Fairfax, a prominent figure in the Cromwellian epoch. The Fairfaxes trace their descent from the knightly family of the De Ettons, sprung from the Norman Ivo de Vesey, who held their estate originally from the

Barons Mowbray, subject to the usual conditions of vassalage. The Rev. Alexander de Etton, who died without issue in 1447, was the last Lord of Gilling. The estate was entailed on the Fairfax family, in whose possession it has continued ever since. The Barons Fairfax, of Cameron, who emigrated to America, descended from a junior branch of this family. The celebrated General Fairfax, of the Parliamentary forces under the Commonwealth, was created Viscount Fairfax of Emly, in Ireland.

The educational progress of Ampleforth has steadily kept pace with its material growth. It is a fine school, representative of the traditions of a great order historically linked with the culture of literature and the fine arts. The intellectual needs of the youth of the upper and middle classes are amply provided for in a comprehensive curriculum, in which the *utile* and the *dulce* are judiciously combined, the training which fits them for the Church or the world, for ecclesiastical or professional spheres of activity to which they may choose to devote their well-developed talents, as well as those lighter accomplishments, such as music, of which some of the monks are skilled adepts. Music is, indeed, one of its special features, as the concerts which diversify the interesting proceedings during exhibition week amply testify, while special attention is devoted to the thorough study of the Greek and Latin classics, the importance of which for the full development of such literary aptitudes as the pupils may possess and the acquisition of ripe scholarship Bishop Hedley, a high authority, was never weary of emphasizing. The full complement of students is about one hundred and fifty. About thirteen or fourteen monks are engaged in teaching, assisted by six well-qualified lay masters, some of whom are graduates of one or other of the two great English universities, Oxford and Cambridge. As might be expected in the teaching of an order which has for centuries contributed so largely to European literature the tone is distinctly literary and cultured. The *Ampleforth Journal*, which is issued three times a year, and both in letterpress and illustrations is fully abreast of the best magazine literature of the day, is evidence of this, which no one who relishes good writing, tinctured by what Dr. Hedley called "a delicate Laurentian flavor," will gainsay.

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THE SYMPHONY OF THE "HOURS."

TABLE OF PSALMS AT LAUDS.

Monday		Tuesday		Wednesday		Thursday		Friday		Saturday	
I.	II.	I.	II.	I.	II.	I.	II.	I.	II.	I.	II.
46	50	95	50	96	50	97	50	98	50	149	50
5	5	42	42	64	64	89	89	142	142	91	91
28	28	66	66	100	100	35	35	84	84	63	63
Day.	Isaiah	Tob.	Ezech.	Judith	Anna	Jer.	Moses	Isaiah	Habac.	Eccl.	Moses
116	116	134	134	145	145	146	146	147	147	150	150

—Signifies the new psalms and canticles introduced into Lauda.

IT may be taken for granted that when the new Psalterium was being planned the scope of every psalm was carefully borne in mind. Even a cursory glance at the accompanying table will suffice to show that they were not always set down in their numerical sequence—which might very easily have been done, and in fact is the case in Vespers, and a closer investigation will be found to reveal much that is of real practical interest, much that will aid the priest and all who pray or sing the Office in their prayerful endeavor to fulfill the obligation "attente ac devote." The object of this paper is to seek out some at least of the devotional reasons which seem to have governed the selection of the various psalms that are now allocated to the "Horae Diurnae," a quest which one may reasonably regard as justifiable where the numerical sequence is plainly abandoned. The reconstruction of the Breviary did not resolve itself into a question merely of building up six new Offices, each to take about one hour to recite, splitting up long psalms and fitting in short ones so as to ensure their appearance somewhere, and thus taking in the whole ground covered by the 150 psalms. Certainly the mechanical measurement of each day's Office was not overlooked and the numerical sequence was not arbitrarily broken up; but both these "desiderata" have been most skilfully retained while securing at the same time the fullest measure of devotional adaptability.

Before examining the Hours with the psalms in detail it may be well to note the general requirements of the new scheme as compared with the old. The framers of the Office found that ninety-seven places or sections of "Hours" had to be supplied; namely, sixteen for Lauds, nine for Prime and eighteen each for Terce, Sext, None and Complin. For this purpose they had at their disposal fifty-six out of the ninety-two psalms in the old Matins; five were borrowed from the old Vespers and four were available from the Sunday Office, making sixty-five in all. These are scientifically distributed through the week, being divided up into two or

even three parts so as to fit into the ninety-seven sections above mentioned.

LAUDS.

We may begin with Lauds (*Feria Secunda*) as being the first section that called for rearrangement, though the first two borrowed psalms, vi. and vii., are held over till Complin. No less than seventeen psalms were taken from the old Matins and allocated elsewhere before the first new Lauds psalm was selected, namely, Psalm xlv. : "Omnes gentes plaudite," from Tuesday Matins. After that, eleven are taken from the same source and five (those beginning with *Lauda-Laudate*) from the old Vespers. All are carefully chosen because of their distinctive "Lauds" character. From beginning to end they throb with joy and holy gladness. "Omnes gentes plaudite" is as it were the text, the main theme of a wonderful symphony which is worked out all through the week's Lauds with profuse wealth of harmony. All nations are summoned together as with a clarion call of victory that resounds through the valleys, echoes from hill to hill and reëchoes with triumphant acclaim through the length and breadth of the future kingdom of Christ; they are to glorify God for His mighty works, for His mercy that endureth forever, for His inscrutable justice, for His infinite majesty; they are to confess to Him in the language of praise and gratitude, remembering as they hasten to the Temple with the first fruits of flock and field that they are but anticipating the yet greater solemnity of the coming of Him who should be the first fruits of them that sleep—even Christ the Messiah, who was to purchase freedom from captivity, to bring peace and salvation and lead His flock into rich pastures, the land of hope, flowing with milk and honey.

The inspired Psalmist's masterly development of this "Leit-motif" of praise is happily made much more prominent for us now that the obvious Lauds' psalms are brought into their proper atmosphere, focusing as it were the harmonies and giving us all the best psalmodic counterpoint on the leading theme. Nor is this all. It is not as if these psalms of praise were simply a perpetual repetition of the same theme in different colors; there is, on the contrary, a constant evocation of new shapes, fresh ideas that spring spontaneously from the fountain-head, at times perhaps apparently disconnected and arbitrary, but, in fact, all coördinated as secondary and subsidiary themes suggested by the original and woven into its texture with an ever-growing interest.

The central idea is of course that Lauds—known in the early centuries as the *Laudes Matutinae*—was the early morning song with which the man of prayer greets the dawn. "Quoniam oportet

praevenire solem ad benedictionem tuam, et ad ortum lucis te adorare" (Wisd. xvi, 28). His first thoughts on waking shall be for the Creator. "Arise, my glory: arise, psaltery and harp: I will arise in the morning early." (Ps. cvii., 2.) The early morning is to him a natural reminder of the first morning of creation. Darkness was over the face of the deep and God said, "Let there be light," and one by one the majestic tableaux of creation were rehearsed; and even so, morning after morning the gladsome light comes dancing over the mountains, "*saliens in montibus et transiliens colles*," rejoicing like a giant to run its course, chasing the shades of night and revealing with untiring diligence the splendors of the pageant of nature, fresh and fair as when first they came forth from the fiat of Omnipotence. The soul of the Psalmist springs forth to greet them and to the whole world—"angelis, populis, gentibus"—he heralds their approach with a rushing torrent of prayerful eloquence. "*Benedicite sol et luna, Domino; Laudate cum coeli coelorum; Afferte Domino gloriam et honorem.*"

The psalms which are now introduced into this "Hour"—taken, of course, with those of the old festive and ferial Lauds—reveal elements of beauty which perhaps were easily passed over or lost much of their force in their former setting. They show us with greater emphasis that Lauds is not merely an exquisite masterpiece of lyric poetry which sings the glory of creation and wafts the soul on the wings of joy to the Creator; rather is it a "terminus a quo" from which sets out a far more comprehensive song of praise. The wonders of the "Hexameron" constitute only one of the elements in what we have styled the Leit-motif of the "Lauds" symphony; the gaze of the Psalmist refuses to be horizoned by the visible present, and so out of the leading theme he draws a wealth of poetical, symbolic and doctrinal material, which may be classified under the following five subsidiary¹ themes:

- I. Laudate Angeli.
- II. Fons luminis.
- III. Oriens ex alto. 1. Ecce Veniet.
- IV. Regnabit Dominus in Sion. 2. Dies Domini.
- V. Lumen gloriae.

I. LAUDATE ANGELI.

From the dawn of the morning to the morning of creation

¹ N. B.—Let it not be supposed that the words "secondary" and "subsidiary" used in this connection refer to the subject-matter introduced by the Psalmist. It is a question rather of relationship to a first idea which logically and poetically and sometimes typically suggests kindred ideas in other spheres of thought and unless the introduction and development of these various ideas receive due attention, Lauds will be shorn of much of its real significance and charm.

was a natural sequence of thought, and this in its turn conjures up the thought of another still more glorious morning of creation. The visible recalls the invisible. "In principio Deus creavit coelum et terram." There is another universe as yet unsung, in that limitless space beyond. In the long watches of the night, when hiding from the anger of Saul in the midst of the forest or in some cleft of the rocks, often had the inspired Psalmist gazed in prayerful wonderment at the dark blue canopy overhead—silent, immeasurable, transcending thought, blinding the imagination, with its myriad sentinel-angels on active duty there before the gates of the King's palace, yet so sweetly companionable to him in his loneliness, watching with him and over him with interest unabated, unflagging; mute and mysterious, yet ever addressing him with a soothing eloquence distilled surely in the mansions of peace. What ineffably majestic beings they must be, hidden away there beyond the spangled veil of night. Let the Morning Hymn of Praise embrace them, too, and when the first gladsome beams of the approaching orb of day has unlocked and let loose a very torrent of praise which goes rushing on from one end to the other of the visible universe, the inspired Psalmist recognizes that his work is scarce begun. Let the shout of joy rise higher and higher, let it pierce the clouds and get above the heavens—"super coelos"—even to the abode of the angelic host, and in the exuberance of his joy he boldly summons the celestial hierarchy to swell the triumphant chorus of praise. "Hath not the Lord made the saints to declare all His wonderful works, which the Lord Almighty hath firmly settled to be established for His glory." (Eccl. xlii., 17.) "Laudate Dominum de caelis, laudate eum omnes angeli ejus. In conspectu angelorum psallam tibi." (cxxxvii.) The morning of *their* creation dawned with a display of magnificence of which all the concentrated grandeur of the material universe is but a faded reflection. That was the morning which witnessed the first fiat of creative Omnipotence. "He spoke and they were made, He commanded and they were created." Who shall tell the magnitude and glory of the immaterial creations—"intelligences of spiritual majesty and beauty, founts of created wisdom, knowledge and power, all light and fire; their splendor, glory and magnificence are so surpassingly brilliant and dazzling that the material sun is but a feeble image of it"—and all issuing in the morning of time from the womb of night, from the dark abyss of nothingness. They, too, must uplift their voice and praise the God of eternal day. "Up, therefore, ye 'Sons of God,' ye first-born of Elohim, who before all other intelligent beings arose on the first morning of creation from out the bosom of nothingness; throng around your God whilst He createth

the heavens and the earth, that your joyful shout of 'glory' may resound harmonious in His honor, as each of His works cometh forth from His hand."² "Afferte Domino gloriam et honorem afferte Domino gloriam nomini ejus. (Monday at Lauds) Vox Domini in virtute, vox Domini in magnificentia." Stand amazed and hearken to the thunder of His majesty, as the creative fiat echoes and reëchoes through the boundless immensity of space calling into being vast worlds and adorning them in gorgeous garments of golden light and emerald and opal. "Benedicite omnes angeli Domini Domino." Let the man of prayer join with them in welcoming with joyous acclaim the light of that first dawn when "the morning stars praised him together, and all the sons of God (Sept. all my angels) made joyful melody." (Job xxxviii., 7.) Never has that "joyful melody" ceased "in atriis Domini." It was the Lauds of the angel host. What wonder, then, that Mother Church, when summoning her sacerdotal choirs to "sing to the Lord and bless His name and show His salvation from day to day," should link them up as the Psalmist did the sons of Core and his other singing men—with the choirs of the angels, and especially with that first outburst of their song which broke in upon the calm repose of eternity, which proclaimed the glorious dawn of the divine operations ad extra, that first "Gloria in excelsis Deo," shaking the vaults of infinity, and voiced by the "thousands and thousands who ministered to Him and the ten thousand times one hundred thousand who stood before Him." (Dan. vii., 10.)

II. FONS LUMINIS.

The harmonies of our symphony become richer, more complex and subtle when the "Egregius Psalter Israel" (II. Kings xxii., 2) returns to his main theme and views it in the mystic realms of symbolism. We have seen him like the lark at early morn soaring high above the expansive panorama of creation and pouring out a flood of poetic song in praise of the Creator: "Dominum super aquas multas, Dominum in atrio sancto ejus." And now his soul takes wing again. On the pinions of prophecy he mounts higher and yet higher even to the contemplation of "mysteries hidden from all eternity." "Nimis profundae factae sunt cogitationes tuae." (Ps. xci.) How is he to unfold the sublime truths vouchsafed to him during those precious moments of prayerful ecstasy? The language of earth is at best but a sorry medium through which to convey the image of things divine; but such as it is, he will press into service the most perfect and telling images he can discover, and so at early morn with a heart full to overflowing, with a sense of the majesty of

² Cfr. "Psallite Sapienter" (Roche) on Psalm xxviii.

God's wondrous, all-pervading, life-giving "created light," what more natural than to use it as a symbol of the "Light uncreated?" "Quoniam apud te est *fons vitae*, et in lumine tuo videbimus lumen" (Ps. xxxv., 10)—Thursday. One of the leading and oft-recurring ideas in Lauds is undoubtedly the praise of Hih who is the "Oriens ex alto," who in ages to come should testify of Himself to the aged prophet of Patmos: "I am the root and stock of David, the bright and morning star" (Apoc. xxii., 16); who taught us to think of Himself as the "Lux mundi," and who is constantly portrayed in the inspired pages under the same imagery. The passage just referred to from Psalm xxxv., "With Thee is the fountain of life, and in Thy light we shall see light," is forcefully reminiscent of passages in the opening chapter of St. John's Gospel: "The Word was with God . . . In Him was life and the life was the light of men," etc. "Ista enim lux," says St. Augustine in his homily on the words "Ego sum lux mundi," "est de qua propheta olim praemissa ita in Psalmo cecinit: Quoniam apud te est fons vitae et in lumine tuo videbimus lumen," and the minstrel-monarch who typified and sang the future Messiah was, so to speak, an earlier precursor who "was to give testimony of the Light." Christ was by excellence the "Fons vitae et luminis—per quem omnia facta sunt," and the thought comes to the Psalmist as an easy and natural modulation from the very sight of those created things which had aroused the muse within him and which he recognized to be totally dependent for their existence on the Author of life. "Et tibi laus; cuncta enim quae in coelo sunt, et in terra, tua sunt." (Canticum David: FERIA 2.) St. Augustine might almost have written of David what he wrote of St. John the Evangelist: "Erexit se non solum super terram et super omnem ambitum aeris et caeli, sed super omnem etiam exercitum angelorum, emnemque constitutionem invisibilium potestatum: et pervenit ad eum per quem facta sunt omnia, dicendo: In principio erat Verbum et Deus erat Verbum." (Tract 36.) From the earth which is the "footstool" he ascends to Him who sitteth on the throne in regions of inaccessible light: "Who being the brightness of His glory and the figure of His substance and upholding all things by the word of His power . . . sitteth on the right hand of the majesty on high." (Heb. i., 3.) "Who is the image of the invisible God, the first-born of every creature: for in Him were all things created in heaven and on earth, visible and invisible . . . all things were created by Him and in Him: and He is before all and in Him all things consist." (Col. i., 15-17.) Praise to Him who one day shall be as the "morning rising" over a dark and desolate region—"in terra deserta et invia et inaquosa." Praise to Him who is the Lumen de lumine—"Ille Lucifer qui nescit occasum"—coëternal,

consubstantial with the Father—*Ante luciferum genitus*—"From the womb before the daystar I begot Thee." This exquisite strain of melody with its haunting, almost sensuous symbolism is most beautifully caught up and enlarged upon in that masterpiece of hymn-writing, the "*Splendor paternae gloriæ*," which is the Lauds hymn for *Feria II.*, and in which the doctrinal theme stated by, or perhaps rather insinuated by the Psalmist, returns again and again—treated with all the grace of poetic art. It may be well to give one or two of the stanzas here:

*Splendor paternae gloriæ,
De luce lucem proferens,
Lux lucis et fons luminis,
Diem dies illuminans:*

*Verusque sol illabere,
Micans nitore perpeti:
Jubarque Sancti Spiritus
Infunde nostris sensibus.*

A little further on:

*Aurora lucem provehit,
Cum luce nobis prodeat
In Patre totus Filius
Et Totus in Verbo Pater.*

Similarly with all the other hymns. Running through them all and skilfully woven together is the silver strand of aurora and the golden thread of the "greater light that was to rule the day." These hymns are indeed exquisite little cameos of consummate workmanship—precious gems with many facets: pendant jewels on the fringe of the morning "Hour," suspended from its luxuriant symbolism like drops of morning dew gracefully hanging from the petals of the rose. They are all as it were bathed in the morning light, and with winsome freshness sing out their clear and haunting melodies. More than this: they have a didactic value inasmuch as they suggest the right attitude to be adopted in reciting the psalms not merely in Lauds, but all through the Divine Office. The priest in choir is not a professor in the chair of exegesis. He is at prayer and so is free to roam almost at will in the realms of mystic and symbolic application. The hymns at Lauds certainly seem to warrant a fair latitude in this direction; so also does the selection of the psalms on feast-days. When "Samuel took the horn of oil and anointed David in the midst of his brethren, the Spirit of the Lord came upon David from that day forward." The significance of that advent of the Spirit we know only in part: sometimes the spirit of

prophecy has given whole psalms which can be classed as "Messianic" throughout; sometimes the greater part of a psalm may be literally and exclusively applicable to events of the time with only incidental allusions to future events; but the fulness of time has revealed a whole catena of mysteries, which when referred back and viewed in the light of the Psalmist's utterances show what an unexpected wealth of doctrine in regard to Christ and His future kingdom, both on earth and in heaven, is clothed in the wonderful mystic and symbolic raiment of psalmody. This is a line of thought that will be found to foster devotion in reciting the Office inasmuch as it stimulates thought and encourages one to look with confidence and care for beauties that we feel to be hidden beneath the surface.

III. ORIENS EX ALTO.

"In Thy light," the Psalmist has said, "we shall see light." Let us follow him as under the prophetic guidance of the Spirit he glances back to earth and looking ahead over the centuries sees the Divine Aurora gradually breaking over a world that sits in darkness and in the shadow of death. Not merely does the "Verbum" dwell in the dazzling and inaccessible light of the Divinity; not only is the Fons vitae et luminis "apud te:" it must needs be poured out on the earth below. "Deus . . . illuminat vultum suum *super nos*." In rich and melodious outpourings first in one psalm, then in another the Lauds "Hour" develops the thought embodied in these words. The promised One is to be our Emmanuel, "God with us." The unquenchable light that has radiated for an eternity in the bosom of the Adorable Trinity is to shine also on earth. "Visitavit nos Oriens ex Alto," and this exalted theme as detailed and analyzed for us in the psalmody of Lauds is such as to fascinate the soul with its beauty and charm it to wonderment with its never-tiring variety. The advent of Christ, His victory over the grave, His glorious Ascension, the spread of His kingdom here, His second coming to judge and the final triumph of His life's work: all of these meet us in one form or other as the "Hour" proceeds. Its carefully chosen psalms act as a kind of spectrum which refracts the brightest colors of the light which emanates from the "Sol Justitiae." They span the horizon of Christ's life like the rainbow and reproduce certainly one of the chief charms of the rainbow—the colors of which, though bold and decisive, pass by soft and insensible gradations of tint one into the other, and so with the color-scheme of these particular psalms as seen through the spectrum of private devotion: the mysteries recalled are clearly joyful and glorious, but they are blended one with the other in the most harmonious manner, with delicate nuances of shading ranged through every tint that can in any way suggest joy and gladness.

The theme "*Oriens ex Alto*" is developed along three main lines: (1) (*Ecce Veniet*) in regard to the Person of the long-promised Messiah, the leading facts of His life on earth—His Advent, Resurrection, Ascension; (2) in regard to His Second Coming (*Dies Domini*); (3) in regard to His life's work—the Redemption and the inauguration of a spiritual kingdom (treated later under Theme 4). (1) First come the oft-repeated harmonies of the "*Ecce veniet*," "*Mane videbitis gloriam ejus*," as is sung on Christmas Eve, or in the words of the Antiphon, "*O Oriens, splendor lucis aeternae et sol justitiae, veni et illumina sedentes in tenebris et umbra mortis*." Several of the Lauds psalms are undoubtedly introduced to emphasize this first coming of the Saviour, the advent of the dawn which ushered in man's restoration. Four consecutive psalms are especially noticeable as pointing to this, namely: xcvi., "*Cantate Domino canticum novum, cantate*" (Tuesday); xcvi., "*Dominus regnavit, exultet terra*" (Wednesday); xcvi., "*Cantate Domino . . . quia mirabilia*" (Thursday); xcvi., "*Dominus regnavit, irascantur populi*" (Friday); and to these must be added lxxxiv., "*Benedixisti Domine*" (Friday), and xci., "*Bonum est*" (Saturday). All these are taken from the old Matins. Already had Mother Church given a lead as to their liturgical significance, inasmuch as they appear in the Offices of the three great feasts at Christmas time—the Nativity, Circumcision, Epiphany. All through the preparatory season of Advent they are drawn upon both in the Mass and the Office because of their obvious application to the Light that was to come: "*Lux de Luce apparuisti Christe*" (Ant. ad Magnificat, Fer. 3, Oct. Epiph.). For example: The Offertory for the Second Sunday of Advent, "*Deus tu conversus vivificabis nos . . . et salutare tuum da nobis*," lxxxiv. Third Sunday Introit and Offert., "*Benedixisti Domine terram tuam, avertisti captivitatem Jacob, remisisti iniquitatem plebis tuae*," lxxxiv. These thoughts are echoed again at the Resp. Brev. at Sext all through Advent, and notice the fourth Antiphon of Lauds on the II. Advent, "*Montes et colles cantabunt coram Deo laudem, et omnia Ligna silvarum plaudent manibus; quoniam veniet Dominator . . .*" (Confer Ps. xcvi, v. 12.)

Similarly the Offertory for the first Mass on Christmas Day, "*Laetentur coeli, et exultet terra, ante faciem Domini, quoniam venit*," from Ps. xcvi. In the third Mass for the Communion we have "*Viderunt omnes fines terrae Salutare Dei nostri*" (Ps. xcvi.), the opening words of which appear in the Introit, "*Cantate Domino canticum novum: quia mirabilia fecit*."

The psalms from which these excerpts are culled are certainly full to overflowing with the joy of expectation. All the earth is invited to praise God with a "New Canticle" in return for the new

favor conferred upon it—freedom from the bondage of sin—as compared with the canticles of the Old Law which sang of the liberation from captivity under the Pharaohs or the kings of Babylon; or as St. Chrysostom expounds the word: “The former Canticles, like that of Moses or Deborah, could not be sung outside the land of promise. “How shall we sing the canticle of the Lord in a strange land” (Ps. cxxxvi.), but the “New” canticle is to resound through the whole earth. “Cantate . . . omnis terra.”

“Annuntiate,” i. e., evangelize “de die in diem salutare ejus.” Here, of a truth, is the subject-matter of the “Novum Canticum,” coinciding with the message of the angel and the melody of the angelic host on the hill-slopes by Bethlehem: “Behold I bring you good tidings of great joy that shall be to all the people, for this day is born to you a Saviour. Glory to God . . .” and towards the end of this Canticum we find a happy reintroduction of the first primary theme in Lauds, resulting in a joyous, almost boisterous union of two swollen tributaries of song: not merely must created magnificence echo the Creator’s praise, but a further and more compelling reason is advanced: “Laetentur caeli et exultet terra, commoveatur mare et plenitudo ejus: gaudebunt campi . . . exultabunt ligna . . . quia Venit . . .” vv. 11, 12. “His name shall be called Wonderful,” and so on the Circumcision, “Benedicite nomini ejus,” v. 2; and the glad homage of the Magi, as representing the nations, is clearly indicated—“Afferte Domino patriae gentium, afferte Domino gloriam et honorem,” v. 3.

Again in Psalm xcvi., “Dominus Regnavit,” patristic exegesis warrants us in seeing many allusions to the coming of the Messiah. The prevailing darkness of the pagan world at the time is tersely described in the “nubes et caligo in circuitu ejus”—though mystically they signify the Sacred Humanity which clothed the Person of the Word as with a cloud; nevertheless the world will be at His feet with joy and exultation: “Laetentur insulae multae,” as is sung on the Epiphany; i. e., not merely the islands strictly so called will rejoice, but all those regions and their peoples with a seaboard accessible to the Jewish nation; the gladsome tidings of the Saviour’s advent will be carried across the vast expanse of the ocean; let all rejoice with exceeding great joy. “Lux orta est justo et rectis corde laetitiae”—words which easily recall the Star of the Wise Men, as the “Annuntiaverunt Coeli,” etc., verse 6, are but the counterpart of the “good tidings” announced to the shepherds. St. Paul, too, links up the eighth verse of this Psalm, “Adorate eum omnes angeli ejus,” with the Incarnation, in the well-known passage in Hebr. i., 6, “Quum iterum introducit Primogenitum in orbem terrae, dicit: Et adorent eum omnes angeli Dei.”

Thursday Lauds brings another "Cantate Domino canticum novum" (xcvii.) ; our theme is stated and restated in different forms all clearly indicative of the Divine Orb which in its majestic rising was to search out and illumine every darkest cavern of human ignorance and misery ; "Viderunt omnes termini terrae salutare Dei nostri . . . Notum fecit Dominus salutare suum, in conspectu gentium revelavit justitiam suam." And as though to preserve the unity of this grand symphony with its opening "Plaudite," and at the same time to accentuate the leading idea with every possible device, literary and musical, we have a glorious cluster of coördinate harmonies as in verses 6 and 7, "Jubilare Deo, omnis terra : cantate, et exultate, et psallite. Psallite in cithara . . . in tubis ductilibus, et voce tubae corneae." Voices and instruments alike, "In decachordo, psalterio : cum cantico, in cithera," all are worked up into a grand climax of welcome to Him "Qui in conspectu gentium revelavit justitiam suam." (verse 3.) All through the long night preceding the Aurora, patriarch and prophet had been buoyed up by the promise of a future Redeemer. "Qui et illuminabit abscondita tenebrarum" (I. Cor iv., 5) ; they were assured that God would be faithful to His promises : "Veritas Domini manet in aeternum ;" the long-looked for dawn would gild the sky ; in the meantime it was theirs to keep alight the salutary fires of hope : "Bonum est confiteri Domino . . . Ad annuntiandum mane misericordiam tuam ; et veritatem tuam per noctem" (xci., 1, 2) ; (Sabbato), theirs to pray "ostende nobis Domine lucem miserationum tuarum" (Sabb. Lauds Canticum) till the darkness should be changed into light and mankind should be enabled to say in very truth "Lucifer ortus est in cordibus nostris."

We may regard the "Resurrection" and "Ascension" as further developments of the theme, "Oriens ex Alto." Historically perhaps this is not quite accurate, as according to some writers on the Office Lauds was primarily the Hour which glorified God for the victory of Easter morn. It would surely be a pity to allow our devotion to be crippled by a question of historical origins. The morning light breaks on Lauds as on a prism—"circumdatus varietate," and variety in this connection is undoubtedly helpful as well as healthy. Certainly we must allow the full Easter significance to this Hour, and with it we may fittingly couple the joy of the Ascension. It is easy for the thoughtful and prayerful recitant of the Office, as he exclaims, "Domine mane exaudies vocem meam," "Mane astabo tibi," to make his composition of place at the empty tomb, "very early in the morning . . ." (Mark xvi., 2), to behold in spirit the "two angels in white," to live over and over again the scene of triumph, the passing of the night, the rising of the Divine Son of

Justice: "Haec dies quem fecit Dominus." He will let his whole being vibrate with the oft-repeated harmonies of the Alleluia, which stands out in such vehement contrast with the "Miserere" of the penitential season of Lent. "Tua est Domine, magnificentia et potentia et gloria atque victoria." (Cant. David, Fer. 2).

When wintering in the far North, Captain Sherard Osborn describes the return of the sun after an absence of sixty-six days in words which might very appropriately be recalled here. On February 7 "the stentorian lungs of the *Resolute's* boatswain hailed to say the sun was in sight from the masthead; and in all the vessels the rigging was soon manned to get the first glimpse of the returning god of day. Slowly it rose, and loud and hearty cheers greeted the return of an orb which those without the frozen zone do not half appreciate because he is always with them. For a whole hour we feasted ourselves admiring the sphere of fire." And so in Lauds. There may be little in the psalms themselves which has a direct prophetic bearing on the fact of the Resurrection of Christ—which indeed is the case—but the hour itself, the freshness of the morning, the near approach of another day, the reawakening of nature from its nocturnal slumber and the recognized symbolism of the hour "when morning gilds the skies:" all tend to create just that atmosphere which is best calculated to bring the soul into loving commune with the devoted followers of Christ who, when the silver streaks of dawn were shining along the skies, wended their way through the silent streets to the sepulchre of their Lord and Master. This will naturally be the central devotional thought at Eastertide and then every "Benedicite," "Laudate," "Praecinite," "Confitemini" will echo the soul's jubilation and congratulation to the Conqueror of death and hell: "Therefore my heart hath been glad and my tongue hath rejoiced . . . because Thou didst not leave His soul in hell, nor didst Thou give Thy holy One to see corruption." (Ps.xv., 9.) The actual psalmody of Lauds, however, as applied to the "Resurrection," deals rather with what may be termed its official character. Just as the Nocturns signify the period of the Old Law when the race "sat in darkness," so the "Hour" of Lauds signifies the period of grace which began with the Resurrection of Christ and will continue with His Church till the end of the world. (Durandus. de Noct.) This aspect of Lauds will, however, be treated under Theme No. 4—"Regnabit Deus in Sion." All during Paschal time, therefore, in a more especial way, there will be no mistaking the key in which the music is set. "O Felix Diluculo," etc.⁸

⁸ "O felix diluculo, quo Christus resurgens captivitatem nostram sua duxit virtute captivam. . . . Hac autem hora, filii Israel sicco vestigio mare rubrum transeuntes, baptismatis sacramentum et vocationis nostrae gratiam praefiguraverunt." (Bona. Div. Psalm. in loco.)

Christ is King and Conqueror, and of His kingdom there shall be no end. "Dominus regnavit, exultet terra," "Ascendit Deus in jubilo et Dominus in voce tubae," "Dominus virtutem dabit populo suo, Dominus benedicet populo suo in pace," Cantate, Laudate. We may note how the thought is caught up in the Hymn for Lauds at Easter time:

Aurora coelum purpurat
Aether resultat laudibus
Mundus triumphans jubilat
Horrens avernus infremit:
Rex ille dum fortissimus
De mortis inferno specu
Patrum senatum liberum
Educit ad vitae jubar . . .
Victor triumphat . . . Surrexit extinctor necis.

"For He hath taken us, and He will heal us; He will strike and He will cure us. He will revive us after two days: on the third day He will raise us up, and we shall live in His sight. We shall know and we shall follow on, that we may know the Lord. His going forth is prepared as the morning light." (Osee vi., 2, 3.)

"DIES DOMINI."

It is an easy task when reciting Lauds to detect the deep diapason note announcing the solemn theme of the "Parousia" or Second Coming. We place this sub-theme here because of its obvious relationship to the foregoing. At first sight it might appear a somewhat abrupt transition, but there are the words of the Creed to justify it: "He ascended into heaven, sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty, from thence He shall come to judge the living and the dead," and the words of the "two men in white garments, who also said, 'Ye men of Galilee, why stand you looking up to heaven? This Jesus who is taken up from you into heaven shall so come as you have seen Him going into heaven.'" The devout soul that climbs the Mount of Ascension to sing the Saviour's triumphant entry into heaven has already made its composition of place for further prayerful meditation on the last act of the great drama when Christ will come again on the "clouds of heaven in much power and majesty."

Moreover, nearly all the Psalms which we have referred to as bearing a mystical application to the coming of the Messiah in the fulness of time (*Ecce veniet*) tell also of His Second Coming to establish His reign forever and forever. Psalm xcv, for instance,

finishes up with a jubilant and convincing outburst of prophetic praise for the twofold judgment of mercy and of justice. "Let the earth be glad . . . the fields and all things that are in them shall be joyful. Then shall all the trees of the woods rejoice before the face of the Lord because He cometh; because He cometh to judge the earth, He shall judge the world with justice and the people with His truth" (verses 11, 12, 13). He will come to redeem the world in His mercy, but He will come again to judge it in His justice. The Psalmist would seem to insinuate what St. Paul explicitly states, that even the inanimate creation will participate in the liberation and glory won by Christ, "because the creature also itself shall be delivered from the servitude of corruption into the liberty of the glory of the children of God" (Rom. viii., 21), a promise which will see its fulfillment only after the General Judgment, when the glory of God and his elect will flow in copious streams over the material universe and there will be "new heavens and a new earth according to His promises, in which justice dwelleth." (II. Peter iii., 23.) The same strain of melody occurs in the second part of Psalm xcvi. "Let the sea be moved and the fulness thereof; the world and they that dwell therein. The rivers shall clap their hands, the mountains shall rejoice together in the presence of the Lord; because He cometh to judge the earth. He shall judge the world with justice and the people with equity."

Psalm cxlix., "Cantate Domino," introduces new features into the picture of the Judgment. Christ had encouraged His apostles with the comforting assurance, "I dispose to you, as My Father hath disposed to Me, a kingdom: that you may eat and drink at My table in My kingdom; and may sit upon thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel" (Luke xxii., 30), and the same thought is taken up by St. Paul: "Know you not that the saints shall judge the world." (I. Cor. vi., 2.) And is not this admirably anticipated in the familiar words, "Exaltationes Dei in gutture eorum: et gladii ancipites in manibus eorum. Ad faciendam vindictam in nationibus . . . ut faciant in eis iudicium conscriptum: gloria haec est omnibus sanctis ejus." The two-edged swords represent the judiciary power with which the saints of God will be invested on the last day; the word of Truth with which they will vindicate the judgments of God; the sharp and piercing sentences of condemnation with which in union with Christ, "to whom all judgment is given," they will wreak vengeance on their enemies, "inreparationes in populis." "Then shall the just stand with great constancy against those that have afflicted them." "Gloria haec est omnibus sanctis ejus."

It remains to be pointed out that the "mystical" significance also

of the Lauds Hour embraces the Second Coming of the Son of Man as one of its characteristic features. It is the Hour which welcomes the approach of day, a word which the Apostle uses time after time in referring to the coming of the Judge at the end of time. "There is laid up for me a crown of justice which the Lord . . . will render to me in that day." "For yourselves know perfectly that the 'day of the Lord' shall so come." (I. Thess. v., 2.) "He who hath begun a good work in you will perfect it unto the 'day' of Christ Jesus." (Phil. i., 6.) And in the Gospels—"the last day," "the day of the Son of man," etc.

It will be evident to all that the subject of this "Dies Domini" theme comes as a considerable aid to devotion at any season of the year. It is a solemn summons to the soul to stand day by day on the threshold of eternal day; to contemplate the coming of the Judge; to realize that the night of this life, long though it may seem, must assuredly have an end; that the Divine Sun of Justice will rise at length to set no more. It instils into the prayer at dawn the spirit of watchfulness, as inculcated by our Divine Lord: "Behold the Bridegroom cometh, go ye forth to meet Him . . . watch ye therefore because ye know not the day nor the hour;" and with the spirit of watchfulness is interlocked that also of wistful yearning which mounts on the wings of hope and scans the horizon for an early glimpse, however faint and indistinct, of the land that must soon be in sight. "My soul longeth and fainteth for the courts of the Lord." "Woe is me that my sojourning is prolonged." "When shall I come and appear before the face of the Lord?"

IV. "REGNABIT DEUS IN SION."

The subject-matter of the fourth subsidiary theme follows on from the theme, "Oriens ex Alto" (i. e., "Resurrection" section) by a simple and easy transition. The praise of Christ as King brings with it the correlative desire to acclaim the glorious and mighty kingdom over which He reigns; and so we may proceed to consider this important and very prominent strand in the symphonic tissue of Lauds: "Te decet hymnus Deus in Sion." "Lauda Jerusalem, Domino, lauda Deum tuum Sion." The hymn of praise shall be sung coupled with an eloquent outpouring of gratitude for the release from captivity and for the manifold "good things" to be found in the house, the temple, the city of God. To the Church, the kingdom of Christ, the prophetic words apply, "Thou hast visited the earth and hast plentifully watered it: thou hast many ways enriched it" (lxiv., Wedn. Lauds); and we find, in consequence, all through Lauds a similar rhapsody of exultation over the future glory of "Israel" and the "Law that shall go forth out of Sion." "For there

shall be a day in which the watchmen on Mount Ephraim shall cry: Arise and let us go up to Sion to the Lord our God . . . and they shall come and shall give praise in Mount Sion: and they shall flow together to the good things of the Lord . . . and their soul shall be as a watered garden . . . then shall the virgin rejoice and dance (in choro), the young men and old men together . . . and I will fill the soul of the priests with fatness: and My people shall be filled with My good things, saith the Lord." (Jer. xxxi., passim. Thurs. Cant.) It need only be said in passing that the joyous outpourings of prophet and psalmist in regard to the future restoration of Israel as well as the glowing eulogies of the glories of Divine worship when, under the sceptres of David and Solomon it was unapproached for grandeur and magnificence, are always to be studied in the light of the Church militant; that is to say, the mystical sense as well as the literal must be taken fully into account. In commenting on Psalm xcii, "*Dominus regnavit*," Schouppe has an important note which it will be well to quote here, as it bears on so many of the Lauds Psalms and opens the way to new realms of thought wherein our leit-motif of praise finds fresh material on which to pour out its varied treasures. He is contending that the mystical sense is really a "*Sensus principalis*," not a mere "*Sensus accomodativus*," and then continues:

"Si consideret (1) accomodationem hic in allegoria fundari; et aliunde. (2) *Legem fuisse a Christo gravidam*, ut Augustinus ait; (3) praecipuum psalmorum objectum esse Christum et Ecclesiam, ut Patres unanimiter docent; (4) psalmum hunc sicut reliquos, fuisse a Spiritu Sancto Ecclesiae Christi destinatum: . . . fatebitur profecto non immerito adoptari sententiam Patrum et interpretum eorum, qui Regnum Christi his celebrari docent. Quod si sensus admittitur de Christo, idem merito "*principalis*" appellatur: quia Christus finis est Legis ac figurarum: quia regnum Christi seu gratia, praestantius est regno naturae; et quia Christum principaliter Ecclesia, dirigente Spiritu Sancto, in Sacra Liturgia celebrat."

With this ever-fruitful mystical sense to guide us, the joy of the Psalter is no longer confined within the narrow limits of a solitary nation's grandeur. It out-paces the present and stretching far into the future portrays the glory and power of the Church, her dominion over the kings of the earth: her progress and expansion from East to West, and from one sea to the other: the receiving and gathering in of the heathen for her inheritance: her unceasing warfare with the unrighteous and her constant labors to exterminate all wicked doers from the land: her never-ceasing worship of prayer and thanksgiving: her patient waiting for the final advent of her Spouse during earth's long pilgrimage: her reliance on the

oft-repeated promise of ultimate deliverance from her enemies. It is a fertile theme on which to descant, and the "Monarch of Sublime Song" is never at a loss; fresh thoughts, figures, illustrations follow one another with the rapidity of sparks from the anvil till the soul is permeated through and through with the infection of the Psalmist's joy.

With him we picture the Church as a virgin, the King's daughter in a raiment of divers colors—"Therefore shall the people praise thee forever, yea, forever and ever" (Ps. xlv.); again as the vine which God brought out of Egypt—"Thou plantedst the roots thereof and it filled the land" (Ps. lxxix.); or the mountain in which God is well-pleased to dwell—"For there the Lord shall dwell unto the end" (Ps. lxxvii.); or as the Dove with silver wings and feathers of gold (*ibid*); or again as the moon perfect forever and a faithful witness in heaven (Ps. lxxxviii.); or as the "firmament on the earth on the tops of mountains, above Libanus shall the fruit thereof be exalted; and they of the city shall flourish like the grass of the earth. Let His name be blessed forevermore" (Ps. lxxi.).

All these glowing attributes of the Church to come are singled out and treated one by one and duly extolled, now in one setting, now in another, till in Lauds the triumphant note rises to its highest pitch and is voiced forth again and again by the combined choirs in the Church's vast world-wide sanctuary. "Laudate servi Dominum, qui statis in domo domini, in atriis domus Dei nostri. Domus Levi benedicite Domino" (Ps. cxxxiv.) "Deo nostro sit jucunda decoraque laudatio" (Ps. cxlvi.). Though Lauds furnishes such a profuse wealth of ideas, it is well to bear in mind the unity which underlies them all; they are not a mere patchwork of pious "Laudates": continuity and interrelationship are easily discoverable and generally well defined. Already prominence has been given to some of the evident features in this evolutionary process, and to these can be added another in which is delineated the relationship between our present theme, "Regnabit Deus in Sion," and the previous one, "Oriens ex Alto," "Behold, I will bring my servant, the Orient. For behold the stone that I have laid before Jesus; upon one stone there are seven eyes . . . I will take away the iniquity of that land in one day. In that day every man shall call his friend under the vine and under the fig-tree . . . Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, saying: Behold a Man, the Orient is His name: and under Him shall He spring up and shall build a temple to the Lord . . . and He shall bear the glory and shall sit and rule upon His throne" (Zach. iii., 8; vi., 11-13), in which words Zacharias announces the Messiah to the first High Priest of the new temple as the Orient who taketh away the sins of the world; who is the

foundation-stone and the builder of the new spiritual temple, uniting in Himself the double functions of King and Priest. "One day," the day namely of the Passion of Christ, will remove the erstwhile darkness of error and iniquity; light and glory will rule instead, and with "seven eyes" the manifold providence of Christ will watch over His Church. "Aspicite ergo quae fecit nobiscum . . . quoniam ostendit majestatem suam in gentem peccatricem" (Tues. Cant.) "Oculi mei ad fideles terrae ut sedeant mecum" (Ps. c., Wedn.) "Filii autem hominum in tegmine alarum tuarum sperabunt. Inebriabuntur ab ubertate domus tuae" (Ps. xxxv., Thurs.). Christ and His Church; the two are separate and yet one. The sun is not the light nor the light the sun; each has a distinctive claim to its place in the "Benedicite," while yet a third claim which embodies both is not forgotten or overlooked, "Benedicite dies Domino;" equally so is it with our tribute of praise which mounts to the sky to herald the rise of the Sun of Justice, the "Fons luminis," and then falling back to earth distributes and diffuses itself wherever the light of the Gospel penetrates—that "more firm prophetic word whereunto you do well to attend as to a light that shineth in a dark place until the day dawn and the day-star arise in your hearts." (II. Pet. xix.) This light of the Gospel, this "Kingdom of Light," is the home of the "Orient," while at the same time the "Orient" is its generating principle. As Christ is the "Lumen de Lumine," so His Church is the "Lux de Luce:" "that they all may be one, as Thou, Father, in Me and I in Thee: that they also may be one in Us" (John xvii., 21): i. e., the members inseparably united with the Head, made "partakers of His divine nature" (II. Pet. i., 4); "walking in the light as He also is in the light" (I. John i., 7). The Church has shown her mind on this subject—this subtle interlacing of two main themes—by her choice of Psalm xcii.—"Dominus regnavit, decorem indutus est"—with which Lauds opens on Sundays and festivals. Literally, of course, this Psalm is in praise of God as the Creator and Conserver of the universe: allegorically it applies to Christ and His kingdom combined. Bellanger brings this out very fully in his commentary (vide Migne. *Cursus S. Scr.* tome 15): "Sensus sublimior respicit regnum Christi stabile et aeternum quod . . . confirmatum est per ejus resurrectionem. Christus regnum acquisivit in Ecclesiam; *decore, gloria ac fortitudine indutus est* per resurrectionem; *praecinxit se* ad propagandum regnum suum per apostolorum praedicationem; *orbem terrae firmavit* in vera religione quam portae inferi commoveri non possunt. *Ex tunc paratum fuit ejus solium* in quo sedet ad dexteram Patris; Apostoli (tanquam flumina) *elevant vocem suam* ad praedicandum evangelium; persecutiones (tanquam aquae multae) inundant Ecclesiam Christi: vel

populi multi (Apoc. xvii., 15) convertuntur ad fidem Evangelii et confluunt ad Ecclesiam tanquam flumina in mare, etc."

This triumphant double theme is evidently not to be confined to the Sunday or Festival Office, and its repetition is most striking, inasmuch as it is studiously placed at the head of Lauds every day of the week. On Monday, "Omnes gentes plaudite" (Ps. xlv.), "the Gentiles are invited to praise God for the Ascension (Ascendit Deus) and for the establishment of the kingdom of Christ." In the literal sense this psalm was addressed to the Gentiles who were present at the dedication of the second temple, as Darius had ordered his governors to assist the Jews; or it may have been sung on the occasion of the translation of the Ark of the Covenant to Mount Sion; but the descriptive contents as given above is in accordance with the unanimous interpretation of the commentators and as such is adopted by the Church. Then follow in succession from Tuesday to Friday, Ps. xcv. to xcvi. Again the headings of these psalms will give us the clue to the Church's mind: "Cantate Domino," "An exhortation to praise God for the coming of Christ and His kingdom." "Dominus regnavit," "All are invited to rejoice at the glorious coming and reign of Christ." "Cantate Domino." "All are again invited to praise the Lord for the victories of Christ." "Dominus regnavit." "The reign of the Lord in Sion, i. e., of Christ in His Church."

On Saturday another glorious "Cantate Domino" comes first, in which the "Church is particularly bound to praise God" (Ps. cxlix.). The author is unknown, but the psalm was sung after the captivity to thank God for a signal victory and the favors and peace granted to his people, as also to foretell the conquests gained under the Macchabees, and more fully under the Messias: "Laus ejus in ecclesia sanctorum . . . exaltationes Dei in gutture eorum."

The children of the Church, "filii Sion," are to exult in their King; in choro, in tympano, in psalterio conjointly they will praise Him as the grateful members of one large universal Church—a glorious kingdom solidly established on a foundation of eternal truth and love. The first psalm then in each quintuplet of Lauds may be regarded as a trumpeting forth of the note of unqualified triumph: "Canite tuba in Sion."

But something surely has to be said of the opposition to be met with before that triumph is finally achieved; and with this end in view, an important counter-theme—which we may designate "Lux in Tenebris"—and which had already appeared in five of the old ferial psalms at Lauds (still retained as the second psalm all through the week) is further emphasized in the following new psalms which are introduced into the third place of each quintuplet:

- 28. Afferte Domino.
- 66. Deus misereatur (still kept from the Sunday.)
- 100. Misericordiam et iudicium.
- 35. Dixit injustus.
- 84. Benedixisti Domino.
- 63. Exaudi Deus Orationem.

The ferial psalms referred to are:

- 5. Verbe mea auribus (Monday).
- 42. Judica me Deus (Tuesday).
- 89. Domine refugium (Thursday).
- 142. Domine exaudi (Friday).
- 91. Bonum est confiteri (Saturday).

One cannot but be struck by the contrast between these two sets of psalms and the first which we have been considering. Some of them at first sight seem hardly to have any of the characteristics which one expects to find in all "Lauds" psalms; some might even be deemed quite out of place; one for example is a "penitential" psalm; then there is the "Dixit injustus (xxxv.) and the "Exaudi Deus" (lxiii.), of a somewhat similar character. A closer investigation, however, reveals the fact that we have here the artist's simple device of introducing the darker shading on the canvas for the purpose of heightening the general effect of his work; the main Lauds theme does not suffer, rather it is brought into greater prominence. The glory of victory is intensified according to the opposition encountered; power that is merely latent cannot evoke enthusiastic song; mercy again is relative and only begets gratitude or praise in proportion to the degree and extent in which it has to be exercised. We need not be surprised, therefore, to find allusions more than once to the power of the persecutor, to the malice of the evil-doer, the assembly of the malignant and so on; but never is there a despondent note, never for long is the music in a minor key; the sun will assuredly rise and shine resplendent, even though it must first break through the mists. It will be well perhaps to point more in detail how perfectly this idea is suggested and worked out in the psalms mentioned.

"Afferte Domino." No sooner had Christ ascended to His throne on the right hand of the Father than the lifework of the Apostles began. Their commission was clear: "Euntes docete," i. e., "Make disciples among the nations. Other sheep not of the fold as yet must be gathered in," "Afferte Domino filios arietum." This apostolic work is to be carried out on lines similar to those adopted by Christ Himself, of whom it was confessed that "This

Man speaks as one having authority." . . . "They shall hear My voice." Our first psalm, therefore, in this group is a most graphic description of the "Vox Domini," of the effects of the preaching of the Word by accredited witnesses filled with the Holy Ghost. "He that heareth you heareth Me:" and with the Fathers of the Church, when reciting this psalm we can in spirit see the early dawn of the Gospel struggling through the mists of opposition. The Psalmist has in mind some such situation as was contemplated by Christ when He said to the firstlings of the fold, "Fear not, little flock, for it hath pleased your Father to give you a kingdom." (Luke xii., 32). "In the world you shall have distress, but have confidence, I have overcome the world" (John xvi., 33): and so here. It is fairly obvious that the majesty of God in nature is described for an ulterior purpose. Suffering, danger and persecution await the people of God when confronted with the might of the world; but "the Lord will give strength to His people" (verse 10). The gates of hell shall never prevail, for "the voice of the Lord is in power . . . the voice of the Lord shaketh the desert"—fit symbol of the power of the world; away, then, with every vestige of fear, for "the Lord shall sit King forever."

With this psalm may be coupled the "Exaudi Deus orationem" (lxiii.) of Saturday, and its appearance on feasts of Apostles gives the key to the reason of its selection here. It is a prayer in affliction caused by the machinations of persecutors: "Man shall come to a deep heart," but crafty and subtle though his projects be, "God shall be exalted;" the wounds He inflicts are likened to the weak efforts of "children's arrows," which can do no execution because "Thou hast protected me. . . . The just shall rejoice in the Lord, and all the upright in heart shall be praised." Obvious, therefore, the connection with the crimson dawn of Christianity and its blood-stained persecutions, but subsequent triumph. The Church prays this prayer in the Person of Christ suffering: "They have whetted their tongues like a sword. . . . Deliver my soul, O God, from the fear of the enemy." The answer to the prayer follows on immediately and recounts the confusion of the Jews, the preaching of the Gospel and the joy of the just. Of the Apostles' preaching the Passion is at once the meritorious and exemplary cause; and as Christ had foretold, "If they have persecuted Me, they will also persecute you; if they have kept My word, they will keep yours also," so our psalm finishes up with the clear note of triumph: "Annuntiaverunt opera Dei, et facta ejus intellexerunt."

A similar note of confidence is sounded in Psalm 100: "Miseri-cordiam et judicium cantabo," which comes in the third place

on Wednesday.⁴ A distinctive Lauds' character is found in the first verse: "Cantabo," "Psallam." The "mercies" of the Lord which David sings are in the first place the manifestations of His love towards the family of David,⁵ but still more fervent will be the accents of joyous praise for the torrential outpouring of God's love on that larger family, which is the Church of Christ, the Son of David, and certainly the sentiments set forth in this Psalm, which has been styled "the mirror of princes," must have been very consolatory to the Apostles—the first princes of the kingdom of Christ—as they are to the priest to-day. How frequently, for instance, does St. Paul recognize the mercies of God, as he looks back over his life: "By the grace of God I am what I am" (I. Cor. xv., 10). "But God had mercy . . . on me also lest I should have sorrow upon sorrow" (Philip ii., 27). How confidently, too, he trusts the "Judicium" of God; "for the rest there is laid up for me a crown which the Lord the just Judge will render to me in that day," and the priest, knowing how true are the words "You have not chosen Me, but I have chosen You," will sing the mercies of the Lord for the grace among many others of his vocation; he will praise the Judicium of God because he knows that his ministrations to his flock will not go unrewarded, and whatever be the present power of evil, it will certainly be followed by the ultimate triumph of righteousness, for (verse 8) "In matutino," without delay, "interficiebam omnes peccatores terrae: ut disperderem de civitate Domini omnes operantes iniquitatem."

The first five verses of Ps. 35 ("Dixit injustus"—Thursday), with their strong portrayal of the intensity and hopelessness almost of human corruption, form a dark background on which the Psalmist proceeds immediately to paint a glowing picture of the lavish generosity with which God is to reward His faithful children. There is no explicit appeal to break out into a song of praise, no "Laudate, Psallite, Confitemini;" the Lauds' sentiment is felt rather than expressed, but it is unmistakable. The inexhaustible fulness of God's love, His faithfulness and righteousness appear in consoling opposition to the malice of evildoers: "O Lord, Thy mercy is in heaven and Thy truth reacheth even to the clouds . . . the children of men will put their trust under the covert of Thy wings . . . they shall be inebriated with the plenty of Thy house . . ." and especially will this

⁴ Some old Greek codices put at the head of this psalm the direction, "Psalmus David quaternioni sabbatorum," i. e., to be said or sung on the fourth day of the week. Cfr. *Cursus completus*, in loco.

⁵ Cfr., also Ps. lxxxviii., "Misericordias Domini in aeternum cantabo."

liberality of God show itself in the treasure-house of the Church to come; for the "house" of which David speaks is the national sanctuary—the Old Testament type of that still greater and more perfect tabernacle wherein the children of men shall partake of the untold blessings of salvation: "Thou shalt make them drink of the torrent of Thy pleasure" (verse 9).

Friday's "*Benedixisti*" (84) takes up the same comforting thought. The ineffable blessings of Redemption are here recounted one by one—forgiveness, reconciliation, restoration to life, peace and justice, mercy and truth. Originally sung when the first fruits were brought to the temple, and in grateful memory for the "turning away of the captivity of Jacob," it is an easy task now when reciting Lauds to apply all this as the Fathers and commentators do, to Christ, "the first-fruits of them that sleep," who came to temper justice with mercy, who led captivity captive, that henceforth and forever "glory might dwell in our land." Let the nations be glad and rejoice, let all people give praise to thee, for the earth hath yielded her fruit." (66, Tuesday.)^a

This "*Lux in tenebris*" counter theme, as already suggested, is the main feature of five out of the six former ferial psalms still retained. The reality of the Church's struggle with the powers of darkness is in no way lost sight of; it stands out in bold outline, but the final issue is never in doubt, and so Psalm v. "*Verba mea auribus*"—(Monday) bears the significant inscription "Unto the end, for her that obtaineth the inheritance;" that is, for the Church of Christ and all her faithful children whose final heritage after the conflict is the possession of heaven. "They shall rejoice forever, and thou shalt dwell in them, and all they that love Thy name shall glory in Thee" (verse 12). Of the enemies of Holy Church it may indeed be said "there is no truth in their mouth: their heart is vain; their throat is an open sepulchre: they dealt deceitfully with their tongues" (verses 10, 11), and the Psalmist may be weighed down with grief and give vent to words of gloom: "Why hast Thou cast me off, and why do I go sorrowful whilst the enemy afflicteth me . . . why art thou sad, O my soul, and why dost thou disquiet me?" (42, Tuesday), but the spirit of holy optimism is not far away, "for Thou wilt bless the just; O Lord, Thou hast crowned us as with a shield of Thy good will" (verse 13). "I will go into the altar of God: to God who giveth joy to my youth" (xl.ii., 4). The prospect of a glorious immortality fills with hope in proportion to sufferings borne for the truth. "We are filled in the morning with Thy mercy: and we have rejoiced and are delighted all our days. We have rejoiced for the

^a Cf., also Ps. lxi., Wednesday.

days in which Thou hast humbled us: for the years in which we have seen evils." (lxxxiv., 14—Thursday.) The same interplay of sunshine and shadow is distinguishable in the "Domine exaudi" (142) of Friday, though it is one of the penitential psalms. The Psalmist is in tribulation and calls upon God for his delivery. "The enemy hath persecuted my soul: he hath brought down my life to the earth . . . my soul is as earth without water unto Thee," but as the morning light chases the gloom of the darkest night, his fervent prayer goes up to the Supreme Source of all light: "Cause me to hear Thy mercy in the morning, for in Thee have I hoped;" he refuses to be cast down; "in Thy mercy Thou wilt destroy my enemies . . . for I am Thy servant" (verse 12), and though his "spirit hath fainted away," he knows full well that "Thy good spirit shall lead me into the right land" (verses 7, 10), and in Ps. 91 (Saturday), though the "wicked shall spring up as grass, and all the workers of iniquity shall appear," it is only that "they may perish for ever and ever: for behold Thy enemies, O Lord, shall perish, and all the workers of iniquity shall be scattered" (verses 8, 9).

Here, then, we have the artistic significance of the shadows that are cast along the Psalmody of Lauds. In some respects this current of thought reflects better perhaps than any other the inwardness of prayer at dawn when two opposing elements in nature are in conflict.

Nox et tenebrae et nubila
Confusa mundi et turbida;
Lux intrat, albescit polus:
Christus venit: discedite.

Caligo terrae scinditur
Percussa solis spiculo,
Rebusque jam color redit,
Vultu nitentis sideris.

(Fer. iv., Hymn at Lauds.)

And as an illustration of the mind and practical wisdom of our holy Mother Church, she gives us day by day a spiritual bouquet which we can carry along with us as a fragrant reminder of the varied and exquisite thoughts suggested in the course of this early morning prayer:

"Nox praecessit, dies autem appropinnavit. Abjiciamus ergo opera tenebrarum, et induamur arma lucis. Sicut in die honeste ambulemus." (Capit. for each day.)

We may safely gather from the above considerations that the

counter theme, "*Lux in tenebris*," is something more than a mere interlude in the Symphony of Lauds. It may be defined as a solemn adagio movement, instinct with strenuous pleading, probing the very depths of the spirit, laying bare the soul's wounds, its needs, its helplessness; there are anxious moments for the Church, as for the individual soul, when innocence is confronted by the malice and violence of the persecutor, but one easily detects a continuous progress as of pressing forward to a greater and final consummation of victory. "*O felix diluculo quo cunctis fidelibus spes futurae resurrectionis effulsit, quum omnes ab hac temporali morte, quasi a sopore somni, ad perennem gloriam ad immortalitatis diem, evigilabant*" (Bona. in loco).

V. LUMEN GLORIAE.

The thematic material of the Symphony of Lauds is not yet exhausted. Like Sacred Scripture, we may say with St. Augustine, "*Habet haustus primos, haustus secundos, haustus tertios.*" The symbolism of the hour when light again woos the slumbering earth and unveils its hidden beauties, yields under analysis an anagogical significance full of new and sublime thoughts. "*Rursum post tenebras spero lucem.*" In our pilgrimage through the dark valley which opens out eventually into the "ever-verdant lawns of Paradise," we have the light of reason to guide us, the light of grace to vivify us, the gift of faith which one day will leap into vision: "*We see now in a dark manner,*" but the veil between the seen and the unseen can be worn thin by constant prayer; and to the meditative recitant of the Office the dawn which ushers in the day—with its "*Deus, Deus meus ad te de luce vigilo,*" its "*Mane astabo tibi et videbo*"—is a welcome and eloquent reminder and harbinger of the eternal day which will bring with it all the joys of the Beatific Vision. "*We see now in a dark manner, but then face to face.*" The glory of God up to now in the harmonies of this part of the Office is but the manifestation or revelation of the Creator in terms of created existencies outside of us; but the "*Lumen gloriae*" is something more personal, more satisfying; "*satiabor cum apparuerit gloria tua*" (Ps. 16); it imparts to the soul freed from the clogging imperfections of earthly existence a special power or disposition which is necessary to it if it is to have any vision of God at all. "*In Thy light we shall see light*" (Ps. xxxv., v. 10).

Ut mane, quod nos ultimum
Hic deprecamur cernui,

Cum luce nobis effluat
Hoc dum canore concrepat.
(Sabbato ad Laudes).

This aspect of Lauds is not so much the immediate subject-matter of special psalms as the spontaneous uplift of the mind, the overflow of devotion from collateral thoughts suggested in one form or another all through the "Hour." It is the echo in the distant hills of the music in the valley, the concomitant vibrations of harmonies in a larger instrument, though the chords are struck in a smaller; it is the celestial harmonics on the strings of Psalmody which deals with the glory of God in the created universe and in the "Church of the saints." We feel instinctively that in joining the choir of the Church militant we are but tuning the lyre for future use as members of the Church triumphant; as yet we but linger on the threshold, for we have not here a lasting city; "we are the children of the saints and look for that life which God will give to those that never change their faith in Him" (Tob. ii., 18), and the most that we can do now as pilgrims and sojourners is to catch the distant cadences of angel-minstrely. The theme "*Lumen gloriæ*" is rather indicated than developed at any length, like the points of a meditation not yet fully drawn out; and one can detect a certain reverential reserve on the part of the Psalmist in this connection, which is all the more noticeable because of the exuberance of expression which characterizes his treatment of the themes we have already dealt with. St. Peter Damian expresses this same idea in an eloquent passage which appears in his discourse, "*De caelestis Jerusalem beatitudine sempiterna*" (Opusc. L., cap. 15), he says: "Who shall attempt to speak of the delights of Paradise, bearing in mind that, according to the beloved disciple John, who saw the glory of the only-begotten of the Father on the Mount, we can form even from the magnificent praises in Holy Writ but a very imperfect idea of the change to come: "It hath not appeared what we shall be" (I. John iii., 2), and that St. James, *when even his subject seems to demand a full picture of the future good things, is content to refer twice over* (i., 12, and ii., 15) *to the words of Isaias*: "Eye hath not seen nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive what things God hath prepared for them that love Him (Ixiv., 4), and that the great St. Paul, who was rapt to the third heavens, has no more perfect description than these same words. Enough for us then to know that no tongue can declare the beauty of heaven, and no mind imagine its perfect bliss; enough to know that we shall possess God and see God as He is and love Him for ever

and ever. It is good for us to be there with our Lord Jesus Christ, 'who will reform the body of our lowness made like to the body of His glory' (Phil. iii., 21) and fill our souls with the plenty of His own house and make them drink of the torrent of His pleasure." (Ps. iiii., 8.)

This last quotation is from the "Dixit injustus" in Thursday's Lauds, and following on it immediately are the words "in Thy light we shall see light." In comparison with this "light of glory," as theologians term it, the most dazzling earthly light is as darkness. We cannot now see the essence of things, still less God in His essence; but the substance of the beatitude to which every rational creature is called is clearly stated by St. John: "We shall see Him as He is" (I. Ep. iii., 2), that is, in His essence. This is to be the happy consummation of all our yearnings here below, the crowning of all our hopes, the fulfilment of God's designs in us; and Lauds is the daily reminder of it. Now "we know in part," for light of God's grace illumines the mind, and we rejoice. We can see God, i. e., know Him reflected through His creatures; for "All men are vain in whom there is not the knowledge of God, and who by those good things that are seen could not understand Him that is, neither by attending to the works have acknowledged who was the workman." (Wisdom xiii.) For "the invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made; His eternal power and divinity." (Rom. i., 18.) We can see God, i. e., know Him through revelation, by faith, by His workings age after age in His Church, and by His ever-wakeful interest within the precincts of the soul; for all this we give Him the daily tribute of heartfelt praise: "Psallam Deo meo, quamdiu fuero" (Ps. 145). But through it all we recognize that we are but serving an apprenticeship which is to lead to "Him who is the Blessed and only Mighty, the King of kings and Lord of lords, who only hath immortality and inhabiteth light inaccessible, whom no man hath seen, nor can see," that is, with mortal eyes. (I. Tim. vi., 15.) In the meantime we sing the glory of the Creator in the open book of His creation, with the comforting assurance that while we are "beholding the glory of the Lord with open face, we are transformed into the same image from glory to glory, as by the spirit of the Lord." (II. Cor. iii., 18.) For "the path of the just, as a shining light, goeth forwards and increaseth even to perfect day." (Prov. iv., 18.)

We are not to suppose that when the term of our apprenticeship is over and the day of eternity has dawned, the vision of God comes within the scope of the unaided intellect. "Gratia Dei

vita aeterna" (Rom. vi.) and St. Thomas, who recalls this text, adds another "Haec est vita aeterna, ut cognoscant te solum verum Deum" (John 17). Consequently we speak of "light" here only by analogy. It is the illumining of the intellect—a special creation of God, for a special purpose; "Claritas Dei illuminabit eam" (Apoc., 21), referring to the company of the blessed who see God. The natural forces of the created mind are elevated and suffused by a supernatural light, which endows the creature with a likeness to God, analogous to the likeness between the Divine Son and the Father. "Cum apparuerit, similes ei erimus, et videbimus eum, sicuti est." (I. John iii.) It is easy to infer from this that the "Lumen gloriae" is something more than a mere medium through which the vision of God becomes possible, as the morning light in regard to created beauty; more than this, it has a transforming effect on the faculty of intellectual sight and implies a participation in the divine nature as well as a deification of the created nature; as St. Thomas expresses it: "Secundum hoc lumen (beati) efficiuntur deiformes" (ib.), for that a created intellect should see God "per essentiam" postulates that the essence of God be the 'Forma intelligibilis' of that intellect," and this light does not merely proceed from the Divine Intellect; it is homogeneous with it. Thus the intellect of the glorified creature is "informed" by the Divine Substance intrinsically present within it; which is only theology's way of stating the truth expressed by the Psalmist in the passage, "I have said: ye are gods, and all of you the sons of the Most High." (lxxxix., 6.) The illustration given by Lessius is much to the point here. "For if the sun in the physical world is able under certain conditions to light up the clouds in such a way that they shine like the sun itself and even appear to be suns—mock suns, or as we call them, 'parhelia'—much more easily will God, who is the Sun of the non-corporeal world, illumine by His splendor rational intelligences 'veluti nubes spirituales,' in such a way that they become altogether like to Him, and so shine as gods 'tanquam dii,' with a divine effulgence." (De summo bono, l., 2., c., 8, n. 44.)

This line of thought links up our present theme in a happy and helpful vein with the former theme, "*Fons luminis*," and serves to show the exquisite unity that pervades the whole of the *Lauds' hour*. It is not merely that the "Lumen Gloriae" of the blessed is the God-appointed sequel to and guerdon of the "Lumen gratiae" by virtue of which we become "partakers of the divine nature," even "in statu viae;" more than this, the "*Fons luminis*"—the uncreated source of created light—the true light which enlighteneth every man that cometh into *this* world—is the light also of the

blessed in that "city which hath no need of the sun, nor of the moon to shine in it. For the glory of God hath enlightened it and *the Lamb is the lamp thereof*, and the nations shall walk in the light of it." (Apoc. xxi., 23.) Then will be fulfilled the words of Christ Himself: "Father, the glory which Thou hast given to me I have given to them"—the glory which was His "before the creation of the world."

"In lumine tuo videbimus;" we shall see, though as St. Thomas points out, vision is not comprehension. (i., 12, 7.) To comprehend God in His essence and glory is beyond the scope even of the "*Lumen gloriæ*;" this can be said only of the Trinity of Persons in the ineffable Godhead; of the Father "who hath the knowledge of all things;" of the Only-begotten Son "who is in the bosom of the Father" (John i., 18), and of the Holy Spirit, "who searcheth all things, yea the deep things of God." Still it is the Divine essence on which the blessed shall gaze, "for they shall see His face and His name shall be upon their foreheads" (Apoc. xxii., 4), and as St. Thomas adds, "All things are seen in God" ("*Sicut in quodam speculo intelligibili*") (I., xii., 9).

Then indeed shall the song of Lauds take on a new significance. It will span the gulf between effects and the primary Cause of all things. New and unthought of harmonies will be evolved in the celestial choirs to sing the wonders of the spiritual universe of which the glories of the material creation are but a figurative counterpart. "*Lux orta est justo*," not indeed to remove the dark mantle of earth's uncheery night and reveal mountains and hills and rivers and green pastureland; but to shed its radiance on the glittering fields of the "promised land," on the "Mountain of God," the "place of rivers;" to open up to the soul's longing gaze a whole vista of eternal truths impervious to the eye of faith however keen. The ways of Providence, now so often dark and mysterious—"Nubes et caligo in circuitu ejus"—will stand out boldly in the light of Eternal Wisdom; the towering and now unscalable cloud-capped heights of the Incarnation, the Redemption, the Sacrifice of the Mass, the abiding Presence of our "Emmanuel, God with us," will all bow their summits; mist and cloud will disappear, the glory of God will shine roundabout them and through and through; and we shall see them and know them as we never could see them through the semi-opaque medium of earthly knowledge. "*Benedicite montes et colles Domini Domino*," "*Benedicite flumina Domino . . . ligna fructifera et omnes cedri*." The strains of earth will acquire a fresh momentum when to the "spirits of the just made perfect" is shown the "river of water of life, clear as crystal"—not as the waters which speed

along in frantic glee from eerie heights to the broad bosom of the mighty ocean, but "proceeding from the throne of God and of the Lamb." Still let the "fruitful trees praise the name of the Lord," even in the Lauds which are chanted by the choirs supernal, for "on both sides of the river was the tree of life bearing twelve fruits, yielding its fruits every month and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations." (Apoc. xxii., 1, 2.) In that day we shall "look upon Sion, the city of our solemnity; our eyes shall see Jerusalem a rich habitation . . . only there our Lord is magnificent: a place of rivers, very broad and spacious streams: no ship with oars shall pass by it, neither shall the great valley pass through it;" i. e., we shall be free to sing our Hosannas totally secure from the incursions of the enemy. (Is. xxxiii., 20.) In a word, there will be new worlds with garniture all their own; new firmaments with luminaries to correspond. The outstanding wonders of the material creation which did duty for the time being as stepping-stones from earth to heaven will be left far behind. In the firmament of the New Heaven, sun and moon and stars will still have their allotted place. The sun will indeed shine, but it will be the Divine Sun of Justice; the moon will still shed its pure light borrowed from the sun, for Mary will be there in all the glory of her Immaculate Conception, with queenly dignity reigning with her Son; "Laudate sol et luna Domino;" still will the stars shine out, a mighty host, "quam dinumerare nemo poterat"—even the saints of God "come to Mount Sion and to the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to the company of many thousands of angels." (Heb. xii., 22.)

Vision will penetrate further both "intensive and extensive." Solar light, which played merely upon the surfaces of things, dazzling and swift though it is, will be supplanted by a new creation far more searching; husk and shell will disappear, the essence of things will be laid bare; physical laws, moral sanctions, soul-longings, all the things of the spirit will be recognized in a flash as a wondrous mosaic rich in color, marvelous in design, and truths hitherto but partially grasped will fill the soul with ecstasy: "Inebriabuntur ab ubertate domus tue; et torrente voluptatis tue potabis eos." (xxxv., 9.)

The vision of God will carry with it of necessity the experience of unbounded joy; "Beatitudo est gaudium de Veritate" (St. Augustine); an aspect of the Lauds' symphony which the Psalmist does not overlook. "Exultabunt sancti in gloria, Laetabuntur in cubilibus suis," "Gloriamini, laetamini et exultate." "Exultent justi in conspectu Dei, et delectentur in laetitia." The "Lumen gloriæ,"

as we have seen, raises the intellect above its natural capacity, and there is a corresponding elevation of the power of the will which enables it to participate in the Divine Love and Holiness; the blessed are made "one spirit with God" (I. Cor. vi., 17). And as this "*Lumen gloriæ*" is of the same kind as the Light with which God knows Himself, so the love of God which characterizes the elect is of the same kind as that with which God loves Himself. Thus the soul, with its double activities of intellect and will, is caught up into the Life and Love of God, and joy is the necessary concomitant. "*Intra in gaudium Domini tui,*" and as Cajetan remarks on these words: "*Tam magnum est gaudium caelestis patriæ de Deo, ut non possit concludi in homine, et ideo homo intrat in gaudium illud incomprehensibile, et non intrat gaudium illud in hominem, velut comprehensum ab homine*" (in Matt. xxv). Although the *essence* of beatitude consists in the act of the intellect, St. Thomas takes care to insist "*Ipsum gaudium est consummatio beatitudinis.*" The action of the will follows that of the intellect: "*Voluntas delectata conquiescit in fine jam adepto . . . ad voluntatem pertinet delectatio beatitudinem consequens.*" (I., 2æ., Q3, A4.) This final "rest" of the soul in the attainment of its life-yearnings is picturesquely stated in the words "*Laetabuntur in cubilibus suis.*" (Ps. 149.) It will be a rest from their labors, but not from their Alleluias (as Bellarmine puts it "in their beds, but not to sleep"); the enjoyment of eternal repose which at the same time is brimming over with soul-activities set in motion by the Power which is all "Act." "*Cantabunt canticum novum,*" i. e., the "new canticle before the throne of the hundred and forty-four thousand who were purchased from the earth" (Apoc. xiv., 3); the "voice of harpers harping on their harps." It is the *Lauds of the Elect*; "the voice of much people in heaven saying 'Alleluia. Salvation and glory and power is to our God. . . . And a voice came out from the throne saying: Give praise to our God, all ye His servants . . . and I heard, as it were, the voice of a great multitude, and as the voice of many waters and as the voice of great thunders, saying Alleluia; for the Lord our God the Almighty hath reigned. Let us be glad and rejoice, and give glory to Him.'" (Apoc. xix., 1, 5, 6.)

Peace, perfect ease, security, companionship, love, will all be blended harmoniously together in a chorus of exultant conviction which no earthly music can adequately convey, and in comparison with which even the rapturous outpourings from the heart of the Royal Psalmist is but a thin strain of melody. Heaven cannot be described in terms of earth. "Sound of trumpet, psaltery and

harp, timbrel and choir, strings and organs, high-sounding cymbals, cymbals of joy—varied and rich and compelling though they be—can never weave the mystic harmonies of the “*beata pacis visio*,” for “eye hath not seen nor ear heard.” The psalmody of Lauds, like the incoming tide, ripples and rolls and thunders; its appeal is irresistible; it comes surging over the soul with unmistakable force and conviction, as though unconscious of any limitations, till its mighty power is substituted by another. “So far, but no further,” and we must fain be content with the assurance that when “this mortal shall put on immortality and this corruptible shall put on incorruption,” the jubilant strains of earth will at length break all barriers and pour themselves out in a flood of mystic song, in eternal accord with the soul’s new life of unalloyed bliss in the “*caeli corusca civitas*,” “*Cantabo tibi Domine; psallam et intelligam . . . quando venies ad me.*” (Psalms c., 2.)

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PRESENT NEEDS OF CHRISTIAN APOLOGETICS.

THE chief concern of the orthodox scholar is to base arguments of Christian apologetics upon common sense, sound logic, the testimony of witnesses and on positive facts, and at the same time to confine the enemies of the Christian faith to their proper assertions which abound with misunderstandings, mere imaginings and arbitrary hypotheses. It is a fatal error of modern scholars to think it a question of honesty to admit the existence of arguments pro and contra in such matters as the historical truthfulness of the Gospels, the historical authenticity of the book of Daniel, etc., notwithstanding the fact that such matters are necessary as arguments of faith. Those writing in this manner admit to the reader that this or that fact of history, as far as history is concerned, can be doubted. Now, if there is any serious reason to doubt an argument establishing faith, that argument becomes as useless as if it had been utterly disproved. Knowledge is certainty. That which can be reasonably doubted is uncertain. And because it is uncertain, it remains as a matter unknown. That which is true cannot be false. That which is white cannot be black. To grant that this or that matter admits of arguments, pro and contra, exhibits little understanding and no capacity of discerning truth from falsehood. When the enemies of our faith have gained uncertainty, they have gained everything. But the uncertainty of orthodox scholars will stand in history as the greatest shame of our age. Orthodox scholars must think before deciding what to say. It is better to keep silent than to give a poor solution of a difficulty. We can excuse a scholar who trusts to have well solved a problem and has failed; we cannot forgive a scholar who treats a problem and leaves it unsolved. An orthodox scholar who cares for the interest and the honor of his faith should not treat a question at all, unless he be able to decide it, and not to leave unanswered any sound argument of his opponents.

The enemies of faith never will be silenced. We are powerless against misunderstandings, imagination, arbitrary hypotheses and obstinate falsehoods. But we must safeguard our own faith and the religious welfare of honest people. To give an example, we need a writer like Plato to trust that through him we can know the doctrine of Socrates. And yet Plato has also written of his own doctrine. According to Mr. Harnack, the Evangelists are greater than Plato, since they had such a powerful intellect as to well understand and well remember the supreme teaching of Christ.

And more faithful than Plato, they have preached nothing else but the doctrine of Christ. To well understand and well remember any high doctrine, and most faithfully witness to it, is at least one thousand times harder than to see, to remember and to witness to plain facts. Now, according to Mr. Harnack we can and must trust the doctrine of Christ as given in the Gospels. But we cannot trust the plain facts related in the very same Gospels by the very same Evangelists. We shall certainly fail to convince Mr. Harnack of his true shame, and we do not care. But we must prove able to make every honest man understand that Mr. Harnack has talked nonsense.

Another fatal error of modern orthodox scholars is to sacrifice the historical certainty of an argument of faith, consoling themselves by saving its certainty as an object of faith. The modern orthodox scholar is well satisfied with himself if he has only proved that the truthfulness of the Gospel is possible. In fact, this is sufficient to make a faithful free to believe with certainty the truthfulness of the Gospel as an inspired book. But unless we can prove with certainty from history the truthfulness of the Gospel, these sacred books are useless as arguments of faith. And without the Gospel, Christian apologetics is ineffective. It is true that our faith stands or falls with the grace of God. But it is even more true that our faith stands or falls with the arguments of faith. Faith in that which is testified to is a human necessity. Trust in that which God tells us is a natural virtue. It is possible to a man to be convinced of faith and to believe without possessing the over-natural gift of faith. The grace of God does not change our intellect and does not make reasonable what is not reasonable. A man can have over-natural faith and know nothing of the teaching of Christ. But we cannot have over-natural faith in anything which is not first proved, either directly or indirectly with arguments of faith. True, some arguments of faith give a far-reaching conclusion. The Christian faith teaches all the most important truths which concern us. It is light and rest to our intellect. It is natural for darkness to pass away when light comes. It is just as natural to change ignorance into the light of faith. To reject this light, a man must indeed be evil. "And this is the judgment: because the light has come into the world and men love darkness rather than light." (John iii., 19). Great men have given testimony to the Christian faith. The testimony of those men who are competent judges of artistic worth is sufficient to give value to a picture by Raffaello. The profane eyes of the great majority of men cannot vitiate the judgment of the artistic connoisseur. So also in regard

to faith, those men who give affirmative and intelligent testimony to the logical, moral and spiritual value of Christian faith offer a testimony which is proper and sufficient. But the testimony of those who have pronounced against Christian faith is nothing. To do so they simply needed not to understand faith.

The Catholic Church is the church of the saints. God is the proper authority to seal the saints with His approval, and this He has done, sealing His saints with the seal of miracles. The saints are, therefore, the proper witnesses to the Christian faith. Any of these arguments is enough to convince an honest God-fearing man that Christian faith as a whole is true, and he should receive, keep and venerate it. But the most honest man in the world is a weak man. Our faith will demand of us the hardest sacrifice; we must overcome the fiercest call of passion. Unless we have become fools, we cannot be satisfied with logical faith. We must treasure every evidence of our faith. Our reasoning fails shamefully. We must look forward for strong faith. Every argument of faith that loses its evidence is a help which we have lost. The Gospels are an inexhaustive argument of faith. If the Gospels do not stand any more as argument of faith, we are lost. For one or two generations men can continue to go to church in some measure, as long as their habit of doing so may keep them. But one hundred years from now the few saints will exist; the Catholic Church will have no other members but the few. A man who cares for his treasure cares also to provide means by which it may be carefully shielded from burglars. If the modern scholar were writing from his heart and soul he would understand that the interest in faith and the arguments for faith are not different, but are, in fact, one and indivisible.

The first way to defend the truthfulness of the Gospels is to vindicate the early date of their publication. If we were to select to-day the best Christian congregation in the world and try to write the Gospel from the oral accounts of those faithful, we would never succeed. This is true, notwithstanding the fact that several members may have been familiar with the written Gospel. The Gospel written by an Apostle can be trusted. The Gospel written by a companion of the Apostles at the time and with the authorization of the Apostles can be trusted also. A latter Gospel cannot be trusted. We can know the existence of the Gospels through Christian history and tradition, and we can know the existence of a Christian tradition through the Gospels and the Acts. It is from the Gospel that we know what was preached everywhere to Christian communities. It is from Christian tradition that we ascertain the

highest and strongest certainty of the history of Christ as given in the Gospels. Christians had no interest in the history of Christ unless they knew that history to be true. Christian communities in the first century met with the hatred of the whole world. The great number of Jews who refused to accept the Gospel proved yet unable to discredit the history of Christ as given in the Gospels and accepted by Christians. And the whole world itself was unable to accomplish the task. The books were written at the same time that the Gospel was preached by the Apostles. The Apostles and other disciples of Christ were able to found churches everywhere, but they were not able to take care continually of the same. New preachers were needed everywhere. It was impossible for the new ministers to preach with any faithfulness unless they had written Gospels to refer to. Nor would the Christian people trust their new preachers unless these speakers could confirm their statements by reference to an authoritative and written Gospel. When the Apostles and the disciples of Christ remained in Palestine, they were able to do the preaching themselves, and Christian history testifies that the first Gospel was written when the Apostles first left Palestine. According to Christian history, Peter left Palestine and established his see at Antioch seven years after the death of Christ; and St. Matthew wrote his Gospel for the use of the Hebrews eight years after the death of Christ. In the Orient the first preachers were obviously selected among converted Jews, who were certainly quicker than pagan converts in learning well Christian teaching, and who were able to translate from the Gospel of St. Matthew. Accordingly, in the Orient the need of another written Gospel was not at once felt. Christian history testifies that St. Luke did not publish his Gospel until several years later than St. Matthew. At Rome the need of a written Gospel was felt at once. The field now was a large one, and Christian history testifies that the Gospel of St. Mark was written shortly after St. Peter founded the Church of Rome. Against the above dates of Christian history has worked the easy and noble imagination of Mr. Harnack and Company. We are not disturbed by their suppositions. In regard to a fact of ancient history, what we care for is the testimony of ancient authors. Assertions from modern authors against the testimony of ancient authors we disdain and despise. However, Mr. Harnack and his followers claim in favor of their views in this matter the early testimony of St. Irenæus. We cannot complain. The modern critic cannot help feeling that flights of imagination are ridiculous and desires to place them somewhere more satisfactorily.

But what of orthodox scholars? St. Irenæus is the very author

that cannot be trusted in this matter. In fact, this author has referred the death of Christ to the time of Claudius. Hence we realize that in the mind of St. Irenæus the chronology of everything referring to the Apostles was necessarily a confused and unsolved problem. Have orthodox scholars so lost their intellect as to be unable to remember and make use of this fact in a question of such vital interest? Moreover, the claim that according to St. Irenæus the Gospel of Mark was written after the death of the Apostles Peter and Paul does not stand. The words "excessum" and "exodon," used by St. Irenæus, do not mean death unless the word is used figuratively. St. Irenæus asserts that St. Peter and St. Paul founded the Church of Rome, and that after their departure or expulsion (from Rome), St. Mark wrote his Gospel. Unless this interpretation be first rejected as absurd in every way, the interpretation of the modern critic is wrong. But why the literal and proper interpretation should be absurd? If St. Irenæus has mistaken in giving as companion of St. Peter the Apostle St. Paul, instead of the true companion, this does not prove that St. Peter was never expelled from Rome. Dio Cassius testifies that Claudius ordered the Jews "to follow that mode of life prescribed by their ancestral custom" (*"Annals of Rome,"* lx., 6). No fool can understand that Claudius did not want the Jews to become pagans. His decree can only be understood as a decision against the Christian Jews. Seutonius (in *"Claudium,"* xxv.) asserts that Claudius expelled the Jews from Rome on account of their tumults caused by Christ. In such an occurrence, St. Peter was certainly the first to be expelled from Rome. Nor is it proved that St. Paul was not the companion of St. Peter. The words of St. Paul are not evident in this respect. "I have often proposed to come to you, and have been hindered hitherto." Any man who has been away from home a number of years and who is writing to his relatives might easily make use of this identical expression without implying that he had never been home before. "That I might have some fruits among you also, even as among other nations." (*To Romans* i., 13.) At first these other words would seem more conclusive. But we must remember that St. Paul is talking of himself. We always say that we have done nothing for a friend as yet, in the case that for him we have done less than for another and much less than we would wish to do for him. Moreover, if St. Paul accompanied St. Peter to Rome for the first mission, they only preached to the Jews in Rome, and St. Paul's letter is addressed to the Romans as to the Gentile people. The above words of St. Paul are utterly insufficient to disprove the express testimony of the Bishop of Corinth, assert-

ing that St. Peter and St. Paul proceeded together to go to found a church in Rome. Conclusions can never be trusted against express statements. The chronology of the Acts of the Apostles will help to decide the dates of the Gospels. It must be remembered that authors have delayed the death of Christ some of two and some of five years. Events of the Apostles dated from the death of Christ are mistaken of two and five years. The same events were often dated both from the death of Christ and according to the years of a Roman Emperor. Authors sometimes have tried to divide the difference. Some time they may have reached some strange conclusion. But a proper study of the ancient authors cannot fail to give sufficient evidence.

It is also necessary to maintain the historical truthfulness of what is said in the Gospels. "For whether I or they; so we preach and so you have believed. Now if Christ be preached that He rose again from the dead, how do some among you say that there is no resurrection from the dead? . . . If Christ be not risen again, then is our preaching vain, and your faith is also vain." (Paul I. to Corinthians xv., 11-14.) Some ancient authors understood from St. Paul that men's souls do not go to heaven until after their resurrection. Many a modern scholar has understood St. Paul as saying that the resurrection of Christ is the most evident miracle, without which faith would not stand. This is a shame. The resurrection of Christ is also His triumph, and has opened heaven to men. But its external evidence rests with the disciples of Christ, while the evidence of other miracles of the Gospel rests also with the whole Jewish nation. St. Paul says clearly that the Apostles have preached the resurrection of Christ. If this resurrection be not true, then the Apostles have preached something false, and consequently the whole preaching of the Apostles is vain, because it cannot be trusted any more. It is the same with the Gospels. Chronological statements cannot be supposed to convey some very deep and very hard sense. They are true or not true. If the chronology of Christ in the Gospel should prove mistaken, the whole authority of the Gospel is gone. It is true that if the early dates of the Gospels stand, then it is absurd that the chronology of Christ in the Gospels should be mistaken. But it is equally true that if the chronology of Christ in the Gospels were mistaken, the early dates of their publication becomes absurd. The fathers of the Church have based their statements of the chronology of Christ on arguments, not on testimony. The assertions of the fathers in this matter can be disproved, or even laughed at, and the authority of the fathers remains as sacred and as strong as before. But if

the chronology of Christ in the Gospels be disproved, the whole Gospels are discredited, and our faith, as far as it is based on the Gospels, is vain. Modern scholars have made Christian apologetics impossible. Unless these men open their eyes and realize the position in time, they will be responsible for a serious state of affairs, for which they must account to God and to history. The arguments of faith cannot be sacrificed without the sacrifice of faith itself.

Finally, it is necessary always and without exception to vindicate the literal meaning of everything that is said in the Gospels. To say that the literal meaning is not the true meaning when it is absurd makes no exception, as the right meaning is in this case self-evident, and is made self-evident by the literal meaning of the single words. We say always and without exception, otherwise the evidence will never be trusted. Every honest man means only that which he says. And the Evangelist is an honest man. Words, expressions manners in the Gospels must be understood according to the universal use and universal manners. These sacred books are evidently written not for literal purpose, but for the use of every Christian people. The Evangelist addresses common people, and addresses them, as it is obvious, in their common way of talking. An expression which is inaccurate when addressed to educated people is very proper with common people. Certain accurate expressions, manners in the Gospels must be understood according and offensive among common people. Circumstances which are to be explained in a book for learned men cannot be explained in a popular book without hurting the feelings of the reader, who cares for the purpose of the story and refuses to be distracted by explanations which the common people, in their simple heart and honest mind, never ask for.

"The following instances of discrepancy in detail are also found in this passage. In verse 23 we read 'the strategi cast them into prison;' in verse 24 'the jailor cast them into the inner prison.' According to verse 27, the jailor did not notice the great earthquake, but only its consequence—the opened doors! In verse 28 St. Paul is represented as perceiving or knowing the jailor's intention to kill himself, although he could not have seen him from his cell. According to the same verse, the Apostle cries out to the jailor that all the prisoners were present, although he certainly could not have known this, etc."* Among one hundred readers of St. Luke, only one or two can read him with the insolence of Mr. Harnack. Had St. Luke to care for two insolent readers, who will

* "Luke the Physician," by Adolph Harnack, translated by the Rev. J. R. Wilkinson, M. A. 1907, page 113.

blaspheme against his Gospel anyhow, rather than for ninety-eight honest readers? Among the ninety-eight honest readers, St. Luke can have, suppose, eight educated people against about ninety common people. The ninety common readers cannot conform themselves to the manners of educated people. Every well educated people finds always pleasant and attractive the manners of common people. The greatest scholars find the narrative of the Gospels and of the Acts the more attractive because of their popular form. Had St. Luke told his story in the manner requested by Mr. Harnack, it would have taken at least twice as many words as he has actually used. Has Mr. Harnack the right to impose this task upon St. Luke? Can Mr. Harnack judge better than St. Luke which narrative would better impress the history of the Apostles upon the mind of the reader? Every reader can understand that the strategy could only bring the prisoners to a prison house. It is always the keeper of the prison that brings the prisoners to one cell or another. Mr. Harnack is not sincere when he wonders at the jailor who did not understand that it was an earthquake that had awakened him. Every man that should be awakened by an earthquake would not understand it unless the earthquake repeats again, or unless a man is accustomed to be awakened by earthquakes in places where they are frequent. The author is merely dishonest and insolent in saying that the jailors noticed the effect of the earthquake—the open doors! The jailor saw the doors opened, but he did not refer this to an earthquake. He thought that the prisoners had forced the doors. St. Paul could not see the jailor. But obviously the Apostle heard the jailor screaming in despair. The fact that St. Paul cried “with a loud voice” shows that he had to overcome the voice of the jailor. Finally, St. Paul knew that the prisoners had not fled, because they would have faced the jailor, who certainly ran to the prison at once. It is also possible that the prisoners had come together. It is again possible that the prisoners were talking to each other about what had just happened, and that St. Paul was hearing their voices, like the prisoners had heard him praying. Why should we care of details which cannot change the nature of the wonderful facts, nor give them the least illustration? We must read the Gospels with the spirit of honest, common people, with an easy heart and a bright mind. They are very simple books, but the greatest human intellect will be short to understand all the meaning. The more we study the Gospels, the more we shall love them and the better we shall understand them. We must read neither like fools nor with insolent spirit.

A Catholic congregation has met in church to pray before a shrine

of the Blessed Virgin, and to ask for needed rain. The statue of the Virgin moves its eyes visibly and repeatedly to indicate that the prayers are accepted. Immediately the rain comes. After the event the Catholic scholars and, indeed, often the Catholic clergyman himself, will declare that such an event is not a miracle. What a base ingratitude! The freethinker will assert that sane people are mad; that looking is not to look, and seeing is not to see! We cannot complain. He has no faith. He is determined not to have any. He is interested in denying miracles at any cost. But what of the Catholic scholar and the Catholic clergyman? For God's sake, what can all this mean? It is not possible to care for faith and to despise the arguments of faith. It is not possible to love God and to reject or belittle any of His favors to men. Our faith has degenerated. Let us frankly acknowledge the fact so that we may make our amendment possible. We must learn to appreciate modern miracles, to study them and give them a large place in Christian apologetics. They are most effective. The Apostle tells us that before we can seek God we must first know that God exists, and that He rewards those who seek Him. The knowledge of the existence of God will make us realize our duty to obey Him, and His reward will stimulate our interest in seeking Him. Let us seek Him now and never cease from seeking Him. Let us learn always more of His law as well as of His goodness. It never can be enough to obey God, to trust God and to enjoy Him. Let us put no limit to our faith, no limit to our hope, no limit to our charity, no limit to our worship. Let us keep faithful to God all the time and by every means. A man cannot put a limit to his Christian virtues without ceasing from seeking God.

In matters of faith, let us treasure every argument for our faith. Let us assume the truthfulness of the Gospels and of everything that is written in them, and in all the sacred books. Let us make treasures of modern miracles. Let us safeguard our faith in all its integrity and the arguments of faith in every respect, in all their number and in all their strength.

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GOING A-FISHING WITH THE POETS.

Where the pools are bright and deep,
 Where the gray trout lies asleep,
 Up the river and over the lea,
 That's the way for Billy and me.

—James Hogg, "A Boy's Song."

SO ALL you merry anglers who would a-fishing go take Billy for your guide and learn what a splendid string of finny prizes are to be gathered from the pages of poetry. For the poets have not neglected fish and fishing, and there are hundreds of such references to be found in their lines, expressing joy over landing a good catch, describing habits or characteristics noticed, praising beauty or agility or pointing a good moral:

As when the timorous trout I wait
 To take, and he devours my bait,
 How poor a thing, sometimes I find,
 Will captivate a greedy mind.—Izaak Walton.

The trout, you will find, is the favorite fish of both American and European poets, though each writes of a different kind of trout. The river or brown trout (*salmo fario*) is the common European species and the one usually implied in poems from over the water, while the American poet-angler generally writes of the speckled trout (*salvelinus fontinalis*). Alexander Pope says that one of the charms of Windsor Forest streams is "swift trout, diversified with crimson stains"; Tennyson calls them "lusty trout"; James Thomson declares that spring is "the time, while yet the dark-brown water aids the guile, to tempt the trout"; Andrew Lang speaks of "big trout that in the twilight leap," and William Wordsworth mentions one proud angler who holds between his hands

. . . a smooth blue stone,
 On whose capacious surface see outspread
 Large store of gleaming crimson-spotted trouts;
 Ranged side by side, and lessening by degrees
 Up to the dwarf that tops the pinnacle.

The speckled trout has been called "the finned chameleon of the brook," which aptly describes the fact that it seems to change its color according to the way it is seen. Longfellow tells of

. . . leaning o'er the bridge of stone
 To watch the speckled trout glide by

And float through the inverted sky
Still round and round the baited hook.

The following two stanzas are good descriptions of the beauty of the speckled or brook trout, as all anglers will no doubt agree :

The wily trout within the rapid's glide,
Alert and watchful, heads the rushing stream,
While in his shimmering and darting side
The colors of the rainbow brightly gleam.
—Alfred Townsend, "Summer."

As drawn from out his pebbly hold,
Brightly against the forest mould,
Vermilion, silver, black and gold,
The brook trout lies.
—Ernest McGaffey, "The Brook Trout."

And, like the poet below, every trout-fisher has noticed how

Dashes and air-bells all about
Proclaim the gambols of the trout.—A. B. Street.

The warm, sunny days of midsummer are the minnow's delight, and there is nothing in all nature, not even contented cows chewing the cud in shaded pools, or far-away cuckoos intoning their warning of rain to come to-morrow, or an idle boy drowsing over his line on the osier-bordered river-bank, seems to get as much unalloyed pleasure in the long, lazy hours as this finny midget. And this carefree enjoyment of summer and sunshine has appealed to many a poet as the very epitome of peace. John Keats has recorded a faithful and beautiful description of their fondness for basking in the sunshine, and also of their extreme sensitiveness to shadow or whatever threatens to destroy their perfect comfort :

. . . pebbly beds
Where swarms of minnows show their little heads
Staying their wavy bodies 'gainst the streams,
To taste the luxury of sunny beams
Tempered with coolness. Now they ever wrestle
With their own sweet delight, and ever nestle
Their silvery bodies on the pebbly sand.
If you but scantily hold out the hand,
That very instant not one will remain ;
But turn your eye, and there they are again.

These same characteristics have been sympathetically noted in the following lines:

. . . like a shoal
Of darting fish that on a summer morn
Come slipping o'er their shadows on the sand,
But if a man who stands upon the brink
But lift a shining hand against the sun
There is not left the twinkle of a fin.—Tennyson.

The startled minnows dart in flocks
Beneath the glimmering amber rocks,
If but a zephyr stirs the brake.
—Anna B. Averill, "Birch Stream."

And as I near the rushy brink
The sparkling minnows, where they lie
With silver bellies to the sky,
Flash from me in a shower and sink.
—Robert Buchanan.

Henry Tuckerman, near enough to the water to see without being seen, notices the immobility of "speckled minnows poised below," but that a minnow without motion is almost impossible, even when undisturbed, that they must express their joy in living by some motor means, is the observation of most poets. Jean Ingelow, leaning over one of "The Four Bridges" which form the subject of a poem by her, looks into

A deeper sky, where, stooping, you may see
The little minnows darting restlessly.

Tennyson's minnows, in the following stanza, although in more turbulent water than the pool which Jean Ingelow terms "a deeper sky," are less uneasy:

Or from the bridge I leaned to hear
The milldam rushing down with noise,
And see the minnows everywhere
In crystal eddies glance and poise.

The following three quotations, from as many American poets, are all nearly "still-life sketches," but not quite, owing to the active nature of the subject:

Where the gurgling brooklets o'er the gravel slide,
We watched the minnows, silver-shimmering, glide.
—Lloyd Mifflin.

Where water flows, within whose lazy deeps
Like silvery prisms where the sunbeams drowse,
The minnows twinkle.—Madison Cawein.

The minnows through the water slid
Pellucid shadows, vague as dreams.

—Ernest McGaffey.

The last quotation is very pleasing, "pellucid" combined with "shadows," "slid" and "vague as dreams," making a perfect description of minnows enjoying a sunbath. But the minnow does not find life all peace and sunshine, and though his troubles are not of his own making, they require that his wits be wide-awake if he is to escape with a scale:

(Waterlilies) yield their lap to catch the minnow springing
Clear from the stream to 'scape the ruffian pike,
That prowls in disappointed rage beneath
And wonders where the little wretch found refuge.

—James Montgomery.

For "the ruthless pike, intent on war," "the ravenous ged, with his teeth like a saw," "maskenozha" (to give him his Indian name), "the tyrant of the watery plains," to quote Alexander Pope, or, according to Edmund Spenser, "the greedy pike" is

Hard tyrant there by right of might,
An ageless autocrat;
Whose good old rule is Appetite,
And subjects fresh and fat.

—Anon., "The Old Fish Pond."

Hist! That's a pike! Look—nose against the river,
Gaunt as a wolf—the sly old privateer;
Enter a gudgeon. Snap—a gulp, a shiver—
Exit the gudgeon. Let us anchor here.

—Austin Dobson.

For in spite of his greedy cannibalism, or perhaps because of it, the pike makes both good fishing and good eating. Being an expert angler, or rather seiner, himself, he puts up a good fight when hooked, so that

. . . should you lure
From his dark haunt, beneath the tangled roots
Of pendant trees, the monarch of the brook,
Behooves you then to ply your finest art.

—James Thomson.

William Browne in "Britannia's Pastorals" gives a long description of how to play the fish until tired, and then how to draw him in without losing him. Hiawatha, however, would not drop his hook to maskenozha, and laughed him to scorn, because he was not the king of fishes. For it was not such small fry as yellow perch and sunfish and pike he was after, but the sturgeon nahma, mishe-nahma, king of fishes, which he killed, too, after the desperate contest described in canto eight of the song. So, of course, Hiawatha would have scorned the pickerel, or, as its name means, "little pike," which is a smaller brother of maskenozha, and whose Indian name, according to Whittier, is kenoza. But the pickerel, "swift and slim," and the muskellunge (Ojibway Indian maskinonge, "ugly fish"), a third member of the pike family, are not scorned by Ernest McGaffey :

Then suddenly the lithe rod bends,
And swift the tense, taut line extends
As all at once from watery lair
A watchful pickerel lurking there
Drops like a panther on the prey,
Strikes, feels the hook and darts away.

Then all at once a mighty fish upsprings,
The rod bends double and the bright reel sings,
As from the depths a giant muskellunge
Vaults and evanishes with a sudden plunge.

This same poet, proud possessor of "a rod for bass and wall-eyed pike, of split bamboo and long and lithe," in another poem, watching a "Boy Fishing," notes the young angler's humble tackle and almost equally humble catch :

While bends the switch as quick he lifts
A wriggling sunfish through the air.

Maurice Thompson, however, is fond of "ugudwash, the sunfish, the bream with scales of crimson," which Hiawatha jeered so unmercifully, and wrote a poem in its honor, of which this is one stanza :

In the cool, clear stream
Where the white pebbles gleam
You glide through numerous ways of shade and sun,
Where currents of untroubled pleasance run.

Thrills of most exquisite
Rare happiness flit
Ever across the crystal of your life,
Unsmitten of any dissonance or strife.

The gamy, beautiful, luscious bass has not escaped the poet's eye, nor would he if he could:

Sometimes, far out, the surface breaks,
As some proud bass an instant shakes
His glittering armor in the sun,

says James Whitcomb Riley, and so describes at one and the same time this fish's well-known habit of leaping out of the water for food or for pleasure and its blue-black glossed-with-bronze coat-of-mail. "A black bass leaped for a dragon-fly and struck the spray from the sleeping water," says Ernest McGaffey in one poem and in another:

Then up from the depths a silver gleam
Quick flashes, like a jewel bright;
As lightning cleaves the sombre sky,
The black bass rises to the fly.

While one would lack the sense of taste altogether if his mouth did not water at the very thought of such a "Fisherman's Feast" as Eugene Field praises so attractively:

Of all the gracious gifts of spring
Is there another can surpass
This delicate, voluptuous thing,
This dapple-green, plump-shouldered bass?

But to many an enthusiastic angler the sport's the thing, and he doesn't demand any great gaminess or beauty or even food value in his finny prize, if only he can enjoy the pleasure of just fishing on and on in the sunshine and zephyrs:

No high ambition may I claim—
I angle not for lordly game
Of trout or bass, or weary bream—
A black perch reaches the extreme
Of my desires, and "goggle-eyes"
Are not a thing that I despise.
A sunfish, or a "chub," or "cat"
A "silver-side"—yes, even that!

—James Whitcomb Riley.

Who cannot remember their first success at fishing and how, as George Eliot so vividly recalls:

And all my soul was quivering fear, when lo!
Upon the imperiled line, suspended high,
A silver perch!—"Brother and Sister."

The perch, however, is not to be sneered at, for it is a catch grown anglers are proud to secure, being a bold biter, handsome in its well-marked coloring and excellent eating. "The sahwa, like a sunbeam in the water," Longfellow calls it; other poets describe it as "striped," "barred-backed," "silver-ribbed," "huckle-backed," "the bright-eyed perch with fins of Tyrian dye" (Pope), and one poet imagines that "the perch in brazen coat is the mermaid's golden shuttle." Most youthful anglers indeed are quite proud with just

. . . A few
Little shiners on our stringers, with their tails tiptoein' bloom,
As we dance 'em in our fingers all the happy journey home,
—(James W. Riley)

while one grown-up is so happy just to sit and hold a fishing pole in his hands that the very poor quality of fish he is hauling in doesn't worry him in the least:

There I sit and watch the water with a lazy kind of gaze,
While the cork goes idly dancing with the motion of the waves,
And the sun steals through the branches in a sort of fettered light,
And I feel I own the nation when the bullheads bite.

—W. E. Hutchinson.

"The yellow carp, with scales bedropped with gold," is almost as sleepy and sluggish as a bullhead, and this has been commented upon by more than one poet:

The lazy fins of the old gray carp
Almost too idle to eat their bread.

And swinish carp were snoring loud
Around the anchored boat.

The most popular member of the carp family is the goldfish, which three different poets, Lowell, Wordsworth and Hartley Coleridge, have honored with complete poems. But as this species, imported from the East for ornamental purposes merely, is not to be angled for, we will leave it for "the bubble-making bream," "the dace with coat of silver," "mulletts that drift in lazy schools,"

and "here and there a grayling," stopping to observe, with Holmes, that

The fish called the flounder, perhaps you may know,
Has one side for use and another for show;
One side for the public, a delicate brown,
And one that is white, which he always keeps down.

—"Verses for After Dinner."

Of course, the poet, like the angler, would have lines for "the silver eel, in shining volume rolled" (Pope):

I wonder if still the young anglers begin,
As I did, with willow-wand, packthread, and pin;
When I threw in my line with expectancy high
As to perch in my basket, and eels in a pie.—Eliza Cook.

William Sharp looks

. . . into shining pools where slow
The silver eel twists to and fro,

and Richard Millikin in "The Groves of Blarney" finds "comely eels in the verdant mud," which praise "Connel of Dee" would deride as too much blarney, since

At the sight of an eel he would shudder and shake,
It almost deprived him of breath.

—James Hogg, "Connel of Dee."

Connel would surely believe Alfred Cochrane's statement, "I heard the loud squeals, when you landed the eels." John Skelton admits that "A slipper holde the taile is of an ele," with which Lowell and Shakespeare agree:

Fust sure, then not, jest as you hold an eel,
I knowed, an' didn't.—"Bigelow Papers."

Moth. "I will praise an eel with the same praise."

Armado. "What, that an eel is ingenious?"

Moth. "That an eel is quick."—"Love's Labors Lost."

The muscular irritability of the eel has also been noticed, both its movements after the skin has been removed and its restlessness during thunder storms:

Lear. "O me! my heart, my rising heart!—but down."

Fool. "Cry to it, nuncle, as the cockney did to the eels when she put them i' the paste alive; she knap'd them o' the coxcombs with a stick and cried, 'Down, wantons, down.'—"King Lear."

The morn when first it thunders in March,
The eel in the pond gives a leap, they say.

—Robert Browning.

. . . thunder shall not so awake the beds of ease.

—Pericles.

Turning from the eel, which, lacking fins, is almost too worm-like in build to be classed even by scientists with the true fishes, the poet's fancy fits to that beautiful little creature of the sea whose highly developed locomotive organs make it appear winged rather than finned:

Under our stems, like birds before a plough,
Over the silver furrows flying-fish
Darted in flocks.—Edwin Arnold.

As the flying-fish leap
From the Indian deep,
And mix with the seabirds half asleep.—Shelley.

And sprung the flying-fish against the sun,
Till its dried wing relapsed from its brief height,
To gather moisture for another flight.—Byron.

And the flying-fish, to see them in a scurry lift and flee,
Silvery as the foam they sprang from, fragile people of the sea.

—Bliss Carman.

When I have seen thy snow-white wing
From the blue wave at evening spring,
And show those scales of silvery white,
So gayly to the eye of light,
As if thy frame were form'd to rise
And live amid the glorious skies.—Moore.

The startled flying-fish around us skim,
Glossed, like the humming-bird, with rainbow-dyes;
And as they dip into the water's brim,
Swift in pursuit the preying dolphin hies.—Epes Sargent.

These quotations, besides being gems of nature literature, bring out many a fact in the life of this strange being. The "snow-white wing" which Moore sees fitly describes the wide white borders on the fins of the common flying-fish of the Mediterranean, and his observation that the fish springs "from the blue wave" is also correct, as it makes its flight from the top of a wave. It can pass over the crest of several waves at one flight, as Arnold implies in the

words "over the silver furrows," but its passage through the air is brief, as Lord Byron says, because its fins, when dry, must "gather moisture for another flight," to escape cannibal dolphins, bonitos and such enemies. The sea-poet, Charles G. Leland, gives us one of the most charming of sailor superstitions in the couplet:

When you see a flying-fish,
Lose no time, but make your wish.

Two well-known habits of the salmon have been noticed by the poet—its yearly migration from the sea to fresh water and its ability to ascend waterfalls and dams of considerable height:

From sea to stream the salmon roam;
Sing heigh-ho!
From sea to stream the salmon roam;
Each finds a mate and leads her home;
Sing heigh-ho and heigh-ho!

Young maids must marry.—Charles Kingsley.

As the shining salmon, homeless in the sea-depths,
Hears the river call him, scents out the land,
Leaps and rejoices in the meeting of the waters,
Breasts weir and torrent, nests him in the sand,
Lives there and loves; yet with the year's returning
Rusting in the river, pines for the sea,
Sweeps back again to the ripple of the tide-way,
Roamer of the waters, vagabond and free.

—Stephen Gwynn.

Here, when the laboring fish doth at the foot arrive,
And finds that by his strength but vainly he doth strive,
His tail takes in his teeth; and bending like a bow,
That's to the compass drawn, aloft himself doth throw;
Then spring at his height, as doth a little wand,
That bended end to end, and flerted from the hand,
Far off itself doth cast; so doth the salmon vault.
He instantly assays, and from his nimble ring
Still yarking, never leaves until himself he fling
Above the streamful top of the surrounded heap.

—Michael Drayton.

The silver salmon shooting up the fall,
Itself at once the arrow and the bow.

—William Allingham.

And up the cataract, like a flashing sword,
The silvery salmon spieled.—Robert Leighton.

Then, to adapt a quotation from Whittier, the poets have

. . . dropped their lines in the lazy tide
Drawing up haddock and mottled cod,

which last fish is the subject of a riddle by the great historian Macaulay, mentioned as a "poor-john" by Shakespeare and honored in a limerick by James Whitcomb Riley. Moreover, the poet has seen "the herring ply her scarlet oar," "the bluefish leaping as they pass," and "the mackerel shoot, over and under, like silver boats turning at will and plying under water" (Jean Ingelow). Walt Whitman in his "Poem of Joys" sings of mackerel-taking, when "voracious, mad for the hook, near the surface, they seem to fill the water for miles," while

"The mackerel is a sailor-dish,"
Said Jones, "for 'tis a sailor fish,
All drest, like us, in white and blue,
Which I do call the prettiest hue
Which all great heaven has to show."

—C. G. Leland.

What poets know of the shark, the dogfish, the swordfish, the stingray and other such sea monsters is interesting, but that is venturing into deep and even dangerous waters; this fishing-basket is already full to overflowing, so one last bit of line-casting will be for a little pack-horse to carry the plunder safely home:

Sea-minnow with this pony's crest,
Just one of Amphritite's toys
With which her mermaids coax to rest
The little stony Triton boys.

—Anon., "The Sea-Horse."

And the sea-horse, though the ocean
Yield him no domestic cave,
Slumbers without sense of motion
Couched upon the rocking wave.—Wordsworth.

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WHAT CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTY OWES TO RELIGIOUS ORDERS.

THE boy growing up in the schools of the United States, equally with the boy who spends his youth in the schools of Canada or any other British dominion, is accustomed to hear that his country's proudest boast is the freedom guaranteed her citizens. Other nations may speak of glorious achievements in the arts of peace or war, or both; liberty is the special blessing secured by the Constitution under which we live. Some time later he may begin to ask himself is it not possible that the youth everywhere are taught to make the same claim for the land which gave them birth and that the claim we ourselves put forth with so much assurance is an evidence of loyalty rather than a logical conclusion founded upon the merits of the case? Or perhaps this boy, being one day asked: In what does your much-prized liberty consist; how does it manifest itself in the daily life of the people? may find himself unequal to the task.

The writer is free to confess that his first realization of the essential character of constitutional liberty came many years later than his school days, and as often happens in the realization of important truths, was entirely due to a fortuitous occurrence. A priest from France had been setting forth the iniquities of the public school system in his country, a system whose unswerving aim, it would seem, is nothing less than that of placing every child in France under the guidance of a teacher or teachers carefully selected for their entire lack of any religious sentiment whatever. His pathetic account of conditions obtaining everywhere elicited from his audience the not unusual comments: "Is it not the fault of Catholics themselves; why do they engage such teachers? If the majority in any given school section are Catholics worthy of the name, why do they not elect school trustees who will make such an appointment an impossibility?" This is, of course, exactly what would happen in the United States or Canada, but it had never before occurred to any one present that in France the ratepayers of a school section, the fathers and mothers of the children, had absolutely no voice in the engaging of the teachers for their children. A bureaucracy in Paris, even in the appointing of a teachers to an ungraded district school on the remotest height of the Pyrenees, allow no one to come between them and the accomplishment of their nefarious designs. A continuation of the discussion brought out the rather astounding information that the principles of government obtaining in the great

French Republic contemplate no scheme for the exercise of local autonomy. The jealous control of the school system is but a sample of what obtains in every branch of administration. The prefect of a department is not, as might be assumed, elected by the votes of its residents, but appointed directly by the supreme executive. Practically every public official, the parish priest included, holds office as a nominee of Paris. There are no provinces, no county councils, no local boards exercising independent jurisdiction or directly responsible to the people of any particular locality. The contrast of such a system with the method of conducting public affairs among ourselves gives some insight into the force of such terms as "constitutional liberty" or "freedom under the Constitution."

The liberty therefore which it is our special privilege to enjoy depends chiefly upon constitutional provisions for the fullest measure of local autonomy. Personal liberty requires that the individual be left in control of his own affairs whenever he is capable of doing so. The development of this principle is founded in the claim that *the smaller body should administer its own local affairs in every case where such administration has no need of coöperation* with other bodies. An outstanding exemplification of this is the theory that the Federal Government has power to legislate only in such matters as the State Governments are willing to relegate to her jurisdiction. Responsibility towards its population and towards society rests primarily with the individual State Government. Again, the independence so enjoyed by the local administration is carried down to the very smallest administrative body. The county council regulates all matters within its competence equally regardless of the wishes of State and Federal administrations. The township or incorporated village in its sphere is free from interference from the county officials and everything above. A dozen families or less, constituting a school section, are empowered to elect their own trustees and control the choice of a teacher for their children in defiance of every other executive body, from the village council to the President and his Cabinet. Goldsmith has said:

"How small of all that human hearts endure
That part which laws or kings can cause or cure."

It is not by Federal or State or municipal governments that our lives are shaped, our characters formed, our ills assuaged, our real happiness secured. There is another ruling body whose dominion is much smaller than the smallest of these, whose power is as great

as its domain is limited. Unless the independence of its authority is guaranteed, no people can be great, no nation can long survive. In British institutions there are no principles of liberty so prominent, in their strict observance, so jealously maintained, as those which clamor for the autonomy of the home. In this connection every one recalls the words of Edmund Burke: "The poorest man may in his cottage bid defiance to all the force of the Crown. It may be frail; its roof may shake; the wind may blow through it; the storms may enter—but the King of England cannot enter. All his forces dare not cross the threshold of the ruined tenement." Or, as Sir Edward Coke has said: "A man's house is his castle. The home of every one is to him as his castle and fortress, as well for defence against injury and violence as for his repose." One inestimable benefit in such provisions safeguarding local autonomy is the security they guarantee against party domination. That the Republican party is supreme at Washington in no way interferes with the vigor of a Democratic Administration in a given individual State. A municipal official who happens to be Republican remains untrammelled in exercising the duties of his position, even when the Democratic party holds sway both in the capital of his State and at Washington. Liberty is secured by the distribution of authority, the decentralization of power. Not in the removal of salutary restraints upon his conduct does the individual enjoy that freedom which is manhood's rightful heritage, but in a judicious distribution of authority among ruling bodies, so limiting the jurisdiction of each as to make tyranny impossible on the part of any.

Most probably it is not generally known that nearly everything that is admirable in the British Constitution and in the Constitution of the United States had its inspiration in the constitution of the great religious orders. The idea of a federation of units constituting a central organization for general government and administration, the strict autonomy of the province and the house or monastery in all that concerns local administration, election by universal suffrage, the local superior's dependence upon the good will of his subjects for a voice in the council of his order, thus foreshadowing the principle of responsible government, were all written in the constitutions of religious orders when nations called great in our day were still in the process of formation. The same guarantees of private liberty, the same principles of organization, the Church in our day insists must prevail in the constitution of every religious community that seeks her approbation. Benjamin Franklin admitted that his contribution to the Constitution of the United States was the result of studying the constitution of the Dominican Friars, and it is something more than a coincidence that St. Dominic com-

pleted his work almost contemporaneously with the signing of Magna Charta. With keenest emotions of loyalty England looks back to that day in the distant, hazy past to when her people saw the dawn of freedom breaking upon the mists of primitive autocracy and a subjection that had no redress because all was new and shapeless and unenlightened; nor does that same loyalty of England yet dream of her indebtedness to an institution, ever old and ever new, which already in the early years of the thirteenth century was wise in her laws as she is to-day, and even at that remote date capable of giving her a bulwark of liberty which seven centuries of worldly prosperity and extended dominion and widespread enlightenment has done little to improve—a bulwark she still points to as the expression of all that is lofty and true in national spirit and endeavor.

Mr. Ernest Barker, of St. John's College, Oxford, publishes a lengthy essay in support of the claim that representation of the people in the government of England, and therefore the British House of Commons, owes its existence to the Dominican Order. "The Church of the thirteenth century," he says, "shows a marked development on its institutional side, of the principle and practice of representation. Three great councils of the Church are held; representatives appear in them all. The provincial synods cease to be composed of Bishops and abbots only; representatives, first of cathedral clergy, and then—in England, but in England only—of the diocesan clergy, enter. The great orders of the friars are penetrated by representation. It appears first in the Dominicans; it is copied from them by the Franciscans. In the same century representation begins to appear in the State." "In England the development of representation in the State synchronizes with the thirteenth century. A representative Parliament begins to be seen in the middle of the century, is fully grown by its end." His arguments in support of the above are chiefly as follows:

(a) St. Dominic was a constructive statesman. (b) The organization of the Dominicans offers the most finished model of representative institutions. (c) The whole mechanism of the Dominican Order is obviously democratic in comparison with previous orders. (d) The main features of the Dominican constitution were already fixed in the year 1221 by two chapters held at Bologna under the presidency of St. Dominic in 1221. In this latter chapter the English province was established. (e) The influence of the Dominican Fathers in England during the thirteenth century is evidenced in St. Dominic being the close friend of the elder Simon de Montfort, in the first provincial being most cordially received by the great Cardinal Langton (father of Magna

Charta and father of a representative convocation) in a Dominican being named Archbishop of Canterbury in 1273 and in the special favor in which they were received by the kings and queens of the time. (f) In 1226 Cardinal Langton requires to attend convocation not only Bishops, abbots, priors, deans and archdeacons, but also *socius* from the body of which each is the head, after the model of the Dominican provincial chapter. In 1273 the diocesan clergy as well as the capitular clergy are represented in convocation. In 1280 the evolution is complete when the clergy of each diocese elect two representatives to convocation. (g) Parliamentary representation appears first in 1254; on February 11 of that year the regents, for the first time in English history, summoned knights of the shire to a central assembly, and the common people had their first representation. Here also we see representatives of the diocesan clergy meeting in a national Parliament along with the knights of the shire.

Mr. Barker says in conclusion: "The creative political thought of the Middle Ages is clerical: the clergy create the thought of monarchy proper as opposed to mere feudal suzerainty; they create or re-create the Holy Roman Empire; they create the Crusade as an idea and an institution. May we not hold, in the light of our evidence, that they go far to create representation?"

With the restoration of religion after the French Revolution, there prevailed a marked distrust of everything that smacked of democracy and a consequent reaction in favor of monarchy, implying even a greater or less tolerance of autocratic forms of government. Catholics, both clergy and people, were actuated by this spirit. It was necessarily reflected in the religious institutions which came into existence about that time. Several communities with simple vows had their origin in France during the years immediately following. The majority of these—whether institutes of men or women—shared in this characteristic. All power, in the last analysis, was vested in a superior general, who held office for life. Even minor appointments were made by him, and in the adjustment of matters of gravest import the function of his council was no more than advisory; their unanimous decision might at any time be set aside. The good men and women of that day evidently did not perceive the dangers possible under this system of centralized government. It is significant that a similar system of centralization developed by the bureaucracy which now governs France, and developed to an extent unknown in the history of the world before was the instrument which made possible the complete expulsion of religious bodies from that country.

A new era in the history of these organizations came fifty or sixty years later. It came when their several constitutions were presented

at Rome for approval. A number of changes absolutely radical were pronounced necessary before any further steps could be taken. The one prevailing objection calling for reconsideration was an evident forgetfulness of the necessity for limitation and distribution of authority. To facilitate this process of reform, as well as to provide against repetition of these in the future, the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars drafted the world-wide celebrated *Normae*—to all intents and purposes a model constitution for communities with simple vows. Since that time every institute not already enjoying final approbation from Rome has been requested to bring its constitution, as far as possible, in conformity with the plan set forth in the *Normae*. The principles of government formulated in this document are interesting in their enforcement of the idea of local autonomy, and coming to us with the highest ecclesiastical sanction, are deserving of some brief study. In their general plan the feature of peculiar interest to the historian is their striking resemblance to the Dominican constitution adopted as early as the year 1221 in a chapter presided over by St. Dominic himself.

Following are some of the provisions recommended by the *Normae*: Every religious congregation whose members multiply to any extent is supposed to recognize three seats of administration—the house, the province, the general executive. The fundamental fact in determining their respective relations is a strict insistence upon the autonomy of the subordinate body, the house or residence. Individual members are to understand that it is the head of their residence, the local superior, with whom they have to deal primarily and directly in all the affairs of their daily life. He is their superior, their father, their guide. He has to provide for their maintenance, assign them their work, support them in their difficulties, watch over their conduct, be responsible for their health, encourage and assist them in the work of their own personal sanctification. His claims upon their obedience he can enforce by any penalty—short of expulsion from the institute. His jurisdiction over his subjects is on a level with that which a Bishop can exercise over his clergy and extends to all details of religious life.

The individual member on his side is protected against abuse of this authority by several effectual safeguards: (1) The local superior is elected for a term of three years only; he may be elected for a second term, but there is no authority within the institute to continue him in office longer than six years. (2) The local superior is given a council which he must consult in every affair of moment and which in grave matters decide what action is to be taken. (3) The individual subject is always free to appeal from the ruling of his local superior to the decision of the

provincial, and again from the provincial to the superior general. The provincial's decision is, however, invalid unless arrived at after consultation with the local superior. So also with regard to the decision of the general. The province being an aggregation of houses, the jurisdiction of the provincial and his council is primarily concerned with the mutual relations existing between these units. The locating of members among the different houses of the province in view of their several needs and circumstances is peculiarly his function. He is also a provincial inspector. It is his duty to examine regularly the conditions prevailing within the houses of his jurisdiction and insist upon necessary corrections and reforms. Since candidates to the institute are admitted as members of a province and have no claims on any particular house, their reception to the novitiate and advancement to profession come under the provincial jurisdiction. It is a first principle that every province have its own novitiate and its own house of studies, and as a consequence the administration supporting these institutions is charged with their proper management. Since the individual belongs to the province, it is the province, not the particular house, which takes care of the aged and invalided.

As in the case of a local superior, the provincial is supported by a council whose advice is necessary to the validity of his measures, and who in important matters, such as the election of superiors or the admission of candidates to the novitiate or to profession, control the decision and assume full responsibility. In the adjustment of these questions each member of the council exercises the same authority as the provincial himself.

Speaking of the general administration of an institute the most highly commended treatise on religious government, the excellent work of Monsignor Battaudier says: "There are very few things which the superior general can do."

As the province is an aggregation of houses, so the community is in practice a federation of provinces. The superior general, therefore, is chiefly concerned with the general policy of the institute, and is the supreme court of appeal in all difficulties which may arise. He has also a veto power in the appointment of superiors and in the admission of members, but can take no initiative upon these questions. The council which is given him to exercise an authority parallel to that obtaining in local and provincial administrations. Although houses and possessions come under the immediate jurisdiction of the body whose purposes they serve, all property belongs to the institute in general. In keeping with this condition is the regulation that every alienation of property or outlay of any consequence must have the authorization of the general executive.

The manner of electing these several executive bodies makes ample provision also for consulting the opinions and wishes of individual members. The principle of representation which lies at the bottom of all organized democracy constitutes the basis of appointment in religious communities. The general chapter is the federal parliament of the institute. The first officers, the superior general, his assistant and councilors, the general treasurer, are elected by a majority of votes in this assembly for a limited term. For their action during that term they are responsible to the general chapter. The composition of the general chapter guarantees that the controlling voice in its deliberations rests with the members chosen directly by the several provinces, each province having the right to send three delegates of its own choice.

To preserve to the provinces the fullest possible measure of autonomy, no elections or appointments can be made by the general chapter unless those of the general officers. Each province has its own chapter, or provincial parliament so constituted as to secure the controlling voice therein to the representatives of the individual houses. To this chapter is entrusted the election of the provincial executive, the provincial superior, his assistant and councilors. These in turn appoint to all positions of superiority or local administration. It is worthy of note in passing that, though not a general law of the Church, the constitution of the Dominican Order goes one step further and enacts that the superior of a house shall be chosen by the members living in that house at the time.

The last and the best and the youngest must be treated as a rational being and his feelings no less than his convictions must receive due consideration. Every aggregation of human beings will grow stronger and better according as it profits by the enlightenment and conscientious deliberation of all its members. Those exercising the highest authority will do full justice to the peculiar duties of their position in proportion as they confide to subordinate officers the freest exercise of authority compatible with their respective positions. Members of local subordinate administrations are rational beings and act as such. They can never give the best results under any system which requires them to forego all deliberation and become mere machines to carry out the wishes of those in higher authority. So long as we are dealing with human beings we must be prepared to admit that if it is always men of highest ability and virtue who are chosen to deal with the important affairs and far-reaching interests of a nation or an institution, there are always others—less able and less virtuous, if you will—who are still capable of dealing with less important interests in their own immediate surroundings; that if those above are capable of discussing ways and

means in matters of greater importance, the less gifted and powerful may discuss ways and means in matters of less importance; that no one head or executive has time and opportunity to look after every detail, and that within his own limited sphere of jurisdiction every responsible person demands some scope for initiative. Local autonomy, local self-government is a logical consequence of man's rational nature and free will, and Holy Church seven centuries ago as to-day imposes this upon her religious organizations as a fundamental principle of government.

M. V. KELLY, C. S. B.

A SOLILOQUY OF LOVE.

(By Hugh of St. Victor.)

PROLOGUE.

TO THE beloved Brother G. and other servants of Christ living at Hamerisleve, Hugh, the servant of your holiness, that you may walk in one peace and arrive at one rest. The Soliloquy of Love, which is entitled the "Soul's Pledge," I send to your charity, that you may learn where you should seek true love and how you ought to excite your hearts to celestial joys by spiritual meditation. Therefore, dearest brother, I ask this, that you should accept this in memory of me, not because it is specially sent to you, neither does it exclude the others, because it is commended to all in common, nor does that diminish the prerogative of your office. I am unwilling to provoke you by appearing to dictate to you, but I could not hide the expression of my devotion to you.

Salute Brother B. and Brother A. and all the others, whose names, if I cannot now enumerate in this present letter, nevertheless I trust that all may be written in the Book of Life. Farewell.

THE SOLILOQUY OF LOVE.

Man: I will speak in secret to my soul, and in a friendly conversation I shall demand of her what I desire to know. No stranger is admitted, but we will converse alone with an open conscience. For thus I shall not be afraid of seeking hidden things, nor be ashamed of answering truly. Tell me, I ask, O my soul, what it is which you love above all things? I know that your life is love, and I know that without love you could not exist. But I should like you to confess to me without shyness what you would choose to love above everything. I will tell you, moreover, that you may understand more clearly what I inquire of you. Look at the world and all things that are in it. There you find many beautiful and alluring things which entice the human affections and according to the various delights of using them kindle the desire of enjoying them. Gold has its splendor and precious stones have theirs, the comeliness of the flesh has its beauty, painted pictures and beautiful clothes have color. Such things are infinite. But why should I enumerate them to you? Behold! you know all these things, you have seen almost all. You have experienced many. Now you recall that you have seen and still see many things, in which you may test and prove what I say. Tell me, therefore, I entreat you, what of all

these things you would make specially your own, which only is to be embraced, in which you would always take delight. For I am sure that either you love something out of all these things that are seen, or if you now disregard them all, you have something which you love before all things.

The Soul: Just as I am not able to love what I never saw, so of all these things which are seen I could still love something; nevertheless of all these things which are to be beloved above all things I found none. For I have now learned by many trials that the love of this world is false and transitory, when that which I had chosen for myself perished, or which I was forced to lose or to change when something which pleased me better arrived. Thus, uncertain, still I waver, longing and yearning while I am neither able to be without love nor to find true love.

Man: I rejoice that at least you are not fixed in the love of temporal things, but I grieve that you are not resting in the love of eternal things. You would be more unhappy if you should make your home in exile, but now, because you are wandering in exile, you must be called back to the way. You might make your home in exile if in this transitory life you wish to have eternal love. But now you wander in exile, because while you are drawn by the desire of temporal things, you do not find the love of eternal things. But the great foundation of saving grace is possible to you because you have learned to change your love into a better, and because you will be able to snatch yourself from the love of all temporal things if something more excellent is shown to you which you should embrace more thankfully.

The Soul: How is it possible that what cannot be seen can be proved? And how can that which cannot be seen be loved? Certainly if there is not true and permanent love in temporal things, which are visible, what is invisible is not an object of love; eternal misery always pursues the living, if enduring love is not to be found. For no one is able to be happy without love, because surely it is known that he only is miserable who does not love that which is. Nay, indeed, who should pronounce that man happy who, forgetful of human ties, of society, scorning peace, persists in loving only in a certain selfish and miserable love? It is necessary, therefore, that you should either approve the love of those things which are seen, or if you deprive me of this, you should show me other things which may be loved more beneficially and more agreeably.

Man: If you judge that these temporal things around you ought to be loved because you see a certain beauty of their own kind in them, why do you not rather love yourself, who surpass in your outward appearance the beauty and loveliness of all temporal

things? O; if you could see your face you would certainly know how deserving of blame you will be when you judge anything outside you worthy of your love.

The Soul: The eye sees everything; it does not see itself, and in that light in which we perceive other things we do not see our own face, in which the light is placed; men know their own faces by hearsay, viz., by information supplied from outside oftener than by actual sight, unless you mean a mirror of a higher kind, in which I may recognize and love the face of my heart, for any one would most justly call him foolish who to feed his love should constantly consider the likeness of his own face in a mirror. Therefore, because I do not know my face and what sort of appearance it has to be contemplated, I more easily stretch out my affections to those things which are seen to be admired, especially because love is never allowed to be solitary, and in a measure love now ceases to be love if it does not diffuse the brotherly power of reciprocating love to another.

Man: He is not alone with whom God is, nor is the power of love extinguished, therefore, if his love is restrained from mean and vile things. He rather does injury to himself who admits to his affections shameful things, or at least things that are unworthy of his love. First, therefore, it is necessary that every one should consider himself, and when he has recognized his dignity, lest he should do any injury to his own love, he should not love the mean things. For those things which by themselves are considered beautiful become trivial when compared with more beautiful objects. And as it is silly to join ugly things to beautiful, so it is unseemly in every one to make those things which have only a low and imaginary beauty equal to the most beautiful ones.

You do not wish, O soul, to have a solitary love, nor should you be willing to have a low kind of love. You should seek one love alone, seek only the choicest. You know that love is a fire, and fire certainly seeks fuel that may burn. But beware lest you cast into it that which causes only smoke and smell. This is the power of love, that it obliges you to be such as that which you love, and also that you should be transformed into the likeness of Him to whom you are joined by affection, in a measure, by that companionship of love. Therefore, O soul, consider this excellence and understand what beauty you ought to love.

Your face is not invisible to you. Your eye sees nothing well if it does not see itself. For when it is clear enough to contemplate itself, no strange likeness from outside, nor any shadowy imagination of truth is able to deceive it. Why, if perhaps that internal vision of yours is obscured and you are not sufficient to contemplate

yourself, as is becoming and expedient, why do you not submit to another man's judgment, at least, that which you ought to know concerning yourself? You have a Spouse, but you know it not, who is the loveliest of all, but you have not seen His face. He sees you, because unless He had seen you He would not have loved you. He is unwilling still to present Himself to you, but He sent gifts; He gave you a pledge, a token of love, a sign of affection. If you could know Him, if you could see His beauty, you would not doubt any more of your own excellence. For you would know that One so beautiful, so lovely, so handsome, so unique in His aspect, would not have been captivated if singular beauty and something to be admired above others had not attracted Him. What, therefore, will you do now; you are not able to see Him, because He is absent? And so do you not fear nor blush to do Him any injury, because you despise His special love, and impudently and disgracefully abandon yourself to unlawful pleasures. Do not do this. If you are not yet able to know what He who loves you is like, at least consider the pledge which He gave you. Perhaps in this same gift of His which is in your possession you will be able to know with what affection to love Him, with what labor and diligence you ought to reserve yourself for Him. His pledge is distinguished, His gift noble because it was not seemly that a great man should give small things, nor wise that He should have given great things for little. Great, therefore, is what He gave you, but greater is what He loves in you. Great, therefore, is what He gave.

What did your Spouse give you, O soul? You expect, perhaps, and do not know what I am about to say. You consider from whom you may have received anything great, and do not find yourself to have nor to have received anything of which you are able to boast. I will tell you, therefore, that you may know what your Spouse gave you. Look at the whole world and consider if there is anything in it which does not serve you. All nature directs her course to this end, that it may minister to your wants and attend equally to your pleasures and come to the assistance of your necessities in unfailling profusion. The heaven, the earth, the air, the seas and all that is in them do not cease to accomplish this universally. The course of the seasons contributes to this by annual renewing and by renovating old things with renewed parts, remodeling what has fallen into decay, restoring what has been brought to nought with perpetual sustenance. Who, then, do you think instituted this? Who taught this to nature, that thus by one consent she might serve you? You accept the benefits and you do not know the Author. The gift is manifest, the Giver is hidden. And, nevertheless, your reason does not permit you to doubt that this is not your

due, but a gift at another's disposal. Whosoever, therefore, He is who gave you all this and so much more, He has conferred much on you. He is to be loved much who could give so much; and He who willed to give so much loved much. Therefore, loving so much and being so worthy to be loved much in His gift, it is shown that it is as foolish not to desire more love of One so powerful as it is impious and perverse not to love again when so loving. See therefore, rash and imprudent soul, see what you do when you desire to love and to be loved in this world. All the world is subject to you and you (I do not say the whole world, but certainly some considerable portions of it, though neither preferably by reason of its beauty, nor necessary in point of utility, nor even just in point of quantity, nor transcendent in point of beauty); all this you do not hesitate to include in your fellowship. If indeed you love these things, love them as subject to you, love them as supplying your wants, love them as gifts, love them as the pledge of your Spouse, as the presents of a friend, as the gifts of your Lord. Thus, nevertheless, that you may always remember what you owe to Him, nor love these things in preference to Him, nor equally with Him, but you shall love these things for His sake, and Him through these things and above all these things.

Beware, O soul, lest you should be called not a spouse, though God forbid, but a hireling, if you love the presents of the Giver more than the affection of the Lover. You do a greater injury to His love if you accept His gifts and nevertheless do not return His love. Either, if you can reject His gifts, or if you cannot reject them, return His love with love. Love Him, love yourself because of Him; love His gifts because of Him; love Him that you may enjoy Him; love yourself because you are loved by Him; love His gifts because they are given by Him; love Him for yourself and yourself for Him; love His gifts to you from Him because of yourself. This love is pure and chaste, having nothing sordid, nothing bitter, nothing transitory, beautiful in chastity, blessed and joyful in sweetness, steadfast through eternity.

Soul: Your words have kindled me. I perceive an interior zeal and fervor. For although I have not yet seen Him whom you declare to be so lovable, nevertheless by the sweetness of your words and the gentleness of your exhortation you kindle in me, I confess, the love of Him. I am forced by your arguments to love Him above all things, from whom I see that I have received all things in token of His love. Nevertheless, there still remains one thing which must diminish my happiness in His love, unless that also, like other things, is wiped away by your consoling hand.

Man: I promise you faithfully that there is nothing in this love

which ought reasonably to disquiet you. Nevertheless, lest I may seem to appeal more to your credulity than to give testimony to the truth, I wish that you would confide to me what disturbs you, that by my arguments again you may be more strengthened in the desire of Him.

Soul: I am willing to remember what you tell me, but I cannot forget that a little before when you recommended an allowable and honorable love you said that it ought to be not only the one love, but the only one chosen that is founded on being loved alone, and in loving one only, because love is not perfectly praiseworthy in a man, either if another is loved with him or if he only is loved who is not to be loved in the highest degree. Behold, therefore, I love the chosen and beloved One only. But I am suffering this injury to my love, that loving one I am not loved alone. For you know that this pledge of His love that you give me is common to many others, or at least to many kinds of people. In what way shall I be able to boast concerning the privilege of being loved alone, when this love, which you assure me is so great, is received, I will not say by the beasts, but in common with the animals? What does the light of the sun confer upon me more than on the reptiles and the worms of the earth? All things live in like manner; all breathe; the same food, the same drink is for all; what, then, is this which is so great? What is this which is so singular? You see surely what it is like. And so you do not show sufficiently that to love alone is fitting if you do not show Him also to have loved some one individually. I do indeed confess that these things would have been worthy of a special love if they had been given specially.

Man: Your earnestness does not displease me, because it is clear that you desire to love perfectly, because you examine so diligently the cause of perfect love. I therefore gratefully take up this discussion with you, that I may both defend the love of the best from the injury for which you plead, and at the same time restore you to the perfect love, lest by any mistrust you may waver in His love. There are three things in which you may find that which disturbs you. Learn what gifts you have received from your Spouse: some are given in common, some specially, some individually. Those are given in common which on your account serve others with you. Those are given specially which are granted on your account to many, but not to all, including you. Those are given individually which are given to you alone. Why, therefore, does He love you any the less because certain of His gifts He grants at the same time to others as well as to you? Would it have made you any happier if He had given the world to you alone? Suppose there are no men created on the earth, there are no animals; you alone possess the

riches of the world: where, therefore, is that pleasant and useful society of human intercourse, where are the comforts, where are the pleasures which you now enjoy? See, therefore, that in this He has conferred much on you, because He created these things with you for your consolation. If this world and all these things serve you, in what way, then, are they not all made for your convenience? Would you have the father of a family eat his bread alone? Would you have him drink his cup alone? Would you have him clothe himself alone? Should he alone be warmed by his fire? Should he dwell alone in his house? Nevertheless, not unjustly all is said to be his, although these have something who either through love or by subjection serve him. Therefore, whether those things which serve you or those necessary for those who minister to you, all are given to you, all are employed in your service.

Soul: You have rather cut down than eradicated what disturbed me. I complained of this, that loving only One I am not the only one loved, because I see that the pledge of love is given to others equally with me. But your arguments have convinced me of this, that those things also which I might trust were given only to me, which I should have seen were given for my benefit in common with others. I confess that you have spoken consistently enough of this, but not sufficiently of that which disturbed me. For I am here taught that all things, by which the life of irrational animals is supported, are assigned rather to my sovereignty, because even those things which nourish them are appointed for my use. Nevertheless, the privilege of a special love is not ascribed to me, because these things are not mine only, but are known to be subject to all men in a similar way, and to many truly, much more than to me. In all these things, therefore, which are granted for the use of men in common, if they indeed judge unjustly anything to be more theirs, and ascribe something specially to themselves, they err. There is, therefore, a certain special love of the Creator to men, in which indeed these men have something to boast of to other creatures, but not to each other. For what you say in asserting a special love that the society of men is given to me amongst other things, when as much is granted of them to me as of me to them, I can find nothing special in this. In this fellowship it is not only the lost glory of exclusiveness which hurts me, but the ignominy of participation. For how many unbelievers, how many wicked, how many impure are there who are able to boast in a similar way of their community of goods?

Man: It ought not to disturb you that in the use of temporal things there is the same sharing of good and evil things, neither may you judge them to be loved in a like manner by God because

you see them to share in all these things in the same way with thee. For as animals were not created on account of themselves, but on account of man, so evil men live not on account of themselves, but on account of good men. And as their life serves for the utility of the good, so everything which nourishes their life without doubt is to be ascribed to the dominion of the good. Thus for that reason the evil are permitted to live among the good that their society may influence the life of the good, to admonish them more powerfully in their happiness in those things which the evil are not able to share and to seek good things and to force them in their wickedness to love virtue more firmly; finally, that while they see them destitute of divine grace, rushing as it were down the precipice of vices, they may learn how many thanks they ought to give to the Creator for their own salvation. It may be that the cause of this divine dispensation demanded this warning for the increase of our sanctification and glorification, that as we learn from the life of beasts that the highest happiness is not in the use of these things, so also we may learn from the life of wicked men that the greatest happiness does not rule them. Therefore, these things should be granted to the good and likewise to the wicked, because otherwise the good could not believe themselves to be treated better unless they see these things to be as common to the good as to the wicked.

Therefore, do not lament any more concerning the fellowship of happiness of the wicked, nor think them to be enrolled with you in the privilege of a special love, because you have as companions the wicked in the use and government of transitory things; because, as we said just now, in this also they help much in your salvation, for they not only use these things, but they allow them to dominate their lives. But what shall I say concerning the fellowship of the good? For this alone remains for you to consider, namely, whether for this reason you may not be able to boast of the special love of your Spouse, because you are not loved by Him without the companionship of others. On this account I wish you to remember the assertion I made, which you did not judge to be wholly suitable to establish the point then and now under discussion. Therefore, I now unfold this, that I shall discuss more diligently in your presence whether truth itself requires the addition of anything to the arguments of those things we are now endeavoring to demonstrate. For I said that the fellowship of men was granted also to thee by the gift of the Creator, that you may take therein the consolation of the living, lest in a certain way by a solitary and idle life you should waste away destitute. And so as the life of the wicked is a discipline to you, so the life of the good is a comfort, who certainly are such that you ought not to reject as participators in your happiness and

love or to exclude them as companions. For if you love the good, truly something beneficial is conferred upon them, thence the love which is in you is not like that of a stranger, but rejoices them as if coming from their own friends.

Therefore, although it might be happy for you to enjoy this love alone, nevertheless it is much more blessed to delight in the same with the thankfulness of the many good, because when the affection of love is expanded in those who participate with you, the joy and sweetness of charity is enlarged. For spiritual love is made more special to each one when it is common to all. Neither is it diminished by the participation of many whose fruit is found whole, and one and the same in every one. Therefore, the fellowship of the good takes away nothing from the privilege of your special love, because your Spouse loves you in everything; those He loves on account of you and by this also He loves nothing without you. But do not fear that His mind is diverted by the love of many, as if through sympathy, and for that reason is less to individuals, because in a certain way it is seen to be shared and divided among all. For it is given to one as to all, because He would not bestow either another or a greater love on individuals if He were to love one without the participation of all. Therefore, all love One only, as all are loved by One only, because neither is any other except One able to love all only. But all love themselves in One as if one, for in the love of One they are united to make one. This love is unique, nevertheless not private, alone yet not lonely, shared but not divided, common and special to all and whole to each, neither decreasing by participation nor failing by use, nor growing old with time, ancient and modern, desirable in affection, sweet in experience, eternal in fruition, full of joy, refreshing and satisfying, not producing any fastidiousness.

Soul: Your assertions please me very much, and I confess that because I now begin from thence to desire this love more ardently, whence formerly I used to dislike it very much. Indeed, one thing yet remains which I desire, which if I am able to attain through you I shall not doubt that enough has been done for me in everything. And this is, if it be able to be proved to me in the same way, that this Spouse of chastity is present to individuals whom He loves, as He is in affection, and effect to all. And I shall not indeed be able to doubt of the affection if I know this to be true in effect.

Man: O my soul, if you persevere so very much in this undertaking nor judge yourself to be satisfied, if you do not acknowledge the gift of your Spouse to apply specially to you, I consent also fully to your petition because I know that your perseverance is born rather of devotion than of importunity. For in this also your

excellent Lover has provided for you in order that there should be nothing in which you might be able to boast specially concerning yourself, but as He gave commonly and specially, so He gave individually. Those things certainly are common which come in the use of all, as the light of the sun, the breath of the air. But special things are those which are granted not to all, but to a certain community, such as faith, wisdom, discipline. But individual are those things which are particularly bestowed upon any one person, as the principality in the Apostolate to Peter, the Apostleship of the Gentiles to Paul; the privilege of love to John. Consider, therefore, O my soul, what common things with all, what special things with some, what individual things alone you have received. In all these things He loved you, which He gave to you commonly with all or which He gave specially to some, or which He granted individually to you alone. Again, when He loved you with all these He associated you with them in the participation of His gift. He loved you before all to whom He preferred you by a special grace. You are beloved in every creature, you are loved with all the good, you are loved before all the wicked. And lest it may seem little to you that you are loved before all the wicked, how many good are there who have received less than you? But because I see you, from a desire of individual love, to strive more earnestly after those things which are given individually, although many things can be said still concerning them, in which and with whom you are loved, I wish that which has now been said to suffice. I am nevertheless unwilling that you should judge yourself to be loved too little, either in so many things or with so many, both where you have all the good as companions and the wicked as subjects, and all those things which are everywhere established for your benefit. You have seen, then, O my soul, in how many ways you are beloved, you have seen what they are with whom you are beloved: now consider you are loved before these as far as is possible. I speak to you, O my soul; you know what you have received, and it is necessary to know better still, lest you should begin to presume either in those things which you have not received, or for which you have received but have not returned thanks. Would that I might be able to recall to you in what way it has been profitable to you and pleasing to Him who gave you these things. For He gave you these things for this reason, that you might always remember Him and never grow cold and forget His love. Think first, O my soul, that at one time you were not, and that you might begin to be, this you have accepted by His gift. It was by His gift that you were made, for had you given anything to Him before you were created which has been given back by Him to you that you might become something. Nothing, in short. You

have given nothing. You could not have been able to give anything before you were made, but you have accepted freely from Him, that you might exist. To whom, therefore, are you preferred from the very fact that you were made? Who is less able to accept than he who acceptest that he may be made? And nevertheless, unless he existed to accept this something, he who was not would not be able to begin to be. Why, therefore, O my God, hast Thou made me unless because Thou didst wish me to be rather than not to be? And Thou hast loved me more than all these who did not deserve to receive that from Thee. When, therefore, O my God, Thou gavest me to be good and great, good and beautiful, Thou gavest me Thy goodness and when Thou didst give this to me Thou didst prefer me to all to whom Thou wast unwilling to give so much of Thy goodness.

O my soul, do we not say something when we say this to our God, to our God by whom we are made, made who were not, and do we not receive more than all who are not made. Thus, in sort, we do say something, and say a good deal when we say this. We ought continually to repeat that we may never forget Him from whom we have received so much good. And so if He should have given nothing more, nevertheless always should He be loved and praised by us for this very thing. But now He has given more, because He gave not only to be, but to be fair, to be beautiful, which as much exceeds nothing by its existence as it excels something by its form, because that which exists is very pleasing and the more so because it is of the same nature. But neither here does the munificence of the Giver terminate. He gave still something more and greater, He drew us to His image, He willed to draw to Himself, through a likeness, those whom He drew to Himself by love. There He gave us to be and to be beautiful, He gave us to live that we might excel both those who are not by existence and those who are disordinate and unseemly by form and who are inanimate by life. You are charged with a great debt, O my soul. You have accepted much and you have nothing of yourself, and for all these things you have nothing which you can give in return, unless you love much. For what is given through love cannot be better nor more suitably repaid than by love. You have received all this through love. For God was able to have given life to His other creatures, but in this gift He loved you more. Nor did He love you more because He found more to love in you, but because He loved you more gratuitously. He made you such that now He loves you more by merit.

The Soul: The more I hear, so much more I desire to hear. Continue, I pray, and narrate what follows.

Man: After being made and being made beautiful, after being

given to live, it is given both to feel and to discern and through the same is given love, which, unless it had gone before, nothing would have been given by the Giver, nothing accepted by the needy. How sublime and how beautiful you are made, O my soul! Why did he wish for Himself so much and so great beauty, unless He who clothed you prepared His Spouse for the bride-chamber? He knew for what end He had made you, He knew exactly what beauty befitted that purpose, and so He gave what was comely and what was comely to that degree that He might love that which He gave. He beautified the outside with the senses, the interior He illuminated with wisdom, giving the senses as the exterior ornament, wisdom as the interior garb, appending the senses like certain shining jewels outside, and decorating inwardly your interior countenance with wisdom as with natural beauty. Behold, your beauty surpasses the beauty of all gems, behold your face surpasses the beauty of all forms. It was altogether seemly that you should be such, who was to be introduced into the marriage-chamber of the celestial King. How much you are loved, and before how many are you loved, when you have been made like this. What a special gift, which is not granted to all, not granted except to the beloved and the loving. You might be very proud and much you ought to be guarded, lest you should lose such a gift and defile such an ornament and corrupt so much beauty, lest having lost it or left it unguarded you should become more miserable than you would have been if you had not received it, or had not perfected it, lest with the loss of so much beauty, the shame of deformity should torture you, and you being cast down should become viler than if you had not been received. This, therefore, was to be guarded and that to be avoided, that this being guarded might continue, and that being avoided might not happen. But see what you have done, O my soul; you have left your Spouse and with strangers you have wasted your love, you have corrupted your integrity, you have defiled your beauty, you have squandered your ornaments. You have become so vile and so disgraceful and so impure as to be no more worthy of the embraces of such a Spouse. Therefore you have forgotten your Spouse and you have not given Him worthy thanks for such a gift. You have become very wicked, and because of such wickedness your breasts are become loose, your forehead is wrinkled, your cheeks are fallen in, your eyes are languishing and dim, your lips covered with pallor, your skin dried up, your strength broken; you have become odious to these same lovers of thine.

Soul: I hoped so many trumpeting led to another end; but as I see you have said these things to my greater confusion that you may

show me more worthy of His hatred, from whom so many benefits have been received, and not safely kept, that you might prove me more ungrateful. Therefore, I should wish either that what has been said has not been established or at least that what has been done had not been proved, in order that if my self-confidence could not excuse my guilt, at least oblivion might cover my confusion.

Man: These things are said not for your confusion, but for your teaching, that you may be more submissive to Him who both made you when you were not and redeemed you when you were perishing. For in asserting His love I have asserted that also, that henceforth I may now take occasion to begin to narrate to you how much this your Spouse, who appeared so heavenly when He made you, deigned to be humbled when He redeemed you. There so sublime, here so humble, nevertheless not less amiable here than there, because neither here nor there less admirable. There He conferred great things powerfully upon you, here He bore hard things for you mercifully. For in order that He might take away from you that whence you fell, He deigned to come down here where you are that He might give back to you justly what you have lost. He deigned to suffer lovingly what you were bearing. Therefore He came down, He took up, He bore, He conquered, He restored, He came down to the mortal, He accepted mortality, He bore suffering, He conquered death, He restored man. Behold, O my soul, be confounded by such wonders, by so many benefits shown to you. Think how much He loved you, who deigned to do so much on account of you. You have been made beautiful by His gift, you were made impure by your iniquity. But you have been cleansed and made beautiful by His kindness, His love, nevertheless working both. When formerly you were not, He loved you as He made you. Afterwards when you were defiled He loved you that He might restore you, that He might make you beautiful and that He might show you how much He loved you. For only by dying did He will to deliver you from death, that He might not so much extend the benefit of pity as show the affection of love. But now He loves you with such sincere charity, as if you had remained always constant to Him, nor does He reproach you as guilty nor delay to benefit you. And if henceforth you should be willing to persevere faithfully with Him and to love Him as is becoming, and to keep your love for Him from contamination, He promises to give you greater things than the former.

Soul: Now in a certain way I begin to love my fault, because I see it profited me not a little to have done wrong: so much has become known more clearly to me by a light from Him, which with many prayers I had desired to know. O my happy fault, while He

is drawn by love to diminishing it, that same love of His for me also is shown in desiring and longing after it with all the heart. Never should I have known his love so well if I had not experienced it in so many dangers. O how happily I fell, who rose happier after falling. There is no greater love, no more sincere love, no holier love, no more ardent affection. He the innocent died for me, finding nothing in me that he could love. What, therefore, O Lord, didst Thou love in me, and love so much that Thou shouldst die for me? What didst Thou find in me which Thou hast been willing to bear so much and such hard things?

Man: O my soul, accuse yourself in the presence of the Lord! How ungrateful you have been for this and all His benefits, and how unwilling to recognize His many mercies. But that you may be able to understand still better how much you owe to Him, I wish that you should diligently direct your attention to the rest of His benefits, by following the order taken here.

Soul: I desire always to hear this, because it is so sweet to me that I should long for you to repeat the same incessantly, if I did not hasten also to hear those other things which remain to be heard.

Man: You had gone away and you had perished, and because you were taken captive by sin, He came after you that He might restore you, and He loved you so much that He paid the price of His blood for you, and with this covenant He led you back from exile and redeemed you from servitude.

Soul: I did not know how much God loved me. I ought not to be wholly vile to myself, to please God so much that He chose to die for me, lest He should lose me.

Man: And what if you should begin to consider how many and what kind of people in comparison with you have been cast out, and were not able to correspond with the grace that is given to you? Certainly you have heard how many generations of men from the beginning up to this day have passed away, who all without the knowledge of God and the price of their redemption have fallen into eternal death? Your Redeemer and Lover preferred you to all these when He granted to you this grace, which none of those merited to share. And what do you say? Wherefore do you think are you preferred to all these? Have you been stronger, wiser, nobler than all these, because you have merited to obtain this special grace? How many strong, how many noble, how many wise, how many rich were there? and nevertheless all were left and perished, being cast out; you alone were taken before all of them, and why was this done in you? You can find no cause except the gratuitous love of your Saviour. Therefore, He chose and preëlected you, He your Spouse, your Lover, your

Redeemer, your God. He chose you among all, He took you out of all and He loved you above all. He called you by His name, that His memory might be always with you. He wished you to be a participator in the truth of the name because He anointed you with that with which He Himself was anointed, the oil of joy, that He might be anointed with unction, who is called by Christ a Christian.

Soul: Much, I confess, has been conferred upon me, but I ask, if as you assert I am now taken up, what still delays that I am not able to come to the embrace of the Spouse?

Man: You do not know, then, O my soul, you do not know how foul you were, how polluted, how deformed and squalid, distracted and dissipated, full of every horror and enormity. And in what way do you expect to be introduced so quickly into that chamber of modesty and chastity, unless you are restored first by some care and labor to your former beauty? For this is what you must now expect, this is that your Spouse still withdraws His Presence from you, and does not admit you to silent embraces nor sweet kisses, because neither ought the polluted touch the pure, nor is it becoming for the disgraceful to see the beautiful, but when you shall be prepared and decently clothed, then at length you shall enter to be forevermore without confusion in the marriage chamber of your Spouse. Neither shall your former disgrace shame you when you shall have nothing disgraceful, nothing worthy of shame. First, therefore, labor to cultivate your beauty, to decorate your face, to arrange your clothing, to blot out spots, to restore beauty, to correct manners, to keep discipline, and all things at last being changed for the better, to give back to your worthy Spouse a spouse worthy of Him. I wish to say something that I may make you more cautious, lest because you hear yourself to be chosen for Him, either elation should render you puffed up, or negligence make you dissolute. Have you never heard what King Ahasuerus did when he repudiated the Queen Vashti on account of her insolence, a remarkable deed, a useful example, a serious sentence? She therefore was cast down on account of her pride; a decree was made by the King that from all his kingdom beautiful girls and virgins should be gathered together and flee to the city Susa and placed in the women's house under the care of the eunuch Egeus, who was the governor and guardian of the royal women, and that there they should receive all things necessary for women, and thus they should be clothed and decorated abundantly with all luxury, according to royal ambition, that they should be anointed for six months with the oil of myrtle and for another six months to use certain cosmetics

and powders, and thus made up and appareled they should pass from the anteroom of the women to the royal chamber, that she who out of them all should best please the King should sit instead of Vashti on the throne of the kingdom. See how many were called that one might be chosen, she named who was seen to be the more beautiful and the better dressed in the eyes of the King than the others. The King's Ministers chose many to be prepared. The King himself chose one for the bride-chamber. The first choice of the many was made according to the royal mandate; the second choice of one was made according to the King's will.

Let us consider, therefore, whether this example, perchance, is able to be adapted to the manner of which we are speaking. The King, the Son of the King of kings, came into this world, which He had created, to betroth to Himself a chosen Spouse, an only spouse, a spouse worthy of royal nuptials. But because Judea scorned to receive Him, appearing in the form of humility, she was cast out. And the Ministers of the King, that is the Apostles, were sent through the whole world to gather together souls and lead them to the royal city, that is Holy Church, in which is the home and mansion of the royal women, namely, of holy souls who are fruitful and bring forth sons, not to slavery, but to the kingdom.

Those who serve God not out of fear, but out of love, are brought forth, as it were, into the liberty of good works. Many therefore of the called enter the Church through faith and there receive the sacraments of Christ, as if they were certain ointments and antidotes, prepared for renewal and for the adornment of souls. But because it is said by the mouth of truth many are called, but few chosen: not all who are admitted to this training are chosen for the kingdom, except only those who labor to purify and cultivate themselves for this, that when they shall be introduced into the King's Presence they shall be found those whom He Himself would have chosen rather than reject. See then, where you are placed, and understand what you ought to do. For your Spouse placed you in the antechamber where the women are adorned. He gave various and divers kinds of pigments and commanded that royal food from His table should be served to you, something for health, something for refreshment, something for repairing beauty, something that is valuable for the increase of loveliness He gave. Beware, therefore, lest you are negligent in preparing yourself lest in the last hour, when you shall be brought into the Presence of this your Spouse, you shall be found unworthy (which God forbid) to be His consort. Prepare your-

self as it becomes the spouse of the King, the bride of an immortal Spouse.

Soul: You have again embittered me and pierced me not a little with fear. For from as much of your words as is given to be understood I changed the intention, but I have not escaped the danger. I changed the intention, because I am converted by Him who formerly drew me with a vague and unstable love to a special love. I did not escape the danger because, as you assert, unless I studied to show myself worthy in every way, I cannot reach the fruit of His love. It remains then that you should explain to me more diligently concerning this marriage-chamber in which the royal women are fed, and also the royal food which is given to them and of those ointments also with which they are anointed, and of all the other things which are shown either for adornment or for beauty. For I am urged by His love to spend labor henceforth on those things without which I see myself not able to arrive at the affection of love. And would that I might merit to be that one whose beauty and adornment the King will praise. How happy is she, and how much more fit to be chosen who labors to this end? How small I should esteem all this labor if I could attain to this end by my diligence. I beseech you, therefore, that you should not delay to teach me thoroughly what those remedies may be with which I ought to make my face beautiful, as I desire vehemently to please Him whose love towards me I know to be so benignant and so pleasant.

Man: It is necessary that you should do this, and I pray that He who now gives you the will to do it will also give the power of performing it. You ask what this anteroom is, seek also what the marriage chamber of the King may be. Imagine two mansions because these are now under consideration. There is then the antechamber: there is the marriage chamber. In the anteroom of the Son they are prepared for the nuptials; in the marriage chamber the nuptials are celebrated. The present Church is, as it were, the ante-chamber in which now the spouses of God are prepared for the future nuptials. The heavenly Jerusalem is, as it were, the marriage chamber of the King in which the nuptials are celebrated. After the time of adornment in the anteroom, they pass from the anteroom to the marriage chamber of the King, because they come after the time of doing good works to the participation of the fruits of those good works. But the present Church is called the ante-chamber on account of three orders of the faithful: the married, the continent and the virgins or virtuous.

Let us, therefore, see what kinds of pigments and ointments,

what food, what vestments are prepared for the adornment of the spouses. Nor is this to be passed over, that as this spouse in a certain way gratuitously loves the foul and disgraceful, so also He gratuitously grants to them for adornment every help. Neither have they anything of themselves unless they receive it of Him whereby they may please Him, in order that you may know that this also pertains to love: viz., that what you have whence you are able to adorn yourself, this also you have not from yourself, except what you have received from Him. The first is the baptismal font placed here for the washing of regeneration, in which you washed away the guilt of past crimes. Then the chrism and the oil in the unction of which you are anointed by the Holy Spirit. After this, anointed and filled with the unction of joy, you come to the table and receive there the food of the body and blood of Christ, with which interiorly nourished you cast off the hurtful leanness of past fasts, and restored with pristine fullness and strength, you become in a certain way young again. Then you put on the clothing of good works and the fruits of alms with fasting and praying, with sacred watching and other works of piety. You are adorned as with various ornaments. The spices of virtues follow the last, whose sweet odors put to flight all that foulness of the former stains, so that in a certain way you seem to yourself to be wholly changed and transformed into another and you are made more joyful, more alert and safe and sound.

The mirror of Holy Scripture is also given to you, that there you may see your face, that the composition of your adornment should have nothing less or otherwise than is becoming. What, therefore, do you say, O, my soul? Do you know whether you have yet received some of these? Certainly you were washed in the font, certainly you have received the anointing of chrism, certainly you have eaten that same food and drank that same drink at the table of the King. But perhaps you have been polluted again. You have tears with which you could wash yourself again. Again the unction has faded away in you, again you must anoint yourself with good and pious devotion. Again, by fasting daily, you have prepared yourself; again, washed by tears and renewed by the unction of pious contrition, you go again to your refreshment. See how with what pious dispensation He everywhere accompanies you. You had not, and it was given you. You had lost, and it was restored to you. You have never been deserted that you may know how much He by whom you are loved loves you. He will not lose you, and so He waits with so much patience and graciously grants to restore again all that has been negligently lost if you are willing: O, how many have now perished who have

received these things with you, but have not merited to receive again with you those things that were lost. Therefore, you are loved more than all these, because He so kindly gave back to you who were also lost that which was denied to them. And if no grace of good works has been given to you, nevertheless a good will has not been denied, but generously given by Him. If you do great works, you are mercifully made higher. If you do no great works, perhaps you receive a salutary humiliation. He knew better what was so expedient for you than you, and on this account, if you wish to think well concerning Him, understand all that is done to you by Him to be well done.

Perhaps you have not the grace of virtues, but while you are shaken by the impulse of vices you are better grounded in humility. A weak humility is greater to God than a proud virtue. Nothing therefore dare you prejudge of His disposition, but always pray to Him with fear and reverence, that as He knows He will help you if any evil shall still remain in you, He will kindly blot it out: if any good works are unfinished He will perfect them for you in the way which He shall choose, He will lead you to Himself.

What more shall I say to you? Is there anything also which I can say to show His love? I speak to you, my soul; is there anything else? What do you say? If you converse on things suitable for you, you will not be able to speak of things in which you have no concern, and of things external to you. You cannot say all. For who is able to say all things, and nevertheless we know that love is the origin of all things.

Behold, two people are born; both have the same nobility of race, the hour of birth is the same; one is left in poverty and the other is raised to riches, and love has worked both: because it humbles this one by poverty and consoles the other by abundance. This one is weak and that one is strong, that one is held lest he should do evil, that one is strengthened that he may be restored to good works, and love tries both and does not reject either. The one is illuminated by wisdom, the other is left in the simplicity of his mind, this one to despise himself, that one that he may study to know his Creator, and nevertheless love wills to be present to both. Such is the love of God towards us, neither does human infirmity suffer anything which He does not dispose to our good, so great is His goodness.

CONFESSION.

I confess Thy mercies to Thee, O my God, because Thou hast not left me, sweetness of my life and light of my eyes. What

shall I render to Thee for what Thou hast given to me? Wilt Thou that I should love Thee? And nevertheless I will love Thee, O God, my strength, my heaven, my refuge, my deliverer, my God, my helper, my protector, the horn of my salvation and my support. And how much more shall I still say: Thou art my Lord God. O my soul, what shall we do for our Lord God from whom we receive so much and so great goodness? For neither was He content to give the same good things to us as to others, but we know Him to be a special lover as much in our good things as in our evil things, that we may love Him specially as much for our good as for the evil things. Thou hast granted to me, O Lord, that I may know Thee and that I may understand many of the secret things revealed to me before others.

Thou hast left others, my contemporaries, in the darkness of ignorance, and hast infused into me before them the light of wisdom. Thou hast given to me more sincerely to follow Thee more ardently; Thou hast given to me the capacity of feeling, an easy understanding, a tenacious memory, a discriminating tongue, a pleasant address, a persuasive doctrine, efficiency in deed, grace in conversation, advancement in studies, completion in things begun, consolation in adversity, caution in prosperity, and whithersoever I turn Thy grace and Thy mercy go before me. And often when I seemed to myself to be consumed Thou hast liberated me suddenly. When I was wandering Thou didst bring me back, when I was ignorant Thou didst teach me, when I sinned Thou didst correct me, when I was sad Thou didst console me, when I despaired Thou didst comfort me, when I fell Thou didst raise me up, when I stood Thou didst hold me, when I went Thou didst lead me, when I came Thou didst receive me. All these things Thou hast done to me, O my God, and many others it will always be sweet to me to think of, always to speak of, always to give thanks, that I may praise Thee and love Thee for all Thy benefits, O Lord my God. Behold! you have, O my soul, your pledge and in your betrothal you know your Spouse. Reserve yourself wholly for Him, keep yourself uncontaminated. If you were formerly an unfaithful spouse, now you are made a virgin, since His love is accustomed to give back integrity to the corrupt and to preserve chastity in the pure. But consider always how much mercy He has shown you, examine in this how much you are loved by Him, because you know His gifts have never failed you.

Soul: I confess, moreover, that love deserves to be called special, which while it diffuses itself among many, embraces nevertheless so specially individuals. Truly a beautiful and wonderful benefit

which is common to all and special to individuals, governing all, satisfying individuals, present everywhere, taking care of all and nevertheless providing for each one as for all. Thus certainly it seems to me when I behold His mercies roundabout me, that (if it is right to say so) in a certain way God does nothing else but provide salvation for me, and so I see Him wholly occupied in taking care of me, as if He willed to forget all and to work wholly for me. He shows Himself always present, He is always ready to offer Himself: wheresoever I shall turn myself He will not desert me, and wheresoever I may be He will not go away, whatsoever I shall do He assists equally: and because at length He is the perpetual inspector of all my actions and my thoughts, how much belongs to His goodness. He is present as an individual coöperator, which is shown patently by the effect of His works. From which it follows it is right that His face is invisible to us, yet His Presence can never be avoided. But I, I confess, considering this more diligently in fear and trembling equally, am terribly confused, because I behold Him whom I so vehemently desire to please, everywhere present to me and seeing all my secret thoughts. O, how many things there are in me for which I blush before His eyes and for which I fear more to displease Him than I trust to be able to please Him for those things (if there are any) which are to be praised in me. O, if I might be able to be hidden for a little while from His eyes, until I might blot out these spots and thus at last might appear before His eyes immaculate without spot. For in what way shall I be able to please Him in this deformity, in which I also am exceedingly displeasing to myself?

O old sins, O foul and disgraceful stains, how long do you adhere to me? Go away and never more presume to offend the eyes of my Beloved. Be unwilling to deceive yourselves: by His help you shall not always remain with me, although you were not able to exterminate with me still hesitating. I swore by you that neither will I keep or love you any more, therefore I hate you altogether, and at last I abominate your disgracefulness. And now henceforth, even if I am not able to be seen by my Spouse, I am nevertheless unwilling to be corrupted by you. How much more now because I am in His Presence, and because I grieve more for having offended Him than for my former disgrace. Go away, then. In vain do you adhere any more to me, because remaining always with me you are not of me.

I judge you to be foreign to my nature, and I wish henceforth to have no communication with you. I have another model to whom I desire to be conformed, and I look back continually to

that other, and as much as I am able. I endeavor always more and more to copy that. From whom I learned this also that I ought to exterminate you, and now I know how I shall do it.

Man: A wonderful thing has happened to us, which perhaps you will not acknowledge, because now you understand what I shall be willing to say. For I consider how you have been led into the midst of many things which in the beginning of our discourse seemed to be contrary to love, and that the power of love has never been weakened by them, but more fully proved. You did say that individual love and general love were not able to be in each and all, but from that it has been wonderfully proved to be common and individual. You did say again that you were not perfectly loved because you heard yourself to be called by Him to the preparation, and yet you did not seem to be taken to the nuptial chamber, but nevertheless, again so great is the love shown towards you as your perfection is greater, which was waited for in His patience. You did, in fine, begin very much to doubt whether you could not be loved by Him in this your deformity, although you suffered unwillingly. You could not be loved by Him; but when you have doubted this, you did not then remember that formerly, when you were wholly foul, you were loved nevertheless. If therefore He then deigned to love you, when you were wholly foul and having as yet no beauty, how much more will He love you when you begin to be adorned and to put off your former disgrace.

For this also belongs to the perfection of His love, that He deigns to love you in your imperfection. And although He may see certain things in you which do not please Him, nevertheless He loves this very thing, viz., that you also begin to hate those things in you which do not please Him. For He does not look so much at the state of the intention, not at what may be, but at what you wish to be. He waits if nevertheless you will strive earnestly as much as you can, that what you have not yet begun to be you may deserve to be.

Soul: I pray that you will receive this last question of mine kindly. What is that sweetness which in remembering Him is sometimes accustomed to touch me and to affect me so vehemently and so gently that now I can begin in a certain way to be lifted up and drawn away in a manner entirely from myself? For suddenly I am renewed and wholly changed, and it begins to be well with me, beyond anything which I can find sufficient to say. The conscience is exhilarated, all the misery of my former sorrows is forgotten, the intellect is enlightened, the heart is illuminated, the desires are made agreeable, and now I see myself to be else-

where (I don't know where), and I hold something interiorly with the embraces of love (and I don't know what it is), and nevertheless I struggle hard always to keep it and to rest in it and never to lose it. In a certain way the mind is struggling pleasantly, lest it should recede from that which it desires always to embrace, and as if it could find the end of all desires in Him, it exults exceedingly and ineffably, seeing nothing more, desiring nothing more, wishing always to be thus: Is not this my Beloved? I pray you tell me that I may know whether it is He, that if once again He should come to me I may beseech Him never to go away, but that He may always remain.

Translated from the Latin by DARLEY DALE.

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CARDINAL NEWMAN'S THEORY OF KNOWLEDGE.

PART II.

WE have shown in a former article that Newman's theory of knowledge is substantially the same as that of Aristotle and Aquinas. But if he had merely reiterated that system, we could hardly claim for him any philosophical originality, any of that prismatic power of thought which analyzes ideas into their vari-colored aspects or synthesizes many aspects into the white unity of a single idea. Newman was not content with mere iteration. He subjected the realistic theory of knowledge to that process of development which he has so well outlined in his "Essay on Development," amplifying and illustrating with wonderful richness of thought and wealth of instances those sections of epistemology which deal with assent, with pragmatism, with implicit reasoning and with the relativity of knowledge. Newman introduced the original division of assents into "notional" and "real." The scholastics had developed this part of criteriology and had treated of the same matters under other names than "notional" and "real." Newman approached the subject from a different angle and added an original mode of development. A proper preliminary to this important subject is an understanding of Newman's definitions. "Notional" assent is "that assent which we give to propositions in which one or both of the terms are common nouns, as standing for what is abstract, general and non-existing, such as 'man is an animal,' 'some men are learned,' 'an apostle is the creation of Christianity,' 'a line is length without breadth,' 'to err is human; to forgive, divine'" ("Gram." p. 7).

"Real" assent is the assent we give to "propositions which are composed of singular nouns, and of which the terms stand for things external to us, unit and individual, as 'Philip was the father of Alexander,' 'the earth goes round the sun,' 'the apostles first preached to the Jews'" ("Gram." p. 8). After analyzing all assents into notional and real, Newman further divides notional assents into five varieties, "profession," "credence," "opinion," "presumption" and "speculation." It is very easy to see a resemblance to Bacon's famous idols in this analysis of notional assent. Profession is an assent so feeble and superficial as to be little more than an assertion. "Such are the assents made upon habit and without reflection; as when a man calls himself a Tory or Liberal, as having been brought up as such; or again, when he adopts as a matter of course the literary or other fashions of the day, admiring the poems, or the novels, or the music, or the personages, or the costumes, or the

wines, or the manners which happen to be popular or are patronized in the higher circles" ("Gram.," p. 40).

In the following passage Newman shows how uncritically people adopt the assents which he calls professions. "But what I speak of here is professing to understand without understanding. It is thus that political and religious watchwords are created: first, one man of name and then another adopts them till their use becomes popular, and then every one professes them because every one else does. Such words are 'liberality,' 'progress,' 'light,' 'civilization,' such are 'justification by faith only,' 'vital religion,' 'private judgment,' 'rationalism,' 'Gallicanism,' 'Jesuitism,' 'Ultramontaniam,' all of which, in the mouths of conscientious thinkers, have a definite meaning, but are used by the multitude as war-cries, nicknames and shibboleths, with scarcely enough of the scantiest grammatical apprehension of them to allow of their being considered really more than assertions" ("Gram.," pp. 41-42).

"Credence," the second kind of notional assent described by Newman, is "the sort of assent which we give to those opinions and professed facts which are ever presenting themselves to us without any effort of ours, and which we commonly take for granted, thereby obtaining a broad foundation of thought for ourselves and others. It is by such ungrudging, prompt assents to what is offered to us so lavishly that we become possessed of the principles, doctrines, sentiments, facts which constitute useful and especially liberal knowledge. These various teachings, shallow though they be, are of a breadth which secures against those lacunae of knowledge which are apt to befall the professed student and keep us up to the mark in literature, in the arts, in history and in public matters" ("Gram.," pp. 50-52). The third kind of notional assent is "opinion," which is defined as "an assent to a proposition, not as true, but as probably true, that is, to the probability of that which the proposition enunciates" ("Gram.," p. 55).

"Presumption," the fourth species of notional assent, is "An assent to first principles, and by first principles I mean the propositions with which we start reasoning on any subject-matter. They are all of them notions, not images, because they express what is abstract, not what is individual and from direct experience" ("Gram.," p. 57). We disagree with Newman when, in giving an example of a presumption, he denies that the trustworthiness of our powers of reasoning is a first principle, because, as he says, "We are what we are and we use, not trust our faculties. To debate about trusting in a case like this is parallel to the confusion implied in wishing we had had a choice if we would be created or no. We are as little able to accept or reject our mental constitution as our

being" (*"Gram.,"* pp. 58-59). However, Newman says in another place that the existence of an external world is a first principle. But this can be known only by assuming and presupposing that our faculties are trustworthy by making their trustworthiness a first principle, as the scholastics do. Other examples of presumptions are the first principles expressed in such propositions as "There is a right and a wrong," a "true and a false," a "just and an unjust," a "beautiful and a deformed." These first principles Newman holds are abstractions to which we give a notional assent in consequence of our particular experiences of qualities in the concrete to which we give a real assent. The belief in causation also Newman considers a first principle. But he differs from the scholastics in proving his belief by merely appealing to the experience we have of our will as a cause producing changes in ourselves and in the external world. "We have no experience of any cause but will" (*"Gram.,"* p. 69). If he means direct experience, he is partly correct, but he should have qualified his statement accordingly. We have experience of other causes than will, because we can infer causal relations directly from immediately experienced sense-phenomena. "Speculation" is the last kind of notional assent: "Its proper meaning is mental sight, it includes the assent to all reasoning and its conclusions, to all general propositions, to all rules of conduct, to all proverbs, aphorisms, sayings and reflections on men and society" (*"Gram.,"* p. 70). These various divisions of notional assent are justifiable, with the exception of the division called "credence," which, as being an assent to "professed facts," would seem to belong more properly to real assent.

The most valuable part of Newman's teaching on notional and real assent is what follows from the definitions we have given of them. Since real assent is given to real propositions, it has the power of the concrete on the affections and passions; it tends to initiate action, to have what we may call a pragmatic value and thus it surpasses notional assent. To distinguish between notional and real as between speculative and practical is really the same as distinguishing truths from their effects, or vague mental assertion of a truth and its realization in the concrete. One example of the difference between notional and real in the sense we have explained will suffice: "In like manner, when Mr. Wilberforce, after succeeding in the slave question, urged the Duke of Wellington to use his great influence in discountenancing dueling, he could only get from him the answer, 'A relic of barbarism, Mr. Wilberforce,' as if he accepted a notion without realizing a fact: at length, the growing intelligence of the community and the shock inflicted upon it by the tragical circumstances of a particular duel. were fatal to that barbarism. The governing classes were roused from their dreamy

acquiescence in an abstract truth and recognized the duty of giving it practical expression" ("Gram.," pp. 77-78).

Unlike the pragmatists, whom he anticipated by his distinction between the speculative and the pragmatic, Newman does not say a thing is not true *until* it has practical success. The truths are always truths and are not changed by being realized in action, but are the causes of changes in the world outside them. Newman, then, forecast one aspect of the philosophy of pragmatism by pointing out the difference between notional and real assents or between truth and its practical bearing on conduct and thus supplied weapons in advance against this latest partial philosophy. For the partial truth in pragmatism is that ideas of a certain kind initiate action which was expressed in all its completeness by the scholastics of the thirteenth century in their teaching on "*ideae exemplares*." Pragmatism tried to exalt this undeniable partial truth into a whole truth and ended by denying the validity and function of abstract truths. Newman by insisting on and illustrating the practical effects of ideas, without denying speculative truths, enriched by a new development of thought, that *philosophia perennis*, which has grown gradually from Aristotle to the Neo-Scholasticism of to-day and fulfilled in his philosophy the motto of Leo XIII., "*Vetera novis augere*." That Newman did not fall into the errors of the one-sided theory of knowledge of pragmatism is proved by the mere fact of his distinction between notional and real assent. For if a pragmatist were to use Newman's terminology he would have to say: "Real assent is the only assent; notional assent either does not exist, or if it does, it has no truth value." But a most decisive proof of Newman's freedom from the errors of pragmatism is the fact that William James in his first draft of pragmatism, which occurs in the chapter on "Philosophy" in "Varieties of Religious Experience," singles out Newman as a typical opponenet of pragmatic theodicy. In conclusion we may quote two Catholic philosophers. Wilfrid Ward says: "In comparing John Henry Newman's teaching with William James' pragmatism, then, we have this difference. Professor James rejects, as having no real significance, what does not for us satisfy the pragmatic test. Newman also dwells on what does satisfy it as *most* practical for us. So far they are agreed. But Newman holds, and Mr. James seems to deny, that truths above the full comprehension of man may well have a practical significance for us which we do not adequately understand. Newman fully appreciates the value of the pragmatic test, and yet he regards it as intellectual impertinence to measure the reality or its significance by our direct and complete knowledge" ("Last Lectures," p. 92).

Leslie J. Walker, S. J., has this to say of Newman and pragmatism: "There is scarcely a single doctrine now upheld by the

pragmatists which is not to be found verbally stated in the "Grammar of Assent;" yet Newman was not a pragmatist. His standpoint is psychological and human; nay, more, he acknowledges the personal element in truth; yet his standpoint is perfectly compatible with realism, because the results of his psychological analyses are not exaggerated. The real nature of truth is not confused with its pragmatic value. Product is not confused with process, content with intent, the various processes and methods by means of which truth is attained with the real objective validity of truth itself" ("Theories of Knowledge," p. 648).

The contrast between notional and real, abstract and concrete, speculative and pragmatic, theory and fact, universal and individual, head and heart, system and personality, logic and life, with an insistence on the real in all its manifold aspects, permeates Newman's philosophy. Aristotle had noticed in his treatise on the soul that images move to action. And Newman in many of his most characteristic writings is continually illustrating his constant conviction that real assents and the vivid images in which they are embodied are operative and productive of action, while notional assents are not so. Such writings are "Personal Influence, the Means of Propagating Truth," "Implicit and Explicit Reason," "Abelard," "University Preaching," "Essay on Literature," "Discipline and Influence," "Tamworth Reading Room," "Apologia" and portions of "Callista" and "Loss and Gain." Here is a specimen passage enforcing real assent: "The heart is commonly reached not through the reason, but through the imagination, by means of direct impressions, by the testimony of facts and events, by history, by description. Persons influence us, voices melt us, looks subdue us, deeds inflame us. Many a man will live and die upon a dogma; no man will be a martyr for a conclusion" ("Tamworth Reading Room," p. 34).

And the reason for this adhesion to the real is found in a sentence characterizing Hurrell Froude, but which Newman might have written of himself. "He had a keen insight into abstract truth; but he was an Englishman to the backbone in his severe adherence to the real and the concrete" ("Apol.," p. 86). Edmund Burke, too, England's greatest political philosopher, is accurately epitomized in that sentence and at least in his passion for reality as opposed to undue theorizing, is in full agreement with Newman. Another point of coincidence between these two thinkers and Vladimir Soloviev, the great Catholic philosopher of Russia, is their fondness for historical proof, their love of summarizing by an induction and generalization a series of particular instances from history. In his insistence on the concrete Newman proved his close touch with the thought of his time. For, as Lewis Gates says in his preface to

"Selections to Newman:" "Perhaps the most general formula for the work of English literature during the first quarter of the nineteenth century is the rediscovery and vindication of the *concrete*."

But Newman's fruitful and suggestive analysis of assent is not his only, nor indeed his most characteristic development of criteriology. His ideas on implicit and explicit reason and the Illative sense are his most distinctive doctrines. That his findings in these subjects are the carefully matured results of a lifetime of thought is evident from the fact that, although we can find the theory already partially developed in the sermon on "Implicit and Explicit Reason," as early as 1840, still we do not see it completed in detail until 1870, in the "Grammar of Assent." During all the intervening years, as we learn from his letters, he thought frequently and earnestly on the same subject. The great problem that set him thinking on these lines was the problem of the reasonableness of faith or the relations between faith and reason. How we arrive at certitude in this as in other concrete matters where the evidence is not coercive, but still sufficient for reflex certitude, if the investigator is cautious, careful and prudent, this was the great enigma which he solved in an original fashion. The inference employed in these concrete matters is generally not explicitly syllogistic, and is engaged not in deducing conclusions from general propositions, but in forming a critical estimate of what is involved in certain concrete facts. Some have maintained that only explicit syllogistic procedure has a right to be called inference, a view which is not in concord with St. Thomas, who recognized implicit syllogistic inference.¹ In the passage referred to, St. Thomas explains that "*Cogitare tripliciter sumi potest,*" and in the last sentence of the body of the article he says: "*Sed quia talis matus potest esse vel animi deliberantis circa intentiones universales, quod pertinet ad intellectivam partem, vel circa intentiones particulares, quod pertinet ad partem sensitivam, ideo cogitare secundo modo sumitur pro actu intellectus deliberantis; tertio modo pro actu virtutis cogitativae.*" To reason "*circa intentiones particulares*" is to reason on concrete data or to employ Newman's "implicit reason." St. Thomas, then, showed that he knew of such a thing as implicit inference, but he did not develop the subject. Newman developed the realistic theory of knowledge by illustrating with many examples what had been merely recognized by the prince of mediæval philosophers.

The process by which we arrive at certitude in concrete matters is not formal syllogistic argumentation, but implicit, recondite and often unanalyzed arguments. "Such, too, is the intellectual view we take of the momenta of a proof for a concrete truth; we grasp the full tale of premises and the conclusion *per modum unius*, by a

¹ *Secunda Secundae, corpus Art. I., Quaestio II.*

sort of instinctive perception of the legitimate conclusion in and through the premises, not by a formal juxtaposition of propositions" ("Gram.," p. 289). As this word "instinctive," which often occurs in Newman's philosophy, together with his insistence on implicit logic, has caused some to accuse him of undue subjectivism, it is well to cite two great scholastics who use language somewhat similar to Newman's. Kleutgen, one of the greatest neo-scholastics, author of the "*Philosophie der Vorzeit*," says: "Why should not science take as the object of its researches that knowledge of God which we *instinctively* possess?" And again, "How many truths there are concerning duty, concerning nature and art, which a man of good judgment knows with perfect accuracy without being distinctly cognizant how he passes in successive judgments from one truth to another." De Lugo, another orthodox scholastic, says of implicit reasoning: "*Virtus intellectus et voluntatis, ut uno actu brevissimo et subtilissimo attingant compendiose totam illam seriem motivorum.*" Finally, what is Newman's own definition of this term "instinct?" "By instinct I mean the realization of a *particular*, by intuition of a *general* fact—in both cases without assignable or recognizable media of realization."²

In all creative intellectual work it is the inward faculty of reason energizing by implicit processes that produces the original and inimitable results. The eloquent passage following describes these implicit processes: "The mind ranges to and fro, and spreads out, and advances forward with a quickness which has become a proverb, and a subtlety and versatility which baffle investigation. It passes on from point to point, gaining one by some indication, another on a probability; then availing itself of an association; then falling back on some received law; next seizing on testimony; then committing itself to some popular impression or some inward instinct or some obscure memory, and thus it makes progress not unlike a clamberer on a steep cliff, who, by quick eye, prompt hand and firm foot, ascends how he knows not himself by personal endowments and practice rather than by rule, leaving no track behind him and unable to teach another. It is not too much to say that the stepping by which great geniuses scale the mountains of truth is as unsafe and precarious to men in general as the ascent of a skilful mountaineer up a literal crag. It is a way which they alone can take, and its justification lies in their success" ("Oxford Univ. Sermons," pp. 256-257).

Logic and explicit reasoning are chiefly occupied in constructing a defense for the truths gained by implicit reasoning. "Lastly, since a test is in its very nature of a negative character, and since argu-

² From a letter to Dr. Meynell, August 17, 1869.

mentative forms are mainly a test of reasoning, so far they will be but critical, not creative. They will be useful in raising objections and in ministering to skepticism; they will pull down and will not be able to build up" ("Oxford Univ. Sermons," p. 276). This last member of the sentence is certainly an undue depreciation of argumentative forms. One of the most splendid exhibitions of the constructive use of argumentative forms is the building up during the last half century of the entire system of neo-scholastic epistemology. We can agree with Newman, however, when he says: "Logic is the organization of thought; and, as being such, is a security for the faithfulness of intellectual developments, and the necessity of using it is undeniable as far as this, that its rules must not be transgressed" ("Devel.," p. 189). What logic cannot do in concrete matters is accomplished by an inward faculty called the Illative sense. Newman thus defines it: "It is the mind that reasons and that controls its own reasonings, not any technical apparatus of words and propositions. This power of judging and concluding when in its perfection I call the Illative sense, and I shall best illustrate it by referring to parallel faculties, which we commonly recognize without difficulty" ("Gram.," p. 353). The parallel faculties to which he refers are the Aristotelian *phronesis* in conduct and taste in the fine arts. "This intimate understanding of an assemblage of intellectual data, of our position of mind towards particular questions, and of the relations of our position of mind towards other conceivable standpoints is the first and last of the faculty which I shall call the Ratiocinative or Illative sense, being parallel to *phronesis* in conduct, and to taste in the fine arts" ("Gram.," pp. 347-348).

It is unimportant whether we call the critical judgment of the mind in concrete matters the Illative sense or the Ratiocinative or Instinctive reasoning. What is important is Newman's account of implicit reasoning. To him is due the credit of developing to its fullest extent the theory of non-syllogistic reasoning. He has flooded with light the hitherto dark region of these phenomena of the mind seeking certitude in concrete matters, phenomena which occupy the borderland between logic and psychology.

Another development of the realistic theory of knowledge we find in Newman's "Essay on Development." There he shows us in what sense we can speak of the "relativity" of knowledge and thus allows scholasticism to appropriate the grain of truth latent in modern relativistic theories of knowledge. To indicate Newman's contribution to this aspect of criteriology I can do no better than to quote Father Coffey's masterly "Epistemology." He says: "Human knowledge is obviously capable of increase, growth, development, both in depth and in extent, intensively and extensively. This is

true both of the individual and of the race. The universe is constantly yielding up new objects of knowledge to human investigation. Moreover, new implications of principles or truths already known are being incessantly brought to light, thus increasing the depth or intensity of our knowledge of such principles. To this process religious knowledge is no exception. The Catholic Church recognizes a doctrinal development of Christian dogma in this sense of a growth of human insight into the Christian deposit of divinely revealed truth. It is the function of Catholic supernatural theology to note and to promote this fuller understanding of the Christian revelation; and nowhere has the character of this development been more clearly expounded than in the well-known work of Cardinal Newman. But such growth or development of knowledge, whether secular or religious, does not make knowledge 'relative' or 'changeable' in the sense that what is at any time truth can ever become false or erroneous" ("Epistemology," Vol. II., p. 235).

Newman's theory of knowledge, then, is essentially the same as the moderate realism of scholasticism. But it is emphatically more than a restatement of the thirteenth century state of that system, being conspicuous for at least three legitimate "developments" in Newman's sense of the term, notional and real assent, with its bearing on pragmatism, implicit reasoning and the concept of development of knowledge. A philosopher of realism, the Cardinal, while clinging tenaciously to the real and the knowable, penetrated at the same time as far as any modern philosopher into the shadowy realms of the subjective. But, unlike Kant and his satellites, Newman never dreamt of saying that all the factors in knowing are subjective and that we can know only phenomena, merely because his studies had convinced him that the same objective truth was differently received by different minds. On the contrary, he ascribes this various reception of the same objective truth to various refracting media in the minds of the recipients, such as wrong assumptions, prejudices and presumptions which distort the image of the truth.

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ST. BONIFACE AND THE DOCTRINE OF THE ANTIPODES.

PROTESTANT authors accuse St. Boniface of having declared heretical the belief in the existence of *antipodes*, that is men who live on the other side of the globe and have their feet turned "against" ours. He discovered, they say, that Virgilius, an Irishman, had taught this doctrine. "Horried at such cosmological views," St. Boniface reported Virgil to Pope Zachary. "The Pope, however, had more sympathy for Virgil's scientific proclivities than the narrow-minded Boniface, and in a way not known to us adjusted the matter."¹ Catholic authors, too, here and there speak in the same strain, or at least express themselves very unguardedly. Some Protestants even distort the incident into an accusation against the Holy See and charge Pope Zachary with opposition to the progress of science. It will therefore be worth our while to follow in this matter the admonition which Leo XIII. gives in his Letter on Historical Studies: "Enitendum magnopere, ut omnia ementita et falsa adeundis rerum fontibus refutentur." Serious endeavors should be made to refute all errors and falsehoods by going directly to the sources.

I. THE SOURCES OF THE STORY.

Now, the "Rerum Fontes," the historical sources, in our case, are confined to one single passage of about a hundred and fifty words in a letter written by Pope St. Zachary to St. Boniface in A. D. 748. It runs as follows:

"Nam et hoc intimatum est a tua fraterna Sanctitate, quod Virgilius ille—nescimus si dicatur presbyter—malignatur adversum te, pro eo quod confundebatur a te erroneum se esse a Catholica doctrina: immissiones faciens Otiloni, Duci Bajoariorum, ut odium inter te et illum seminare, ajens quod et a nobis esset absolutus, unius ex quattuor illis episcopis quos tua illic ordinavit Fraternitas dioecesim obtinere. Quod nequaquam verum est, quia mentita est iniquitas sibi. De perversa autem et iniqua doctrina quam contra Deum et animam suam locutus est: si clarificatum fuerit ita eum confiteri, quod alius mundus et alii homines sub terra sint, hunc accito concilio ab ecclesia pelle sacerdotali honore privatum. Attamen et nos scribentes praedicto duci evocatorias de praemonstrato Virgilio mittimus litteras, ut nobis praesentatus et subtili indaga-

¹ H. Zimmer, "Die Romanischen Sprachen und Literaturen mit Einschluss des Keltischen," p. 7.

tione requisitus, si erroneus fuerit inventus, canonicis sanctionibus condemnatur. Qui enim seminant dolores, ipsi metunt eos.”²

“Thy brotherly Holiness has also communicated to us that that Virgilius—whether he is said to be a priest we know not—is maligning thee, because thou hast shown him to be guilty of an error against the Catholic faith; that he talks disparagingly about thee to Otilo, the Duke of the Bavarians, to cause enmity between thee and him in order to obtain the diocese of a deceased Bishop, one of the four whom thy fraternity established in that region (Bavaria), maintaining that he had been absolved by ourselves. This is by no means true, because iniquity has lied to itself. Concerning the perverse and iniquitous doctrine, however, which he has uttered against God and his own soul: if he is found to hold that there is below the earth another world and other men, call a council, deprive him of his priesthood (that is, if he is a priest) and expel him from the Church. However, we ourselves are writing to the aforesaid Duke a summons concerning the above-mentioned Virgilius, that he be presented to us, in order that, if after a close examination he appears to be in error, he be condemned according to the canons of the Church. For those who sow sorrows shall themselves reap them.”

This is all we have of historical sources referring directly to this controversy. Says Rohrbacher in his “*Histoire Universelle de L'Eglise Catholique*,” Vol. V., p. 590: “Nous ne connaissons aucun autre monument ancien, dans lequel is en soit parlé, aucun auteur du temps, qui en ait fait mention.” “We do not know of any other ancient document which speaks of it, of no author of the time who makes mention of it.” We may, therefore, make no statement concerning the point in question which is not warranted by those one hundred and fifty words. There is, however, genuine evidence from other sources which will enlighten us as to the nature of the circumstances under which the affair took place.

It will be useful for our purpose to reproduce the next passage of the Pope's letter also. The Sovereign Pontiff continues:

“Pro Sidonio autem supra dicto, et Virgilio, presbyteris, quod scripsit Sanctitas tua agnovimus. Illis quidem, ut condecebat, comminando scripsimus; tuae autem Fraternitati plus credulitatis quam illis admittetur. Si autem placuerit Deo, Vita comite, Sedi Apostolicae eos, missis Apostolicis litteris, ut praelatum est, evocabimus. Docuisti enim eos et non susceperunt; Factum est illis sicut scriptum est (follows a long quotation from Scripture, Eccl.

² Hartsheim, “*Concilia Germaniae*, Tomus I., p. 86. The letter is found in other collections also and is quoted in many books.

xx., 7, 18, and xvi., 23). Non ergo ad iracundiam provocetur cor tuum, Frater, sed in patientia tua, ubi tales reppereris, admone, obsecra, increpa, ut convertantur ab errore ad viam veritatis. Et si conversi fuerint, salvasti animas eorum; si vero in duritia permanserint, mercedem ministerii tuis non perdes. Illos autem juxta Apostoli vocem devita."

"And concerning the priests Sidonius, above mentioned, and Virgilius, we have taken notice of what thy Holiness writes about them. We have written to them a threatening letter, as the occasion required, but more credence will be given to thy fraternity than to thm. If it pleases God and we live long enough, we shall summon them by letter to the Holy See. For thou hast instructed them, and they have not accepted thy words. It happened to them as it is written. (Biblical quotation.) Therefore, brother, let not thy heart be provoked to anger, but where thou findest such persons, admonish, beseech and chide them that they may turn themselves from error to the way of truth. If they become converted, thou hast saved their souls; if they remain hardened, thou wilt not lose the reward for thy exertions. But avoid them according to the word of the Apostle."

II. SEVERAL VIRGILS.

No one who reads these two passages with even superficial attention will fail to observe that they differ entirely in tone. While severity and indignation, nay, exasperation, speak from the lines of the first, there is a considerable amount of mildness, forbearance and fatherly care throughout the second. The Virgilius spoken of in the first is actually summoned to Rome, after he will have been judged in a local council. St. Boniface is urged to relentlessness concerning him, while he is warned to be kind to the second Virgil. Moreover, it is not known to the Pope whether the first Virgil is a priest at all. The second is expressly called a priest. St. Boniface has serious personal grievances against the first, none against the second. The first evidently stands alone, has no accomplices, no fellow-offenders. The second's name is coupled with that of Sidonius. Are we wrong, therefore, if we conclude that *there must have been two individuals of the name of Virgilius*, both indeed complained of by St. Boniface, but not charged with the same transgression? Let this be the first result of our investigation of the sources.

This second Virgil and his companion Sidonius had complained of St. Boniface to Rome for ordering to rebaptize some persons, and the Pope had at first believed them and sent a letter of kind admoni-

tion to his legate.* But meanwhile Boniface had presented his own side of the question. The Papal letter from which our quotations are taken is almost entirely devoted to an exposition of the doctrine concerning baptism and the errors reported about St. Boniface. Hence the phrase, "pro Sidonio supra dicto," "concerning Sidonius above mentioned," though Sidonius' name has not occurred in the letter so far. To avoid misunderstanding, we shall call the Virgilius spoken of by Pope Zachary in the first passage *the Schemer*—for reasons which will appear later on—and the second Virgilius, Sidonius' companion, *the Baptizer*. We shall find out that neither of them is identical with Virgilius *the Saint*.

Let us now try to make the acquaintance of Virgilius the Schemer. But it will be well first to obtain a clearer idea of the man who had reported him to the Holy See.

III. ST. BONIFACE.

We must not imagine that St. Boniface went on his ministry with a scanty theological preparation. When, in 719, he set out for his missionary labors, he was a man of about forty years, renowned for his learning among his brethren in religion and highly esteemed by the Bishops and kings of his native land. He was a contemporary of St. Bede the Venerable, and he moved in circles which were given to the pursuits of all kinds of learning, and kept in touch with the literary world of Ireland. As teacher of monastic schools he enjoyed a wide reputation. Though not a Bishop then, he took part in national councils and was employed on important embassies. Just before he left for the continent, the monks of the monastery wanted to make him their abbot. During all his life books were his steady companions. Several prolonged stays at home brought him into contact with men prominent for learning and experience. At the time of which we speak he was not merely a zealous missionary working in some isolated spot. He had become Bishop and Archbishop, and was now the Pope's representative for the entire Frankish kingdom, which extended from Bohemia to the Pyrenees. The secular rulers highly appreciated his activity and gave him their heartiest support. He had presided in a number of provincial and national councils, and had vigorously enforced the laws of the Church. Repeatedly the Popes had commended him for the correctness of his theological views. Their esteem had almost grown into veneration for the gray-haired man, who had literally spent himself in the propagation of God's kingdom and in promoting the recognition of St. Peter's primacy.

* See "American Catholic Quarterly Review," 1917, pp. 270-275: "The Controversy Concerning Baptism Under St. Boniface."

And now we come to a point which so far seems to have been overlooked by the greater part of the writers who expressed themselves on this subject. *Did St. Boniface know that the earth is a globe? Did he believe in the existence or at least the possibility of antipodes?* There is every reason to answer both these questions in the affirmative.

Hardly any book outside of the Bible was as widely read during the time from the fifth to the ninth century (and maybe longer) than the "City of God," by St. Augustine. Now the great Bishop of Hippo supposes it to be known that the earth has the shape of a sphere. He himself does not seem to be much interested in the matter, though he grants that there are good reasons for it. Whether or not the other side of the globe, "where the sun rises when it sets for us," is inhabited, this question, he says, must be decided by positive evidence. Until such evidence is forthcoming, he suspends his judgment. His principal difficulty lies in the supposition, general at his time, that the ocean which surrounds our part of the globe is simply impassable for any ship. How then, he asks, should men have been able to get there? And yet they must have come from here, because they must be children of Adam, just as we. He concludes that in his discussion of the various races of the world he can afford to omit the fabulous antipodes.⁴ He here applies the same principle which had guided him when speaking of "monstra," that is men with anomalously shaped bodies. He says: "Either the reports about such races are false; or if these beings are men they descend from Adam; or they are no men." As long, therefore, as the "City of God" remained in the hands of thinking men, the belief in the rotundity of the earth could not perish or be looked upon as half heretical. The question about antipodes, too, was viewed in the right light, as one to be settled by natural discovery, not touching or endangering any article of faith, provided the unity of the human race was safeguarded.⁵

To come to the times of St. Boniface, there was his contemporary and fellow-religious, St. Bede the Venerable, who all his life had been "praying and studying and teaching and writing." He had died in 735. Though it is not probable that the two saintly Anglo-Saxons ever met, St. Boniface highly esteemed the books of the great Northumbrian monk, and even while a missionary in Germany repeatedly asked his friends to send him some of Bede's writings. He certainly had perused them during his activity as teacher in England. Now the rotundity of the earth is explicitly stated in

⁴ On this point see the article, "Did the Older Ecclesiastical Writers Deny the Sphericity of the Earth?" in "American Catholic Quarterly Review," 1918, pp. 344ff.

Bede's work, "*De Rerum Natura*," even more explicitly and more definitely than in the "*City of God*." Concerning Antipodes, his views, no doubt, were similar to those of St. Augustine, and probably more definite. In fact, once a person believes in the sphericity of the earth, it is very natural for him to ask whether the other side of the globe is also the dwelling-place of men. And if there are men there, St. Bede could not but hold like St. Augustine, they must be descendants of Adam.

Considering these facts, it would be very rash to suppose that St. Boniface had never heard of this theory. And whether he shared the conviction or not, he certainly knew that it was held by pious and learned men and could not be in any way contrary to faith and morals. Whether he himself believed in it or not, he knew that a person who taught it could not therefore be suspected of heresy or be an object of grave concern to ecclesiastical authorities.

All these facts throw light on the position and intellectual endowments of St. Boniface. He knew what he was reporting to Rome. Men with a past and such an official capacity must not be supposed to misrepresent important matters. In all kinds of public business, civil as well as ecclesiastical, the reports of officials are considered reliable, especially when the person making the report is so competent a judge as St. Boniface was in his matter. Nor are such men in the habit of proceeding hastily. Neither do they forget the obligation imposed by the Eighth Commandment, not to bear false witness against their neighbor.

Even if most of all of these circumstances concerning St. Boniface's official and private character were unknown, nobody would have the right to question the correctness of his report, unless he were able to produce positive counter-proofs.

IV. VIRGIL THE SCHEMER AND HIS ERROR.

Let us now return to our first and chief passage in Pope Zachary's letter. Unfortunately the communication by which St. Boniface reported the matter to Rome is lost. It no doubt contained many terms which would aid us greatly in understanding the situation. However, the Pope's answer is clear and definite enough to lead us to a well-founded conclusion.

It is evident that the Virgil spoken of in these one hundred and fifty words had had a dogmatic encounter with Boniface, in which

⁵ James H. Robinson, in his "*Readings in European History*," says in vol. I., p. 441, note: "Educated persons realized all through the Middle Ages that the earth was a sphere." It is safe to say that St. Boniface belonged to the class of "educated persons." More quotations on this subject will be found in Horace K. Mann, "*Lives of the Popes in the Middle Ages*," vol. I., part II., p. 248, note.

he got the worst of it. The Pope's words seem to indicate that the two met personally, most naturally at the court of Duke Otilo. Virgilius had committed some crime, for which he lay under an ecclesiastical censure, and he now maintained to have been absolved by the Sovereign Pontiff over the head of St. Boniface.⁶ By whom the censure was inflicted and in what it consisted we have no means of finding out.

Some ten years before, in 739, St. Boniface, at the urgent request of Duke Otilo and with the joyful approval of the Pope, had undertaken to reorganize the Church in the dukedom of Bavaria. The country was to have four Bishoprics, Salzburg, Ratisbon, Freising and Passau. About 745 two of them fell vacant, Passau by the death of Bishop Vivilo and Salzburg by that of Bishop John.⁷ Virgilius now wanted one of these sees, we do not know which. To effect this end he endeavored to prepossess Otilo against the Papal Legate, hitherto the duke's friend. St. Boniface had shown him to be a heretic, and is now ordered by the Pope to summon a provincial council for an official investigation of the errors held by Virgilius, and if he finds him guilty (and unwilling to retract), to pronounce the severest penalties against him. To prevent an undue interference on the part of Otilo the Pope writes immediately to the duke.

Otilo is to send the culprit to Rome to receive there the final verdict of his condemnation. It is not quite clear what relation this Roman action is to have towards the canonical process which St. Boniface is enjoined to institute against Virgilius. The Pope evidently wants to back his legate against a possible opposition (not necessarily hostile) of the duke. We may presume that the sentence of the provincial council was to stand until Rome had spoken on the matter. The contemporaries, most probably, were in a better position to understand what Pope St. Zachary desired than we after a lapse of 1,200 years. But however this may be, it has nothing to do with the principal question which we are now approaching.

What then was the precise error of which Virgilius the Schemer

⁶ It seems to have been a common stratagem of transgressors censured by St. Boniface to claim that they had been absolved by the Pope himself. In a letter written three years before this, in 745, Pope Zachary says: "Thou hast also let us know that those priests, who were ejected previously, are spreading the report in the region of the Franks that they have been absolved by us. Let thy holy fraternity never believe this, because if we had done so (which is impossible) we would have indicated it to thy charity by letter. But do thou never believe such an impossible thing. We do not preach one thing and carry out or enjoin another, as those men foolishly prate (ut illi garriunt)." Hartzheim, S. J., "Concilia Germaniae," vol. I., p. 71.

⁷ See "Kirchliches Handlexikon," under Vivilo and Salzburg.

was accused? He taught, "*quod alius mundus et alii homines sub terra sint*"—that there is below the earth another world and other men.

Let us remember that this is all we know of his teaching, and we are not allowed to read more into these few words than is really in them. Now these words do not express the doctrine that there are antipodes. The other side of the globe is not "another world," but simply an extension of that part which we inhabit. By "other men" cannot be meant races differing merely in size or color or shape of the head or language. St. Boniface knew very well that such races existed. Neither he nor the Pope would have taken the slightest offense if Virgilius had maintained that there were Negroes or pigmies or giants. Nor would Virgilius have told the world and the Bavarian court anything new by such an announcement. If he really intended to assert the existence of antipodes, he certainly chose the worst possible form. In that case the statement as it lies before us would not betray a learned scientist or philosopher, but a mere dabbler who had not even passed the stage of amateur knowledge. The assertion, therefore, can be taken in one sense only, namely, that there is somewhere in connection with the earth a totally different world with a totally different mankind not descending from Adam and consequently not subject to original sin, not in need of redemption, not obliged to receive the sacrament of baptism. Such a doctrine, which threatened the most fundamental principles of Christianity, was indeed apt to horrify any one who had the welfare of the Church and the purity of the faith at heart.

The error of Virgil the Schemer, therefore, was a purely theological error. The question of the shape of the earth or the existence or non-existence of antipodes, had nothing to do with it. It was a heresy which denied most important Christian dogmas.

Nor was this teaching of Virgil the Schemer too odd, too abnormal for the time in which he lived. The lands which St. Boniface evangelized were rife with errors about the sacrament of baptism. Bold innovators openly denied even the necessity of baptism. As remarked above, the very letter from which our passage is taken is almost entirely devoted to the doctrine concerning this most necessary sacrament and the attacks made against it. For years Boniface had been fighting for purity of doctrine in Germany, but the most vicious onslaughts were directed against the first and most essential of all sacraments. Errors of this kind were in the air, as were within our own times the dreamings of Modernism. The assertion "that there is another world and other men below the earth" fits very well into that chaos of rude superstitions and monstrous

doctrinal aberrations which covered the mission field of St. Boniface.⁸

V. DEDUCTIONS.

We are now enabled to see what mistakes have been made by a number of writers who did not take the trouble of looking closely at the "*Rerum Fontes*," the documentary evidence.

I. Pope St. Zachary did not oppose the advancement of science. There was no question of science at all. The whole matter was strictly within the sphere of theology, and the Pope acted as it behooved the head of the Church to act in such a vital matter. St. Zachary was a Greek, though born in Italy, and was highly praised for his learning even by his Byzantine enemies.⁹ We may safely presume, nay, unless we have a document expressly showing the contrary, we are obliged to presume, that he knew how to distinguish a question of geography from a theological issue. The statement of H. Zimmer, that "the Pope had more sympathy for Virgil's scientific proclivities" is flatly contradicted by our source. The Pope fully shared the views of his legate beyond the Alps.

II. Of course, "the narrow-minded Boniface" does not exist in history. Nor can the apostle be accused of geographical ignorance or theological inferiority.

III. Virgil the Schemer, far from behaving like a saint, appears as an ambitious wire-puller, who did not even shrink from deceit to obtain a Bishopric. Instead of surpassing St. Boniface in theological science, he either did not recognize at all what a destructive heresy he was propounding, or he opposed the true faith contrary to his better knowledge. Our sources tell us nothing about his nationality. If the Germans or the French or the Irish are so minded they may claim him as one of theirs, and all with equal right.

IV. This Virgilius the Schemer is not the Irish saint of the same name who as Bishop of Salzburg became the apostle of the north-eastern Alps. The Schemer was not of the stuff of which saints are made. Nor do such egotistic politicians over night change into unselfish apostles. Moreover, if we accept the dates given in the saint's life, the latter was at this time already abbot of the monastery of St. Peter at Salzburg and as such Bishop of that diocese, though he did not have himself consecrated before 767. If he had been the Virgil whom St. Boniface reported to the Pope, he would have been named by his title, and the Pope would have known whether he was a priest or not. Says Horace K. Mann in his "*Lives of the Popes*:"

⁸ See article of "*American Catholic Quarterly Review*" quoted above. Also Mann, "*Lives of the Popes*," vol. I., part II., p. 238 ff., gives some idea of the serious errors against which St. Boniface had to contend.

⁹ Mann, "*Lives of the Popes*," vol. I., part II., p. 227, note.

"There is further no reason for believing that this Virgil, who in 748 was intriguing for a Bishopric, is the same as St. Virgilius, the famous Irishman, who was the Apostle of Carinthia."¹⁰ Nor is there any need of explaining away a difference between him and his ecclesiastical superiors. No such difference ever existed.

V. Nor is Virgilius the Baptizer identical with the holy Bishop of Salzburg. The first letter concerning him and Sidonius was written in 744, 745 or 746, and in 748 the matter was still pending, both were still fully under the jurisdiction of St. Boniface and the Pope treats both as ordinary priests. It is not known, either, whether this Virgilius and Sidonius, his companion, were Franks or Bavarians or Irishmen.

VI. CONCLUSION.

To show the necessity of going back to the original sources, James H. Robinson gives an interesting example.¹¹ We all have read that about the year 1000 there was a general expectation of the end of the world. In Catholic and Protestant authors we found hair-raising descriptions of the terrible panic that reigned everywhere. Horror-stricken, we are told, the people forgot everything, and concentrated their thoughts upon (the) preparation for the Dies Irae. Shortly after the middle of the last century French scholars began to investigate upon what evidence this story was based. It turned out more and more that the chroniclers of that fearful time knew nothing of such an apprehension, that people went about their business as usual and wrote books and erected monumental buildings with no idea of an impending catastrophe. It was the neglect of original sources which caused this story to be circulated during several centuries.

Here we have a similar instance. The source was indeed well known. The letter of Pope Zachary is found in many collections, and is constantly referred to in works of ecclesiastical and secular history. But evidently many writers simply took over what others had said before them. Those who went to the trouble of looking at the sources failed to scrutinize them closely enough. St. Boniface and Pope St. Zachary, living as they did in the "Dark Ages," were of course supposed to have been ignorant of the actual shape of the earth. Hence it is that three personages appear identified because of the identity of their names and both the Pope and his legate are made to hold views of which they never thought. An endless number of books, old and new, from the tiny textbook of Church history to the mighty tomes of learned theological and historical publications, will have to be corrected accordingly. F. S. BETTEM.

¹⁰ Vol. I., part II., p. 243, note.

¹¹ "Readings in European History," vol. I., p. 3.

SHRINES, HERMITAGES AND HISTORICAL PLACES OF
INTEREST IN THE LAND OF WILLIAM TELL.

THE student of European history will seek in vain for more thrilling stories of patriotic heroism or of religious devotion than are recorded in Helvetian annals. The poet and the dramatist—Lamartine, Schiller, Sheridan Knowles—have exhausted their imagination in seeking to describe pictures drawn from the romantic adventures and the inspiring deeds of her hardy mountaineers in their struggles for civil liberty and under religious persecution. The student of legendary lore turns to the same rich source for some of his most weird and imaginative themes. The lover of the picturesque revels in the grandeur of Alpine scenery, while the daring and venturesome tourist finds among its lofty peaks and rocky pathways the best opportunities for satisfying his longing for novelty and danger. The Swiss peasant always remains a peasant. He is religious, unaffected, laborious; a shepherd, an agriculturist, a patriot, a soldier, an artisan and above all a freeman (as he understands the meaning of freedom) and ever ready to stake his life against serfdom. The limited size of his country reduces each canton, as it were, to a single family. He has no ambition to make conquests, but is ever apprehensive of being conquered, and well he may when he considers the fate of Belgium and the geographical position of his country and its proximity to “uber alles.” Municipal government is the only authority he seems to care for. He wishes to be governed by habits and customs rather than laws.

It is not the purpose of this paper to describe this beautiful land of mountain and valley, of torrent and river, of glacier and avalanche, or to indicate an itinerary for the tourist. Our purpose is rather to call attention to shrines, hermitages, holy nooks and historical places of interest to the Catholic and which most guide-books either studiously ignore or glide over, too often with a sneer indicating both bigotry and a superficial inquiry into the history of the place.

Entering Switzerland from Germany, we come to my native city of Bale or Basle, as the Germans pronounce it. It is the second city in size as to population, of which Catholics to-day number about one-fourth. This city is mentioned as far back in history as the year 374, under the name of Basilea, and appears to have been founded by the Roman army when it fell back on the Rhine, near the old Colonia Augusta Rauracorum, which was founded B. C. 27 by L. Murantius Planctus, whose statue may

still be seen in the Court of the Rathhaus. The Diocese of Bale includes nine cantons and comprises something like 500,000 Catholics. While Bale gives the name to the diocese and should be the episcopal see, it has no Catholic cathedral, and its Bishop, exiled many years ago from his legitimate see, moved to Soleure, where there is an imposing cathedral, but being driven from here by a "republican" government, he finally settled at Luzerne, where he still resides. Bale contains several churches, all but two of them built before the Reformation. Of these two, one, St. Elizabeth's, is a memorial church built by a private citizen in memory of his wife. The other is a Catholic church, in Gros-Basel,¹ built some thirty years ago, not by the government, but by the Catholics of the city. While all the churches (except St. Elizabeth's) were built in Catholic times, the Catholics are allowed but one church, St. Clara's, in Klein-Basel, and the one in Gros-Basel, above referred to. These churches are allowed on condition that no missions or "revivals" shall be held in them—simply Mass, Vespers, Benediction and sermon on the Gospel of the day. I doubt if the Bishop is allowed to visit these churches even to administer confirmation. Yet Switzerland, like France, is called a republic. They may be republics in the European acceptance of the term, but they would never be recognized as such in the American sense of the word.

During the trying days of the Kulturkampf ("made in Germany") in the seventies the Catholic population of Switzerland suffered all manner of persecution. In 1873 we find Bishop Lachat protesting to the Federal Council against outrages committed against the Church in the Cantons of Bale, Berne, Argovia, Thurgovia and Soleure and against the decree which pronounced the "destitution of the Bishop of Bale," and later on (December, 1874) "suppressed the Catholic Chapter" and "decreed the liquidation of the property of the bishopric." The Federal Assembly turned a deaf ear to the Bishop's appeals and protests and further decreed that "the cantonal governments may, from henceforth, suppress at will all Catholic dioceses in Switzerland." This was followed by the immediate suppression of all parochial schools. The story of the expulsion of Bishops from their sees, of priests from their parishes, and the intrusion of a handful of "Old Catholics" into churches that had up to this time been crowded with the faithful, is too well known, and its recital would lead us far beyond the purpose of this paper. Suffice it to say that when a priest was available the faithful were obliged to hear

¹ Basel is built on both sides of the Rhine; one side is called Gros-Basel, the other Klein-Basel. The two sections of the city are connected by bridges.

Mass in barns or "granges," as they called them. Here when a priest dare not show himself the congregation assembled and had a "White Mass" (une Messe Blanche). I asked a friend what was meant by a "White Mass." He described one he had witnessed in the Jura region:

"I was present," said he to me, "at prayers in the 'grange' of a charming village some three miles from Poventruy. This 'commune' has the signal honor of having suffered the most from the Bernese persecution. Its municipal council was suspended because of its loyalty to the Catholic cause. The 'White Mass' I witnessed in this village was a most touching scene and one never to be forgotten. Some five hundred devoted souls crowded into the 'grange,' an altar, as plain and simple as the Crib at Bethlehem, was erected in this patriarchal sanctuary. Everything was here, the chalice covered with the veil; two lanterns symbolized the lamps that illumined the stable at Nazareth. But the priest, where was he? Driven beyond the frontiers, but his heart was still with us. The congregation assembled with solemn faces and participated in the service in respectful silence. The village schoolmistress now came forward with prayer book in hand. After announcing the feast days of the week, she read the Mass prayers, the epistle and the Gospel of the day. During the 'Kyrie' and 'Gloria' a choir of men sang some appropriate hymns, and their solemn tones told most eloquently the sorrow that filled their hearts. I do not know whether the acoustic of the 'grange' enhanced the effect of those voices, but it seemed to me that music had never impressed me as it did now. After the Gospel Captain X. stood up and read one of the sermons regularly sent to his people by Father Stouden from his place of exile. Strange to say, this sermon on charity was an appeal to a suffering congregation in behalf of the unfortunate victims of the recent floods in the south of France. He asked a generous sacrifice of his own tried people, whose sufferings made them appreciate the sufferings of their fellow-men, and these good people were not deaf to their pastor's appeal. The sermon over, the Mass prayers were continued until the end. The congregation dispersed in silence; few words were uttered; every one knew the load that rested on his neighbor's heart. Some few devout souls remained on their knees to finish their 'chaplet,' and then the altar was stripped and the 'grange' deserted. As I looked at the faces of that devoted congregation and read the various emotions they displayed, I seemed to recall the touching scenes enacted by the primitive Christians during their days of persecution."

It was only after a long time that the use of some of the churches was restored to the rightful owners. But despite its

spoliations and persecution, Switzerland has much that is of interest to the Catholic student, and the ancient city of Bale is not without its attractions. The old cathedral or munster, on the banks of the Rhine, and long—yes, since the so-called Reformation—used as a Protestant place of worship, is well worth a visit. It is built on the site of a still more ancient edifice; the present church was built originally in the Byzantine style in 1010 by the Emperor Henry II. and consecrated by Bishop Adalbert II., the twenty-fourth Bishop of the diocese, on October 11, 1019. On the feast of St. Luke, 1356, a great portion of the building was destroyed by an earthquake and the church was rebuilt in the Gothic style.

In wandering through the interior of this historic church I saw along the walls the tombs of many illustrious personages: the Empress Anne, of Hohenberg, wife of the Emperor Rudolph I. of Habsburg (aus dem hause Habsburg). Her effigy is represented in robes of state, and beside her rests the figure of her youngest son, Charles. Further on I noticed a marble monument to the memory of the "learned Erasmus," of Rotterdam. It is a tribute from his friends and admirers. On the upper part appears the symbol "Deus Terminus," which Erasmus chose to remind him that death is the inevitable lot of all. On a pillar opposite to the Erasmus tomb is a haut-relief of the eleventh century, telling the story of St. Vincent, martyr. It represents his arrest and flagellation, his imprisonment and the torture inflicted by the tyrant Dacian; his death, his soul borne away by angels, and his body, which had been thrown into a field, being covered with leaves by the ravens to protect it against wild beasts. The next scene represents the body cast into the sea, which throws it back upon the land, where it is rescued and buried with reverence by Christian hands. It is not unlikely that these tablets formed the retables of the main altar of the ancient chapel of St. Vincent at Munsterberg, destroyed in 1580.

Among the many other tombstones of note we can only mention those of George of Andlau, first rector of the University of Bale, who died in 1466; Thuring of Ramstein, provost of the Cathedral (d. 1367), Bishop Henry of Neuenberg (d. 1274), Walter of Clingen, founder of the cloister of Klingenthal (d. 1388). Adjoining the munster is still shown the hall in which the famous Council of Bale was held in the year 1431. This hall is now used as a museum and contains many objects of historical interest, many paintings, sculptures and carvings that tell of Switzerland during her "ages of faith." The University Library, which contains over 200,000 volumes and some 5,000 manuscripts, was founded in 1459 by Pope Pius II. On a wooded hill near Arle-

sheim we notice the ruins of Schloss-Birseck, the former chateau of the ancient Bishops of Bale. In remote times, when the country was subject to barbarian incursions and to attacks from robber bands, the Bishops were obliged, at times, to wear armor as well as episcopal robes; they were obliged to be *active* members of the Church *militant* as well as of the Church suffering. They were obliged to live in strong castles, with a quasi-military retinue to protect them against the Huns of their day. Unlike the Huns of our day, these men were content with spoils and booty and rarely destroyed buildings, as their more savage descendants of to-day seem to delight in doing. I visited one of these old castles, at Arlesheim, and found it roofless in parts. The "banquet hall" was still in a good state of preservation. In size it compared with an ordinary room (about 13 by 15 feet) in any moderate-sized house of to-day. In the centre of the room was a table with a red cover; both table and cover struck me as of modern design. The only evidence of real antiquity to be seen in the room was the presence of four sets of steel armor, helmets and halberds which stood one in each corner of the room. The chapel is a small room, rather an oratory than a chapel. The walls were profusely decorated with the names of foreign visitors—mostly of Anglo-Saxon origin—who evidently mistook this sanctuary for an autograph album. The bare stone altar was the only thing that suggested its original use. Yet time was when armored warriors knelt around that altar in preparation for the contest that awaited them.

More interesting than the Bishop's castle—to the people of to-day at least—in the Hermitage, nearby. We had asked permission to visit the hermit, and were told we might enter his abode when we heard the sound of the bell in the belfry over the hermitage. We had hardly finished our visit to the castle when the bell rang out its invitation to us. This "hermitage" is a plain, one-room house, with a rude boulder for a doorstep. In the interior of the room I noticed what appeared to be a bench, in one corner, covered with leaves. This, I learned, was the hermit's bed. The only other furniture in the room was a rude table, on which were a book, a skull and a crust of bread. Seated at this table, in his brown Franciscan habit, and apparently engaged in meditation, was the hermit. As we entered he raised his head from his book and with his hand motioned for us to advance. I noticed that his movements were *rather* mechanical, and soon realized that our host *was* a mechanical hermit. The real hermit who had once lived here had gone to his reward many years ago, and the figure before us was only a mechanical "counterpart" clad in the "habit" of the original hermit, and kept here as a memorial

of the humble servant of God who had spent years of his life in praying for those who never say a prayer. The age of hermits has passed away, but in their day they had their uses. True, they spent much of their time in prayer and meditation, but they also cultivated the little garden adjoining their hermitage, and thus provided for their sustenance. Then, too, in the winter season, when the mountain passes were choked up with snow and the by-paths obliterated, the hermit was on the alert to rescue the weary wayfarer, give him such scanty hospitality as he could afford and show him his way, when it was safe for him to proceed on his journey.

Before leaving Bale we must not fail to visit the Eschenplatz and see the St. Jacob Monument, erected in memory of the Swiss who fell while opposing the Armagnac invasion of 1444. On a massive pedestal stands a colossal statue of Helvetia. At her feet, in crouching position, are four wounded warriors, with the device: "Our souls to God, our faces to the enemy." Soleure (German Solothurn) is one of the most ancient towns of Helvetia. It is the capital of the canton to which it gives its name, and is supposed to be the *cathedra* of the Bishop of Bale, but, as we have stated above, the Bishop has long since been obliged to make his residence at Luzerne; and this notwithstanding the fact that the Catholics comprise three-fourths of the population of the canton. The inhabitants of Soleure claim for their city the honor of its being the oldest town this side of the Alps next to Treves. The oldest building is the clock tower (*la Tour Rouge*), said to have been erected in the fourth century B. C. Other authorities ascribe its origin to the Merovingian period. Soleure was the old Roman Solodurum; an inscription on the clock tower reads as follows: "In Celtis nihil est Solodoro antiquius, exceptis Treviris, quarum ego dicta soror." In the platz, or square, adjoining this tower it was the custom for traveling actors to make "a stand" here and perform classical Greek plays without scenery, of course, for the amusement of the inhabitants. I was informed by a reliable authority that all the salary these actors received was "one pair of leather breeches a year," and they seemed well satisfied with it.

The Cathedral of St. Ursus, an imposing and venerable looking building, occupies an elevated position. It was built in 1762-73, on the site of a former edifice of 1056, is cruciform and is surmounted by a dome and two half domes. The façade is reached by a noble flight of thirty-three steps; at each end of this façade is a fountain, one adorned by a statue of Moses smiting the rock, the other with a large figure of Gideon wringing the dew from the fleece. The interior of the building is imposing and spacious, and like most of the Cathedrals of its period, I noted a custom which seemed to me

peculiar to Soleure. On Sundays and holy days the Solemn High Mass is celebrated at 10.30 A. M., but the sermon of the day is preached between the 9 o'clock Mass and the late Mass—it is a part of the service entirely by itself and permits those who have “no time” to hear sermons to retire at will. The “preacher” is regularly appointed for this duty, and preaches every Sunday. I was glad to notice that very few left the church, as the preacher was my kinsman, and well known in this country as the author of a “Life of Christ,” translated for English-speaking readers by the late Rev. Dr. Richard Brennan, of New York. He is also the author of Gilmour’s “Church History,” long used in our parochial schools.

Near the postoffice, at No. 5 Bielerstrasse, I was shown the house in which Thaddeus Kosciusko, famous in American Revolutionary history, spent the last years of his life. He died in 1817, and his affection for the land of William Tell must have been very strong, for at his request his heart was interred at Zuckwyl, a short distance from Soleure, on the right bank of the Aare. Here a simple monument shaded by weeping willows bears the inscription: “Viscera Thaddei Kosciusko.” His body reposes in the Cathedral at Cracow, near the remains of his illustrious countrymen, Sobieski and Poniatowski. As I looked upon this memorial stone I could not help thinking of the great “Irish Agitator,” Daniel O’Connell, who willed his heart to Rome and his body to Ireland. I have stood under the shadow of the round tower that surmounts his tomb in old Glasnevin and I have more than once placed my hand on his massive oaken coffin. I spent many pleasant days at Soleure, at the presbytery of my reverend cousin. I found the vicinity of Soleure replete with scenes and nooks and grottoes that tell of the abiding faith not only of the present generation but of that of their heroic ancestors. Along the road from the town to the Weissenstein, one of the most frequented heights in the Jura, we pass a Benedictine monastery, to which the poor of the vicinity come daily for their noonday soup and the food they carry home to their families. A little further on we come to a series of granite crosses set up at equal distances one from the other and representing the *Via Crucis*. Here at given times the people repair to “make the Stations.” Beyond this we come to a replica of the Holy House of Loretto, a devotion-inspiring structure.

We next proceed through a narrow and shady ravine, now converted into a delightful promenade, that leads to the Weissenstein, and follow the gorge with the heights upon our left, while a pretty little brook babbles along on our right. As we proceed we come to excavations at the foot of the mountain in which we notice life-size statues of saints in a recumbent posture. We have now reached the hermitage of St. Verina. On the left side of the ravine just

mentioned is a chapel hewn in the solid rock. It is reached by a flight of steps built in the side of the mountain. This chapel is a replica of the Holy Sepulchre, and in the inner chamber of the chapel there is a sarcophagus in which reposes a life-size figure of the dead Christ. To reach this inner chamber the visitor must crawl on hands and knees through a lower opening. Just across the road from this chapel is another—a very ancient stone chapel long out of use, but interesting because of the mortuary inscriptions on the stone floor, some of which date back to the thirteen hundreds. Adjacent to this chapel is the dwelling of the hermit. It is situated on a little island hardly more than an acre in extent, around which flows the little brook above mentioned. The dwelling is a plain wooden, one-room structure (cabin as we would call it). Here the hermit leads his solitary life of prayer and contemplation, but not of idleness. He lives on the products of his "little acre," which he cultivates with care, and such offerings as he may receive from tourists and which he receives with reluctance. Yet the good man finds uses for them on his rare pilgrimages to holy places remote from his native land. He is a man of few words, agreeable manners and a benevolent countenance. He does not seek conversation, and when his solitude is intruded upon by the curious tourist, he is polite, but prudent and reserved. Leaving this interesting spot, about which so much of historical interest might be said, we pass the crosses above the chapel and the quarries of Portland limestone, which at times reward the visitor with interesting fossils, and walk through the woods and climb up the mountainside to the Wengistein. On the side of this mountain (a section of the Jura), overlooking the beautiful valley at its base, is a large granite boulder bearing the Latin inscription:

Civibus Solodorensibus
Ob devictum
Humanitatem Hostem
MCCCXVIII
et
Nic Wengio Praet
Observatam Civium
Fidem et Vitam
MDXXXIII
Saxum Hoc Deducavit
Posterum Pietas
MDCCCXIII

This boulder has been regarded as a "foundling," as it is supposed to have been brought here centuries ago by a glacier. The Latin inscription just mentioned tells the story that Nicholas Wengi, to

whose memory this stone is erected, and in whose honor the immediate locality has been named the Wengistein—was also regarded as a "foundling." He came to Soleure in his early youth and by his upright life soon became a favorite with the people. In time, by his prudence and foresight he became the leader of the Catholic party in the wars then waged between the Catholic and Protestant factions of the canton. On one occasion, when the two armies were arrayed against each other, ready for the fray, Wengi raised a flag of truce and requested an interview with the leader of the Protestant party. It was granted. The two leaders met in the "no man's land" lying between the contending armies. After the customary military salutations, Wengi said to his opponent: "My friend, we are both Christians, and our conduct in fighting each other is anything but Christian and is, moreover, a scandal to Christian nations. Why may we not live in peace as becomes Christians? Let us lay down our arms, return to our homes and families and lead Christian lives, each respecting the other?" The Protestant leader saw the wisdom of this proposition and gladly assented. This ended the religious wars of that period. The Wengi monument records this event. But if Wengi put an end to bloody religious wars, he could not stay the hand of religious persecution. In the '70's the canton of Soleure as well as the town felt the effect of the Kulturkampf and the Folk laws (made in Germany and imported into Switzerland), when her churches and monasteries were taken from them and given over to a handful of "Old Catholics," her Bishops deprived of their sees and her clergy exiled.

We leave Soleure with deep regret and proceed on our journey in search of "souvenir" spots. Going from Neuchatel to Pontarlier through the Val de Travers, we pass many interesting little nooks—interesting because of their historical associations. Near the French frontier we come to Verrieres, and at the defile of La Cluse is the Fort de Joux. Here we are told that Mirabeau was imprisoned in 1775; but what is of greater interest to the American student is the fact that here, in 1803, died Toussaint l'Ouverture, the celebrated Negro liberator of the island of San Domingo. After being treacherously arrested, he was confined in this fort by Napoleon, some ten years previous to his death. Mirabeau and Toussaint l'Ouverture! It was strange that two such opposite characters should have passed their days of exile and imprisonment in this out-of-the-way fort in the Jura mountains; one at the instance of his own father; the other and nobler of the two, by order of Napoleon, whose armies had been sorely tried by the Christian Negro liberator on the very island on which Columbus founded the first settlement in the New World. While in this part of the country, we find two other names with which American students are familiar. Neuchatel

has its extensive natural history library, founded by Professor Agassiz, who died in America in 1873. Then there is Burgdorf, with its famous chateau, in which, in 1795, Pestolazzi established his celebrated school, which in 1804 he removed to Munchent-Buchsee, and later on to Yverdon, where he presided over his school for twenty years (1805-1825). Born at Zurich, Pestolazzi devoted his early life to the study of theology and jurisprudence, but he soon realized that his lifework lay in another direction. He became a teacher whose fame became world-wide. His methods, however, became more popular after his death than they had been during his lifetime.

On our way from Berne to Lausanne we pass through Fribourg (German Frieberg), the capital of the canton to which it gives its name and founded in 1175. It has a population of about 12,000, and is situated on the boundary line between the German-speaking cantons and the French. While German is still spoken in "the lower quarters" of the city, French is the predominant language. The great majority of the people are Catholics. Its old Gothic Cathedral of St. Nicholas dates back to 1285 and with its massive towers and its great organ commands the attention of the visitor. The buildings of note are described in books on Switzerland with more or less accuracy, according to the "lights" and prejudices of the author, but as we are dealing only with out-of-the-way places, we are not concerned with them at present. Some three and a half miles from the town, on the Sarine, we come to a cell or chapel cut into the rock, somewhat after the manner of those we have described at Soleure. This is known as the hermitage of St. Magdalena. It is now only a "show-place," and mentioned in some guide-books as a "place of little interest," but to the student of history and to devout souls it tells the story of those "Ages of Faith" when men and women realized that they had souls worth saving—who "longed to be alone with God." Nor were these holy souls mere idlers and dreamers, confined to one nation or section of country, nor to any one age. Among the Irish monks who wished to be "alone with God" we find the name of Decuil, who settled in Iceland in the year 795. Besides being a hermit, he was a geographer, and in his solitude in 825 wrote his treatise, "*De Mensura Orbis Terræ*," on the measurement of the earth. Another case in point is that of Pietro di Murrone, the hermit of Sulmona, founder of the Celestines, who was practically dragged from his hermit's cave to sit on the Papal throne under the title of Celestine V., and who after his death was canonized.

Payene, once the temporary residence of the Burgundian kings, is said to have been known as the Roman Paterniacum. It still contains some interesting historical buildings, among which are an ancient Benedictine abbey and a church erected by Bertha, queen of Ru-

dolph II. The church is now a granary and the abbey has been transformed into a school of the reform cult. The remains of the pious queen as well as those of her royal husband and of her son, Conrad, were discovered about a hundred years ago under the tower of the ancient church and reinterred in the present parish church. We might add that the queen's saddle, with a hole in it for her distaff, is still shown. To this day the expression, "*Ce n'est plus le temps ou Berthe filait,*" is the regretful allusion to the good old times when queens were not above engaging in domestic cares.

The canton of Schaffhausen has a Catholic population estimated at between four and five thousand, or about one-ninth of the entire population. The capital, which gives its name to the canton, has some interesting features, among which is the old Cathedral, once a Benedictine abbey. It was commenced in 1564 and finished in 1590. It took twenty-six years to build it, but we must remember that if in those days they built slowly they also built solidly. The church was for a long time neglected and allowed to fall into decay, because of the change in the form of worship, or what is more likely, because of the absence of all worship. The interior has, of late years, been somewhat restored, but the main interest in the building to-day is the great bell, cast in 1480, bearing the significant inscription: "*Vivos, voco, mortuos plango, fulgura frango.*" It was this inscription that inspired Schiller to write his beautiful "*Lied von der Glocke,*" reproduced in English by Poe's equally beautiful poem, "*The Bells.*" The immediate vicinity of the little town of Simplicon is noted as the scene of the memorable defeat of the Duke Leopold, of Austria, by the Swiss Confederation, under their intrepid Catholic leader, Arnold Winkelried, on July 8, 1386. He gave his life for the liberty of his country, but the Duke himself fell with 263 of his knights.

"Thus Switzerland again was free,
And Death made way for Liberty."

In the middle of Lake Constance we get a view of the little island of Reichenau with its Benedictine abbey, once richly endowed, but which fell into decay during the time of religious persecution and was finally secularized in 1790. This venerable edifice was consecrated as early as 806, and contains the remains of Charles the Fat (great-grandson of Charlemagne), who was dethroned in 887. It has been restored sufficiently to permit its use as a parish church for the neighboring villages. Only the tower and nave of the original building remain, and a number of relics and reliquaries are still preserved in the sacristy. It is painful to see the number of venerable buildings in Switzerland that have been allowed to fall in ruins or which have been preserved and used for a worship

for which they were never intended, but such is unhappily the case. The Dominican monastery of Constance, situated on an island near the town, has been partly "converted" into a hotel. The well-preserved Romanesque cloisters with the beautiful vaulted dining room, formerly the church, adjoining them, the old refectory, now "appropriately" used as a restaurant (as some writers describe it), all tell of the hatred of the Reformers for the old faith of their fathers. St. Gall, or St. Gallen, figures prominent in the history of education, for it was here that in the seventh century St. Gallus, an Irish missionary, came. Here on what is now one of the highest situated towns in Helvetia, and indeed in Europe, is a town that now bears his name and is an episcopal see. Here, too, St. Gall founded a Benedictine monastery. This monastery was suppressed in 1805, but it was one of the most famous seats of learning from the eighth to the tenth century. From this institution there went forth in its palmy days missionaries and teachers whose names have come down to our day, and its classic halls counted its students by the thousands. In its library may be found many valuable manuscripts, among which may be mentioned a Psalter of Nolker Labeo of the tenth century, and a Niebelungenlied of the fifteenth century. Of those mentioned in the catalogue of the year 823, about 400 are said to still exist. Not far away is the Martinstobel, where in the early part of the tenth century the monk Notker wrote his "In Metia Vita in Morte Sumus," suggested to him by seeing a man accidentally killed.

The canton of Appenzell, divided in 1597 into two half-cantons, Aussen-Rhoden and Inner-Rhoden, is to this day disturbed by religious troubles. The town of Appenzell, the capital of the canton, is in Inner-Rhoden. The word Appenzell is a corruption of Abbatis Cella. The town was once the temporary residence of the abbots of St. Gallen and boasts of two monasteries, and in the church may be seen the relics of banners captured by Appenzellers in the fifteenth century. The Catholic Swiss were never behind-hand when the call for liberty sounded. Nafels and Ober-Urnen are the only Catholic villages in the canton of Glarus. At the former place there is still a Capuchin monastery, very poor, indeed, but its poverty has been a blessing, inasmuch as it has saved it from being suppressed. Lucerne, which derives its name from the word "lucerne," a lighthouse, is an ancient Catholic city enclosed by walls and watch-towers dating back to 1325. Its amphitheatrical situation on a beautiful lake spanned by picturesque bridges, one of which is a veritable historical art gallery, gives the city a unique appearance. Add to this the Rigi looking down upon it from its height of over 4,000 feet on the one side and the bold and rugged heights of Pilatus on the other, and the magnificent view of the snow-capped Alps—all tend to make Lucerne a most attractive city. The guide

books are full of enthusiastic descriptions of its surroundings, of its picturesque bypaths and historical memorials, among which may be mentioned Thorwaldsen's famous Lion of Lucerne, cut out of the natural sandstone rock. It commemorates the heroism of the Swiss guard who fell in defense of the Tuilleries, in Paris, on August 10, 1792. Fain would I linger among the stories and legends that cluster around Lucerne, its lakes and its mountain peaks, but, as we have said more than once, these are not our concern at present.

The old Cathedral, with its slender towers dating back to 1506, is visited by tourists who are anxious to hear its famous organ. The Church of the Jesuit Fathers, not far from the post office, is noted for its peculiar style of architecture. In one of its chapels is an altar-piece representing St. Nikolaus von der Flüe, who many years ago lived in the vicinity of the romantic valley of the Malechthal, at the entrance of which we find the Church of St. Nikolaus, or St. Klaus, as it is commonly called. This was the first Christian church erected in this region. The ancient tower adjoining it is locally known as the Hecdenturn, or heathen's tower. Beyond this, some two or three miles distant, is the "Ranft" or Brow of the Mountain, at one time a desolate wilderness, and it was here that good St. Nikolaus built his hermitage and spent over twenty years in prayer and meditation. Part of the woodwork of this humble dwelling, and of the stone that once constituted his couch have been cut off and carried away by iconoclastic relic-hunters, to whom nothing that is not their own is sacred. St. Nikolaus von der Flüe is said to have derived his name from the "Flüe," or rock near which he lived for upwards of twenty years, and during that time to have subsisted solely on the Holy Eucharist. His isolated life, however, was not a useless one. He acted as intermediary in the settlement of the discussion as to the division of spoils following the war against Charles the Bald, of Burgundy, in 1482. St. Nikolaus died in 1487, and in due time was canonized, and his memory is still held in veneration by the people of the forest cantons of Unbrualden. There are few homes in which a picture or statuette of the holy man may not be seen to this day. The "habit" he wore in life is said to be still preserved in the Jesuit church at Lucerne, above alluded to.

The vicinity of Lucerne for miles around abounds in little nooks, where are to be found oratories, shrines and chapels to each of which is attached a legend of days gone by. They vary in character, but they all tell of the strong Catholic faith of the Swiss peasants of these ages of faith. Superstition, some would call it to-day, but we might well wish that some of that "superstition" existed in our

land, yes, even in this glorious and enlightened twentieth century. It would act as a safeguard against many temptations.

There is a chapel near the village of Gersau known as the Kindlenord (the Infanticide). Near by is a black cross which legend tells us marks the spot of some tragic incident, and the story this time tells us that many years ago a poor, demented fiddler, returning from a wedding at Treib, "killed his starving child by dashing it against the rocks." The cross asks the passerby to say a prayer for the unfortunate man. Memorial crosses of this kind are to be found along mountain roads in all parts of Switzerland, as well as in all parts of Catholic Europe. Mother Church never forgets her unknown dead. Our journey leads us from here to the shores of Lake Uri, which the German-speaking Swiss call Urner-see. On a lofty rock on the west bank of this lake, and which is eighty feet high, we read an inscription in huge iron letters, a tribute of gratitude to the German poet and dramatist, Schiller, the "Bard of Tell."

We are now entering the classic region associated with memories of the great liberator. Just a little way beyond Séelisberg are the three springs of the Rütli or Grütli, which gush from a rocky wall, now overgrown with vegetation. This plateau, the property of the Confederation, indicates the memorable spot where the "Men of Grütli," on the 7th day of November, 1307, men from Uri, Schwytz and Unterwalden, assembled their followers and bound themselves by a solemn oath to be faithful to each other, and not to rest until the Austrian oppressors had been driven from the soil of Helvetia. This place has always been regarded with special veneration, and tradition tells us that the three springs above referred to sprung up on the spot where Erni (the Arnold of Rossini's opera) of Unterwalden; Werner (of Sheridan Knowles' play of "William Tell"), of Schwytz, and Walter Fürst (of Schiller's play), of Uri, stood when they took the solemn oath.

Among the various landings in Lake Lucerne, there is one situated at the base of the Axenberg. A large rock rises to a height of 3,358 feet, and here, shadowed by overhanging trees and washed by the waters of the lake, stands Tell's chapel, the shrine of Swiss independence. It was erected by the canton of Uri in 1538, on the spot where the Swiss liberator, William Tell, leaped from the boat in which he was being conveyed to the prison at Kunsnacht by the tyrant Gessler. The chapel was rebuilt in 1880 and adorned with historical paintings by Stükelberg, of Basle. It would seem that now, from what information I was able to obtain, Mass is celebrated here but once a year, on the Sunday after Ascension Day, when a patristic sermon is preached. This Mass is attended by the inhabitants of the surrounding country, while those residing along the

shores of the lake come in boats gaily decorated for the occasion. The population of the canton of Uri is almost entirely Catholic.

The famous Rigi, about which tourists never cease to rave, is a group of mountains rising to a height of 5,906 feet, or 4,472 feet above the waters of Lake Lucerne. This group is about twenty-five miles in circumference and is situated between the lakes of Lucerne, Zug and Lowerz. The name Rigi is usually applied only to the north peak of the group. In former times it was called Rigi-Weld (pasturage of the Rigi) by the inhabitants of the region, and is now known simply as "the Rigi" (i. e., the *strata*). The herdsmen and the frequenters of the Kallbad were in times gone by the only people acquainted with the mountain, and in 1609 a pious resident of Arth erected a chapel upon it and dedicated it to Our Lady of Snow (St. Maria zum Schnee) for the use of herdsmen. A statue of Our Lady was placed here in 1690 and the spot soon attracted many pilgrims every year. Kalbad is another interesting place. A path leads through a narrow opening in a great rock to the quaint little St. Michael's Chapel, the walls of which are covered with votive tablets. One of these tablets tells us that two pious women, sisters, sought refuge among these wilds from the persecutions of the Governor of this district in the days of King Albert, and built the chapel. Near the rock, close by the chapel, a spring bubbles forth which was long known as the Schwesternborn, in memory of those two women whose sad story could be thoroughly appreciated by the women of Belgium and Northern France in our day. Coming north from Italy we soon approach the famous St. Gotthard. Let us here explain that the St. Gotthard is not, as many suppose, a single peak, but quite a mountain group with a number of different peaks, extensive glaciers and about thirty small lakes. The tunnel through which the railroad passes, a wonderful piece of engineering, is nine and a quarter miles in length. At times it ascends in numerous windings and the train now emerges into the open for a few minutes, only to plunge again into subterranean darkness. We had the good fortune to get into an "observation car" and among the many scenes that presented themselves to our observation at such times as we came out into the daylight was a pretty little village on the slope of the mountain. The modest little church, with its neat little "clocher," its presbytery or rectory, its humble but well-kept graveyard; the priest's garden, adjoining his dwelling; the good curé in his soutane and clerical hat looking up at the train as he paused in his work and leaned on his spade, all this formed a subject for an artist. But before admiration had reached the point of due appreciation, we were again in total darkness. Again, the sunlight broke in upon us; again a charming scene was before us; another village appeared

so much like the one we had just left with regret. There was the church, the presbytery, the graveyard, the garden and the industrious curé, spade in hand. Thrice as we emerged from one tunnel to plunge into another, was this same scene presented to our eyes, the only difference being the situation and direction of the village from our train. It took us some time to realize that it was the same village with its interesting environment we had been seeing all the time, but we saw it each time at different elevations as our train wound around the mountain. Those little churches and their graveyards, nestled away among the mountains or in the quiet valleys, far away from the baneful influences of metropolitan centres, what a lesson they teach us, if we had the time to listen to them. Millet heard the sound of the bell from their simple churches and was inspired to paint his world-renowned "Angelus."

Among the mountains that look down on Lake Lucerne, in days long gone by, dwelt the holy man known to-day as St. Meinrad. Erinsedeln, perhaps one of the best known abbeys in Europe, to Americans at least, is situated in a green valley, watered by the Alpbach, and is celebrated for its Benedictine abbey, which dates back to the days of Charlemagne. It was here among lofty mountains that the pious Meinrad, Count of Sulgen, on the Nekar, and one of the noblest souls of his day, feeling that the times were out of joint, and that it was impossible to set them right, withdrew to the remote depths of the Finsterwald, and there built the humble cell, on the site of which now stands the world-famed abbey of Einsiedeln. Here the holy hermit passed his days in voluntary poverty, in prayer and meditation, until stricken down by the hand of ungrateful assassins, to whom in his charity he had given an asylum for the night in his poor home. The murderers escaped for a time, but the ravens which had been fed by the hand of the hermit followed them from village to village until they attracted the attention of the authorities. The slayers were arrested and met the fate they so richly deserved.

Long years have changed that hermit's cell into the imposing abbey of Our Lady of Hermits, which stands in sharp contrast with the surrounding country. It has become the cradle of Christian civilization and for over a thousand years it has been the home of many saints, scholars and missionaries who laid the foundation of their future lives within its walls. It has become the shrine of countless pilgrimages from all parts of the world. Its vast library, dating from 946, contains rare volumes and manuscripts of great value. Nothing short of a volume can give an adequate description of this venerable pile and its surroundings, and as there is no end of books on the subject within easy access, it will be enough for us to call attention to it, and have the reader to seek further informa-

tion at his leisure in more pretentious works, We might add, however, that in 1854 this abbey sent a band of Benedictine Fathers to found an abbey in America, and have their missionaries to labor among the Indians. They settled in Spencer county, Indiana. Father Martin Marty was among the first Swiss Fathers to arrive, and it is due to his zeal that schools, chapels and churches multiplied in this part of the State. It is a notable fact that this foundation became the cradle of the Benedictines in the West. Father Marty became first prior and later on first abbot. In 1880 he was made Vicar Apostolic of Dakota. Nine years later he became Bishop of Sioux Falls and in 1874 he succeeded Monsignor Zardetti, his fellow-countryman, as Bishop of St. Cloud. Besides these two Bishops the American Church is indebted to Switzerland for two Archbishops, the Most Rev. John M. Henni, D. D., of Milwaukee, and one of his successors, the present Archbishop, the Most Rev. Sebastian G. Messmer, D. D.

In the vicinity of the Lake of Thun we find the little village of St. Beatus, which lies in a sheltered nook on both sides of the Sundgraben, which opens towards the lake. Here, many years ago, in a cave known as the Cavern of St. Beatus (Beatenhöpe), a holy hermit made it his home. He is said to have been the first to have preached the Gospel of Christ in these regions. We are told that a stream of water which rises in this cavern frequently increases so rapidly that it fills it and then bursts forth with a roar like thunder.

Interlaken, with its magnificent scenery, has been almost entirely converted into an English colony, for in summer nearly two-thirds of its visitors are English-speaking people. Near the town we find an interesting old monastery and convent, founded in 1130 and suppressed in 1528, when the canton passed into the hands of the "Reformers." It is surrounded by majestic old walnut trees that seem to look down upon it in sorrow because of the transformation it has undergone. In 1836 the east wing was turned into a hospital, while the rest of the building, together with the schloss, added in 1750, is occupied as Government offices. The convent, which once resounded with the voice of prayer, is now used as a prison. As we enter the monastery we find the choir fitted up as an English chapel; further on we find another small chapel used by the French Calvinists and by a Scotch Presbyterian congregation. The nave of the church alone is reserved for Catholic worship, and the original owners of this property may be thankful that this little corner is left them. Not far from here is the ruined Castle of Unsprunnen, the reputed residence of Manfred. Standing, as it does, in the midst of the scene in which the drama is laid, Byron evidently had it in mind when he wrote it.

The beautiful city of Geneva, so far as we are concerned, is associated with memories of St. Francis de Sales, who was Bishop of this see from 1602 to 1622, and Cardinal Mermillod. It was the home of Calvin for many years, and the chair he occupied in the memorable Cathedral of St. Peter, which dates back to the tenth century, is still shown to tourists. The influence for good and for Christian charity exerted by St. Francis de Sales is felt to this day. Cardinal Mermillod suffered untold persecution at the hands of the cantonal government, but in spite of all this he managed, with the aid of his friends in France, to build a beautiful church in his episcopal city. True, the Government tried to take it from him and give it to the "Old Catholics," but the valiant Cardinal frustrated their nefarious designs. The narrow spirit of Calvin still prevails in Geneva, but for the present, at least, Catholics are left in peace, if not in the full enjoyment of their rights as citizens.

It would be a long story to tell all that might be told, with truth, about the religious struggles that darken the pages of the history of Geneva, but the recital of these struggles is far beyond the scope contemplated in this article. The Valley of Chamouni was first cultivated by a monk of the Benedictine Order, about the beginning of the twelfth century. The reputation of its inhabitants was so bad at that time that travelers never ventured into this valley without being armed and prepared for any emergency, and if obliged to remain there over night, they spent the night in tents strongly guarded rather than trust themselves within the dwellings of the residents. The vicinity acquired the name of *Les Montagnes Maudites*, and it acted as a ban upon the district, but this did not deter St. Francis de Sales, while Bishop of Geneva, from visiting these pathless wilds alone and on foot, to seek the erring sheep of his flock and lead them back into the fold.

It may be considered a great omission on our part to write about Switzerland and make no mention of the great Hospice of St. Bernard. But this highly interesting pile is not a secluded spot seldom or never visited. On the contrary, there is no place in the Helvetian Republic better known to the tourist, none more fully described in guide books and by travelers of every shade of opinion. Even the Rev. Samuel Irenæus Prime, a one-time prominent Presbyterian minister of New York, who never lost an opportunity to belittle and misrepresent everything Catholic that he touched, found something to admire at Mount St. Bernard. But, as we have said repeatedly in this paper, we are concerned with monks and by-places, places neglected or unmentioned, which St. Bernard is far from being. It may not be generally known, however, that this famous hospice, situated some 8,120 feet above the level of the sea, dates as far back as the year 962, when St. Bernard de Menthon

came from his native village of Menthon and founded his monastery upon this snow-clad height, where the snowy season prevails during nine months of the year. Even to this day travelers are in danger of losing their way on their journeys through the mountain passes. Here the heroic Augustinians built their monastery on the highest inhabitable point in Europe. Here, in spite of the fact that the same fathers cannot stand the severe climate for more than four or five years, they devote themselves to a great work of charity. In summer the hospice is visited by hundreds of tourists, who are entertained by the Brothers, as they are called, and who wait upon them at table. Rarely does a winter pass without some loss of life, as many of the peasants engaged in trade or in sometimes visiting neighbors try to make the pass. Although the paths are indicated by high poles, set up in summer, these are at times so completely buried under mountains of snow, and the poor wayfarer loses his way and sinks exhausted, sometimes to rise no more. For this reason the fathers have trained a number of these celebrated dogs, invested with a sort of nobility when we think of them ploughing through the drifts and leading in the search for the lost ones. They carry around their neck a blanket and a basket of bread and wine as "first aids" to the benumbed. To-day these intelligent animals have been taught to *telephone* to the monastery the locality in which the victim is found. This is done by means of "telephone stations," or poles, set up along the passes. They are numbered, and when the dogs "touch the button" with their paws, the Brothers hasten with restoratives to the station indicated on the monastery switchboard.

Among the many passes in Switzerland hallowed by the labors of missionaries in the early days may be mentioned the Pass of St. Bernardino, known to the Romans, and down to the beginning of the fifteenth century was called the Vogelberg. Long years ago, when St. Bernardino of Siena brought the "glad tidings" to these regions, a chapel was erected on the southern slope of the mountain and the pass has been named in his honor. The village of St. Bernardino, the highest in the Val Mesocco, is essentially Italian and the population is exclusively Catholic, thanks to the exertions of St. Charles Borromeo.

The canton of Ticino is the only Italian canton in Switzerland. It is noted for its magnificent scenery and its numerous sanctuaries. Bellinzona, the capital, can boast of an abbey church in the Italian style of architecture which dates back to the sixteenth century. It has also a very pretty pilgrimage chapel dedicated to Santa Maria della Salute, which is visited by devout souls as a sanctuary, but by tourists who wish to enjoy the beautiful view of the surrounding country to be had from the lofty location of the chapel. Lugano, the largest town in the canton, was in times gone by noted for its

numerous monasteries. These have all been suppressed; two alone remain, that of Sta. Maria degli Angeli, is now known as the Hotel du Parc. San Lorenzo, the principal church in the town, dates from the fifteenth century. Lago Maggiore, sometimes called Lago Lucarno and anciently *Verbanus*, lies partly in Switzerland and partly in Italy, only nine miles of its banks belonging to the former country. This part of this beautiful sheet of water is known as Lake Locarno. The vicinity of the lake is studded with oratories, shrines, chapels and not a few buildings that were once monasteries, but which are now used for secular purposes. On the Monte San Salvatore is a pilgrimage chapel, and not far away is another dedicated to the Madonna del Sasso. Still another may be found on the promontory of San Remigio, that juts out into the lake near Istru; it occupies the site of what was once a temple of Venus. Avona is noted for its church of Sta. Maria and a chapel belonging to the Borromean family.

On a height overlooking Lake Maggi and the surrounding country, and which has claimed the admiration of all who have seen it, is the colossal statue of St. Charles Borromeo, Archbishop of Milan (b. 1538, d. 1584; canonized 1697). This statue was erected in 1697 in honor of the celebrated Cardinal. Its height, including the pedestal, is 112 feet (the figure of the saint is seventy-two feet high).² A winding staircase within the figure leads up to the head, in which there is a chamber large enough to admit four persons. The windows which form the eyes afford a superb view of the surrounding country. The head, hands and feet of the statue are in bronze, and the drapery is of wrought copper. The saint is represented standing, attired in the robes of his princely office, his breviary under his left arm, while his right hand is extended as in the act of imparting his benediction to the mariners on the lake.

In the foregoing pages we have endeavored to indicate some of the holy and historical places in Switzerland—only some, for there are many more. We might dwell upon the Christian history of this little republic and find much to edify and instruct us. We would learn, among other things, that with the Franks came the ox and the plough, and that these were soon followed by the civilizing influence of the Church. In the days of the Romans the "good news" came, sometimes through soldiers who had been converted in other countries, and sometimes by men of high rank, like Lucius, a king's son, who braved the dangers of the Rhetian mountains and

² The reader may form some idea of the height of this statue by comparing it with some others with which he may be familiar. For instance: The statue of William Penn on the top of the Philadelphia City Hall is 37 feet high. The Bartholdi Statue of Liberty in New York Bay is 161 feet high. This does not include pedestals.

risked his life that he might teach the truths of Christianity to an erring people. We read of the English St. Bret, who had been converted in Rome, and who spent the latter part of his life in a hermitage on the northern shore of Lake Thun engaged in spreading the Word. True, we know very little of the labors of these pioneers of the faith, but we do know of the labors of St. Meinrad and his wonderful monastery at Einsiedeln; we know of St. Sigisbert, who preached in the wilderness of Rhetia before he settled at Disentis. We have referred to St. Gall and St. Columba, who converted the half savage people who dwelt in the depths of the forests. We know that St. Fridolin came from the country of the Franks, wandered along the shores of Lake Zurich and finally built his church of St. Hilarius in a valley at the foot of the Glärvisch. The name of St. Hilarius, by the way, was in time corrupted to Glaris or Glarus, and was in this form given to the small canton which lies between Schayz, St. Gall and Grisons. This little canton of Glarus shows in its coat-of-arms as its symbol the effigy of the peaceful Fridolin. If we have referred to these pioneers of the Swiss Church, it is to show that they were the centres of that civilization which alone sheds a cheerful light in the darkness of those early times. They alone possessed the gentleness, the wisdom and the learning of the age, and all the kindred spirits flocked around them to learn the principles of a better life and to spread these principles abroad in wider and wider circles. It is to be regretted that the records of these holy men are so meagre; they worked for the glory of God and not for their own; they have not cared to preserve even the names of the early Bishops of the Church, for that of the Bishop of Lausanne is not mentioned for nearly two centuries, nor that of the Bishop of Basle for nearly four, while that of the Bishop of Sion is seldom mentioned, if at all. But their works have survived their names. They did not confine their labors to spirituals alone, for we learn that under their guidance the people were taught agriculture. From their monks they learned to burn lime and to replace their wretched huts by habitable and comfortable houses; their garments of skins were replaced by woolen clothes, which the housewives were taught to weave for themselves; the waste lands were redeemed and made productive, and good roads were built, schools in time were opened for the instruction of the children, the power of the Church spread and the country prospered through three centuries and a half of Frankish rule.

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RELIGION AND CULTURE.

A WORLD war has been waged to make existence safe for democracy and small nations. As disinterested and humane a motive as it seems, it is not the outcome of modern civilization. The kindred groups and tribes that broke away in far-off Aryan days from the mother of races settled down, some on the shores of the Danube, others along the coasts of the Mediterranean and others, even penetrating into Africa, carved out provinces for themselves and became in the course of aeons the shapers of art and makers of culture. National ideals and racial instincts are forces which have their origin in the primal orchestration of humanity. In the midst of smoke and the slaughter of war do we behold the warlike tribes that peopled Europe before the advent of the Christian era reek and fall before the self-trained veterans of the warlike Cæsar, to unite in still more vengeful force at a later period.

The Roman Empire spread over two continents, wiping out national boundaries and deleting national distinctions. On its disintegration national forces came into operation until they were partly crushed beneath the combined strength of the Papacy and the Holy Roman Empire. Here, too, a gradual decline facilitated the work of the Reformation, and the Italian "Rebirth" gave rise to a nationalizing era which threw off the yoke of Rome. In the Napoleonic era Europe was destined to see itself once more bereft of its national entity before a military over-lord who would fain quench the lamp of freedom in Europe. Finally, at the Congress of Vienna in 1815, great national structures were determined which have more or less maintained themselves to this day.

On the side of literature we have a striking parallel. In pre-Christian times Roman civilization and its incoming classic culture forced themselves upon all the countries of Europe. In the fourth century Roman domination was shaken to its foundations as the floodgates of barbarism were let loose upon a civilized world. Here the remedy and the safety came from two little islands up in the northern sea. On the advent of Christianity Church Latin was an influence which shared in this leveling of minorities. In the interval elapsing between the Dark and Middle Ages languages and literature had time to outgrow their humble beginnings. But here it was France that pioneered the path and set the fashion for her less ingenious neighbors. Between the two languages of the North and South of France there was in the Middle Ages a kind of division of labor. The North took narrative poetry, the South lyric, and French narrative and provençal lyric in the twelfth century between them made the beginning of modern literature for the whole of

Europe. In the midst of this upheaval of nations and world-wide flux Ireland's position is most singular. The expanding wave of Romanization never touched her shores, as the Roman eagles were never planted on her soil. When the savage hordes from the Baltic destroyed and desecrated every fair spot in Europe, while a solitary wave passed over England, Ireland alone was preserved immune. Later, when Christian classic culture was absorbing the interests of the best intellects in Europe in her cause, in Ireland was found the stream of secular literature flowing side by side with her own. In any estimation of the early origins of literature in Western Europe, Irish literary characteristics will not be sought in vain.

To understand the civilized community of which we are a part and its relations with the other civilized communities of the world and with the literature in which these communities are reflected, we must widen our literary programme and make generalizations which will enable us to see the whole field of literature as a unified system rather than as an aggregate of disjointed and independent material. By so doing we will be falling in with the views of our time and following where the study of higher criticism and scientific interpretation may lead us. There are many signs of the times which are favorable to general culture. It is an age of public libraries. The enterprise of leading publishers is doing excellent work in making the whole world's literature accessible. It is also a special note of the present time that the highest scholarship is prepared to devote time and energy to the transplanting of literary masterpieces into the vernacular in translations which are themselves literature. "Only world literature," says Mr. Moulton, "literature studied apart from distinctions met in particular languages, gives a body of literary material from which it is safe to make generalizations; only in world literature can the life history of literature be fully revealed." Notwithstanding this strangely marked statement, Mr. Moulton himself seems to fall short when reducing his principles to practice. In his critical deductions he seems to ignore the existence of a very significant body of Irish and Celtic literature, which, we believe, would have served infinitely better to illustrate his theories than some forced laboring of classic models. Though it may be urged that "world literature" is a colorless, varying thing, differing for the nation and even for the individual according to the standpoint taken, that the Englishman's literary outlook must of necessity refer us to the Bible and the classics for the most potent factors in his literature's evolution, confining Celtic influence to a tributary quota in the literary stream as it passed through ages of mediævalism, we would venture to augment far beyond preconceived ideas the ambit and constructive energy of Celtic literature.

In our author's treatment of the evolution of the epic the Homeric

masterpiece counts for everything. Though he avails of "Kalevala" and "The Arabian Nights," yet Cuchullian and the Red Branch Knights are apparently not considered worthy of notice. While admitting the rightful preëminence of the "Iliad" and the "Odyssey" on the score of artistic unity and general excellence, and without seeking to minimize its fundamental importance in epic evolution, nevertheless we think ourselves justified in claiming an honored place for the epopee of Ireland both on account of its intrinsic merits and a "form" of unequaled service in the study of "evolutions."

To discuss the three cycles of Irish epic literature, even in briefest outline, would be an immense task. We shall, therefore, confine our remarks, in the main, to one cycle, the most important and best known. In the famous Irish epic, the "Tain Bo Cuailgne," there is revealed a world of barbaric splendor; heroes and warriors move before our gaze in a glowing pageant. To institute a comparison between the "Tain" and Homer's work may not be out of place and, as we shall see, our epic compares favorably with the latter. Undoubtedly, the Greek hexameter is the ideal medium for epic. Still the prose medium may be well recommended. But it is sometimes misleadingly asserted that the Irish epic craftsman employed pure prose. In the oldest types, at least, this is not true. The prose has many poems interspersed, varying from rude verse of the oldest type to the most elaborate new form. It carries out thoroughly what may be assumed as the rules of the mixed kind of narrative, partly verse and partly prose, which is so characteristically Irish, whether or not it is also, as so many think, the primitive form of epic in general. The difference between Ireland and Iceland is that the original heathen traditions had become more obscure and corrupt in Ireland before the stage at which the imaginative literary artist began to work on them. The Northmen have their own humorous stories of the adventures of the gods; the Irish go far beyond them in the revel of the fancy supplied from primeval sources, extravagant fables, which are only not monotonous because the reciters see the fun of them.

The sense of artistic unity and proper subservience of parts show a more finished and more highly developed technique in the Grecian model. To cast aside, however, distinctions of this sort, it is universally admitted that the "Tain" exhibits a nobler spirit of chivalry than the "Iliad." In the Irish epic the champions are better matched. There is something touching in the idea of the friendship and bonds of love that existed between them from the days of their apprenticeship which heightens the interest of the story. The contest exhibits a chivalrous sense of generosity and a desire for fair play characteristic of the Irish nature—always noble and self-sacrificing.

We observe the portrayal of grim, cruel realism in the one and the sense of high-minded valor and scrupulous honor in the other. But to discuss briefly another point of view, more important from the point of view of this essay.

What has enabled the "Iliad" and the "Odyssey" to supersede the epic work of their own time and to persist as dominant types is the "conquest of abounding matter by perfect form," which is another way of expressing the culmination reached in the Organic Epic. There are four main stages that stand out in the evolutionary development of the epic. A series of unit stories struggle out a varying existence. Later on these stories become fused or grouped themselves around a number of heroes. The "heroic" stage is reached when the individual heroes acquire a sufficient loftiness of ideals and outstanding valor to mould the minds of men to their image. This stage may be well illustrated from manifold examples taken from the "floating" mass of Irish epicism. Finally we have the great consummation on which a perfect plot is devolved by the amalgam of minor episodes and many stories made to serve the purpose of a unified artistic whole. For such a consummation a solitary artist is required. So we have Homer forging the flying mass of the heroic material of ancient Greece into the perfect plot of the "Iliad" and the "Odyssey." In Ireland, however, such an artist did not often occur, with a consequent defect in the disposal of the "matter." The architectonic work of coördinating traditional material into a harmony is well exemplified in the Homeric arrangement. But in the Irish epic we are continually nearer the more rudimentary stages. The "Tain," which is unquestionably the most finished and less disjointed creation, contains passages such as the combat of Cuchullian with Ferdia, which become immoderately extended and form almost a separate story intercalated with jets of beautiful poetry. The long and popular story of the "Tain" has not only gathered round it a group of shorter explanatory tales called *remocela*, but we find inserted in the body of the story fresh episodes which had an independent existence in the "floating" material. However, the general outline and purpose of the ordinary Irish epic is clear and the construction is carried out on a definite literary plan.

Thus we see while Irish epic literature is great in itself and would undoubtedly have aroused more attention had it not been clothed in a garb which even the most thoroughly equipped literary historian would not venture to master, it is also of the greatest importance from the point of view of the modern study of literature. Its oldest sagas bring us back beyond the mists of centuries, before the dawn of the first Olympiad, ere the birth of the wolf-suckled twins who founded Rome. The Cuchullian cycle centres around one great figure—Cuchullian, the Achilles of ancient Ireland. In the heroic

lays of the Fenian cycle we see in one kaleidoscopic glance a splendid phalanx of natural heroes as powerful and majestic as the gods of Olympus, yet extremely tangible as they contend in party strife and hurl their mighty challenges against each other in the swelling uplands of royal Tara.

For variety of form, range of material, as an example of distinct types our epic output is important, though little known. It bears all the traces of a hoary antiquity, of a barbaric structure, and is the independent growth of a nation that bloomed early. It had attained an artistic plan ere the hybrid literatures of mediæval Europe had fully coalesced. It is racy of the soil, since neither Christianity, classic culture nor the hardy civilization of the North hastened its evolution.

To trace the interaction between Celtic learning and the poetry of the Saxon through the mist of cloudland which surrounds the Dark Ages will at best but reveal faint and fitful glimmerings of a superior literature encroaching upon and assuaging the hardier poetry of the North. That there is even now a faint glimmer of the great dawn to come is admitted alike by the painstaking historian and the critic of insight. All through Cynewulf and Caedmon we have occasional stammerings in imitation of rhyme as it was then practiced by the Irish. It would be interesting to prove this beyond doubt. Many litterateurs think and documents like the Book of Carne serve to prove that the interaction between Celtic and English prosody was all through the Saxon settlement much closer than many historians of repute have thought or would be unprejudiced enough to admit. From the very earliest times we had hosts of Irish missionaries invading Northern England, bearing with them books and a civilization peculiarly Celtic. We had also the existence of a great body of Welsh songs in the Northumbrian districts. Moreover, there was constant crossing and recrossing of Northumbrians to Ireland and of Irish to Northumbria. The number of monasteries of Irish origin in England at this early period is estimated to be over half a hundred.

But all this took time, and casting our eyes back to the situation when the barbarians from the North burst down upon the continent. The four hundred years that elapsed from the destruction of Rome by the Goths to the establishment of the empire of Charlemagne are among the darkest in the history of European life. The barbarian hordes had swooped down on the tottering Roman Empire and transformed into barren wastes the once smiling plains of continental Europe. The centres of education and refinement were deserted, and it seemed as if with the darkening gloom original chaos had returned, and the last faint glimmer of literature and art had darkened into total night. But their sun had set only to rise with

unfaded lustre in the little island in the western seas. She it was that was destined to become the centre of enlightenment and sanctuary of learning during these dismal years when civilization had well-nigh faded from the rest of Europe, and the gloom of war and desolation hung like the mist of death over the suffering world.

The work of evangelization was the unique distinction for Ireland a century or two before England was in a position to enter the lists. The latter got her chief impulse from Ireland, and one cannot help thinking that during those gloomy years when those islands off the western seaboard alone were left unscathed, one of which had suffered from the deteriorating influence of Rome and depended so much for her literary material on the Scandinavian invaders. Ireland deserves a place apart and should not be made to share her honors with a land suffering from most of the ills which befell Western Europe. The Celt, it cannot be denied, preceded the Anglo-Saxon, not only in his Christianity, but in his cultivation of learning, both sacred and profane, and again in his special zeal for the Gospel propagation. In the year 680 Anglo-Saxons passed over to Ireland in great numbers. We can easily trace their sojourns in many Irish monasteries, particularly Armagh. The name, "Mayo of the Saxons," is a sufficient identification of their stay at this monastic centre. King Alfred is supposed to have spent some time in this latter place. It may be noteworthy that Aldhelm, who was a pupil of an Irishman, Mailduf, and trained in his school, became ultimately Bishop of Salisbury and was declared two centuries later by Alfred to be the best of Anglo-Saxon poets.

Taking for granted the existence of Northumbrian schools and the cause of their origin, we will not discuss with Stopford Brooke the reason why a peculiar kind of poetry grew up in this district nor the cause of its isolated literary greatness. Many and varied are the qualities imparted to Anglo-Saxon poetry by the wholesale invasion of monasticism in the northern districts of England. The sweet, well-bred gentleness, religious fervor with its tender supernaturalism, a natural dignity, a grave seriousness of life, are special elements that contributed and which indeed continue to the present day. The monastic tone ministered still further to its endurance. "Our island religion," says Mr. Brooke, "at least in the home of poetry in the North, was first made by the Irish and was deeply tinged by their nature. Owing to their influence a more changing color was given to the religious life, a great spirit of adventure pervaded it, a freer and more passionate daily life entered into it. Also the life the Irish missionaries lived and the spirit they imposed on religion were alike romantic. These things have been one of the powers of our literature—one of the fires which have burnt in it down to the present day." Cuthbert's influence as a writer was

great. He had Gaelic or Irish blood in him on his mother's side. He is set apart as the man on whom the mantle of Columba of Iona had fallen. If his influence was great in the eighth century it has not ceased to be felt in the nineteenth. Not only in Baeda, but in Scott and Wordsworth has he been the subject and inspirer of literature. Intensity of character, variety of life, and a deep humanity make up an image which sent its influence throughout English literature down to our own day. In Cuthbert and Caedmon we see Christianity as a thin veneer over the old heathen virtues, and the gradual assimilation of the Christian spirit was not accomplished without serious resentment on the part of the people. In Cynewulf and his group we advance rapidly. Foreign literary influences in England were ceasing to be insular as the influence of a literary tongue began to hold sway over her writers.

But to treat of Cynewulf—that great Anglo-Saxon poet who rises above the dreary average like a great forest tree—adequately and from our special viewpoint we must gradually introduce the subject and unlock the deep store of personal matter which can be worked out of his compositions. The Venerable Bede had impressed the world with the strange and beautiful story of the Whitley cowherd's poetical vocation. But no later Bede took up Cynewulf to make him celebrated. Thus he sank into that obscurity, together with the literature of his remote period, where he would have slumbered still had not the Germans lighted the way to its dusty treasures and pioneered the work of resurrection. But by a gradual process of conjectural restoration he has emerged from the gloom of centuries like a pyramid long submerged brought to light again. We can now compare and discuss his career and works and his exact literary importance. His works are contained in the Exeter and Vercelli codices. To Kemble we owe much, as he was the first to make investigations in connection with Cynewulf, as he was the first Englishman to concern himself in Old English linguistics. Some of Cynewulf's authentic work is rune-marked, and amongst his "Riddles" are to be found much autobiographical information whose meaning is very difficult to elucidate. These "Riddles" have assimilated the Irish attitude towards nature. This tradition lingered on in the North and the Celtic border-land down to the time of Chaucer, whose authority and prestige established the conventional treatment of nature. Trautman was the first to give a successful rendering of these runic passages. But information from the supposed "Bekenntnisse" of this first of cryptogrammatists was long like mere darkness. Amongst some troublesome hypotheses put forward was one which associated him with the vagabond paternity of minstrels and another which provided him with a wife. The latter fact was supported on the wrong interpretation of a riddle, and so far was it

from being true that his signature to a degree at a synod at Clovesho in 803 proves that he was an ecclesiastic. In spite of much loss of time and energy in the blind alleys of rash conjecture we have reached a stable and satisfactory interpretation of his work in Stopford Brooke, as follows: "The riddles tell us more about his youth. They make plain that he knew some Latin, that he had received a good education at the convent school. They show that he was a lover of natural scenery and of animals, a close observer of all he saw and heard; that he delighted as much in the song of the dove and the nightingale as in the roaring of the tempest and the sea; that he was imaginative and rejoiced in his imagination; that he was as ready to verse a coarse song for the peasant as a lay of the sword for the king; that he had a passion for impersonation and a keen sensitiveness to beauty, which afterwards became a keen passion for righteousness; that he had fought as a warrior, had sailed the seas and seen many pleasures of human life." Mr. Stopford Brooke proves at great length his Northumbrian associations. He shows from the spirit of his poetry that his home must be bordered by the storm-lashed sea. Then the note of retrospective melancholy, amongst other things, point in this direction. We have no proof of the existence of a school of natural poetry in Mercia or Wessex at that time. It matters not much whether Cynewulf's poetry is presented to us in Wessex garb, for it was quite a common thing to translate other dialectical productions into the literary dialect of the South. Thus also Professor O'Neill voices the same idea: "Gradually darkness was dispelled and more and more clear did it appear that Cynewulf, a Northumbrian, was an erudite ecclesiastic and flourished about the middle of the eighth century." But even more serviceable knowledge for our purpose was yet to be gleaned by the brilliant researches of Trautman and his judicious use of the labors of many predecessors. It seems that in the year 737 Cynewulf became abbot and Bishop of Lindisfarne, or Holy Island. In the year 750 he got connected in a quarrel with King Eadbert, of Northumbria, and as a consequence he was imprisoned. During his captivity his see was administered to by Bishop Frithubert, of Hagustaldesham. Some time after Cynewulf was restored to his see, which he resigned of his own accord in 780, and bowed down with the weight of years he retired to a monastery, where he died in 783, ten years before the Norse hordes burst with fury upon the scene of his beloved labors. Still these admissions, striking as they undoubtedly are, do not refer to him the art of song. But no epoch of European literature has left such indistinct traces in history as that of Northumbria during the hundred years of its bloom. No doubt the devastations and pillaging onslaughts of the Norse must have been so successful and complete

as to have almost obscured the mere fact of its existence. Irishmen have a special reason to regret that it should be so, as Northumbrian culture was entirely the work of Irish missionaries. Lindisfarne was the eldest daughter of Iona. In the ruin of Christian Northumbria at the hands of Viking pirates one of our country's grandest creations fell to the ground. With it fell into the oblivion of centuries the writings and almost the memory of one who may be ranked among the noblest of ancient Ireland's spiritual offspring.

No doubt we see in what is declared to be our poet's earliest work all the adventuresomeness and hot-headedness of youth, but we see, too, in his later work the period of his conversion. The fifteenth "fitt" of *Elene* is valuable as documentary evidence bearing on the poet's personality. It contains not only his signature in runes, but is a fragment of a confession unveiling the manner of the man to whom the Cross became salvation. It shows that he was old when it was written. It also ascribes his conversion to a true understanding of the Cross. But with regard to *Elene*, it is strange also that it carries us back to the heathen spirit breathed in his earlier work. It seems as long as he was troubled about his sins he kept his poetry clear of all forms of heroic verse, and when his mind was firmly rooted in spiritual assurance he allowed his original bardic nature to roam at large. But all this is a gain to art, for he uses with fuller power and with more art the quick hammering strains of the short epic line and with greater freedom the old saga-like phases of warfare by land and sea. In *Cynewulf* we have the vigor of the Keltic missionaries and the inspiration of the new Christian ideas linked with the sublimated hardihood of the old pagan piracy. Doubtless we have in him a blend of all three. He delights in the sea, he is full of the spirit of battle; the ship and the sword are familiar and dear to his imagination. Often he follows with direct simplicity the lead of the Scriptures of patristic doctrine, of pious legend. Noteworthy is the transition from the old piratical heathenism of the old Norse Scops and Scalds to the milder and more gracious spirit of Christianity, to the spiritual meekness of a Bernard or of a Francis. "In many respects, *Cynewulf* was an earlier Milton, a more Catholic Milton. The vehemence, strength, the refined charm in descriptive passages, the deep personal note are all represented. The gloom which broods over much Anglo-Saxon poetry and helps to turn readers away from its treasures, though not unmarked in *Cynewulf*, is still flashed across and assuaged by many rays of delight in nature, gentle melancholy and reliance on divine mercy. "Now," says Professor O'Neill, "came into English poetry the pleasure in green grass, flowers and streams, songs of birds in spring, cool winds in summer; there began the happy blending of these with vividly realized human incident and emotion."

Compare the following purely Keltic description of the Cave of St. Guthlac: "Pleasant was the sunny plain, airy his dwelling place, sweet the bird's song, blossoming the earth, and the cuckoo announced the year." And when the old saint dies sweet odors exhale from his body, "such fragrance as in summertide flowering plants, honey-flowing and delightful, send forth over the wide plains." The following is illustrative of the best Anglo-Saxon poetry:

"Lightly lifting on its way, laden to the Lithe,
Flew at speed the Flood horse, till the Floater of the tide,
After the sea-playing, scornful, surged upon the seacoast,
Ground against the shingle-grit."

The "Andreas"—a legend of the Apostle Andrew—is perhaps the most vigorous of English poems before Chaucer. Of the signed and therefore certain poems that on the Ascension may afford something characteristic of his strongest moods:

"So the greedy Ghost shall gang searchingly through earth
And the flame, the Raveger, with its fierce terror,
Shall through high-up timbered houses hurl upon the plain."

Perhaps the best known of his poems and the most admired utterance of the early English genius is the "Phoenix." Clearly it is no production of a strolling minstrel, but the work of a learned poet. It is a free rendering of the Latin poem of Lactantius, and the following is a portion of Brooke's English version suggested by Professor O'Neill. It is the correct and truly poetical way of handling nature, "the power of so dealing with things as to awaken in us a wonderfully full, new and intimate sense of them, and of our relations with them." The especial keynotes of Irish nature poetry are intensity and suggestiveness. The former exists when the poet identifies himself with his subject and projects himself with almost fierce love into its life, to wrest its secret, to render its characteristic aspect. The latter is a challenge to the imagination, a subtle playing with the emotions, an elusive hint, a dandling with the half-said thing. It is as follows:

"Winsome is the wold there; there the wealds are green, spacious-spread below the skies; there nor snow nor rain, nor the furious air of frost, nor the flame of fire, nor the headlong squall of hail, nor the hoar frost's fall, nor the burning of the sun, nor the bitter cold bring woe to any wight."

Here surely the northern poet speaks eloquently, not only in his proper theme, but also in subject, feeling and recasting of the Irish pupilage which had created Northumbrian civilization. His land of the Phoenix is no Arabian paradise, but the *Tir-n-an-oz*

of early Celtic vision lore, the Inis Fail spoken of in Milesian mythology. This it is that haunts amid the wintry surgings of the North Sea the poet of wind-swept Lindisfarne.

Here it is the invasion of Celticization, the incursions of a religion and its incoming culture as bloodless in its enforcement as any in the realms of recorded history. Wherever the Irish missionary went he brought his native culture with him. His idea was not to stunt the growth of the vernacular literature by giving precedence to his own, but to provide for its fullest expansion along indigenous lines. Wherever he unfolded the banner of religious propagation, culture and learning followed suit. Irish ideals of heroism, of physical endurance, of equity were of no mean order. We see in them where the Irish monk derived those qualities which made him a pioneer the world over. We see, in fine, the virtues which were to win for Ireland the glory of the conversion of empires.

MARTIN J. LES.

Book Reviews

"The Children of Eve." By Miss I. C. Clarke. A Novel. 12mo., pp. 400. New York: Benziger Brothers.

A well-known foreign reviewer says of Miss Clarke as a novelist: "Miss Clarke writes throughout with delicacy and ease; she manifests a perfect mastery of distinguished diction, and whilst she never forces the note of fervor or indulges in deliberate rhetoric, her pages are musical with sincerely felt enthusiasm and glow with a very definite beauty. The writer is not afraid of the braveries of life, and it is pleasant to scale with her the heights of human character and to feel the rarefied air and tonic breezes of lofty ideals."

It is pleasant to be able to subscribe to this estimate and to add that all these admirable qualities are shown in Miss Clarke's latest novel. The day is past when Catholics are asked to read books by Catholic authors in a spirit of sacrifice. We have an increasing group of Catholic novelists at the present time who have all the ability of non-Catholic writers, and who are free from the infidelity, the immorality and the general degeneracy that characterize the modern novel, and make it unsafe and unsound. Most of them should be stamped on their face "unclean," that they might be shunned as were the lepers of old. Here is a synopsis of "The Children of Eve:"

"Donna Rina Ubinaldi, brought up in the pious atmosphere of an Italian palazzo at Florence, is the daughter of an English mother, and has a mind of her own. She is an exceptionally devout Catholic. Ordinarily very obedient, she resents the well-meant efforts of her titled grandfather to marry her to the Conte Toni Delfini, an Italian nobleman, and goes off to England with a Mrs. Proctor to visit relatives. While at Mrs. Proctor's home Rina meets and falls in love with her son, Markham, a young Catholic who has allowed himself to become intimate with Adrian Guise, an apostate from his religion. His mother has been driven to despair as Markham refuses to give up these dangerous associates. He proposes to Rina, who tells him he must choose

between herself and the Guises. Markham promises to have nothing more to do with them, but he has evidently no idea how strong their influence over him had grown to be."

With this as a beginning Miss Clarke has produced a novel at once powerful and tender, delineated with that delicate and charming touch that has made all her books so popular. In her descriptions she displays a knowledge of Italian customs and atmosphere suggestive of Marion Crawford at his best, and in her depiction of character she is altogether admirable. The reader will not soon forget the graphic reality of Adrian Guise, the menace of whose sinister personality overshadows the lives of Rina and Markham. The novel is more than a love story. It is a vivid picture of the combat waged between the forces of evil and the Catholic Church for the soul of a man—and the Church wins. It will cause much thought among so-called "liberal" Catholics and those who are wont to think themselves "broadminded." Also, it is an admirable refutation of those who hold that Catholic literature is not "virile," and that it does not "appeal."

"The World Problem: Capital, Labor and the Church." By Joseph Husslein. S. J., Associate Editor of "America," and Lecturer on Sociology at Fordham University School. 12mo., pp. 296. New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons.

The much-abused phrase "a timely book" may be applied to the present volume with special fitness. The spirit of unrest which is abroad in the world, and extends to every country, is becoming more alarming every day. Capital, labor, profiteering, exploitation, Socialism, sabotage, strikes, revolutions—are terms that are coming into more common use every day, and that have long since ceased to be abstract terms. They describe actual conditions and methods that are becoming more acute and more threatening and that will lead finally to chaos, if the remedy is not found soon. This is the situation which Father Husslein faces in this volume, and he calls it well "The World Problem." Every man is interested in its solution. It concerns each one without exception, and its settlement extends to future generations as well as to the present. The Catholic Church believes she has the answer, and that she could bring about unity and harmony

among all men if they would only submit to her direction. In a word, she would extend to all men of good will that peace which her Divine Founder came down from heaven to bring on earth, and which it is His divine will to communicate to them through her. Hence the author applies Catholic teaching to all these burning questions and solves them with Catholic faith and morality. But he does so in a masterly manner. His book is indeed timely and welcome. What a pity that we cannot introduce it into the editorial room of every newspaper and magazine in the country and induce the editor to accept it as a guide. It is appalling at times to read the instructions that are given by these teachers of the public on problems that touch the foundations of society. Truly at times one is tempted to cry out, the blind are leading the blind, and to fear the fulfilment of the Scripture warning that they shall both fall into the pit. We recommend Father Husslein's work most warmly.

"*Alberta: Adventuress.*" By Pierre L'Ermite, author of "*The Mighty Friend.*" Translated by John Hannon. 8vo., cloth, net, \$1.35. New York: Benziger Brothers.

So distinguished an authority as Francois Coppee says to the author of this book: "You have an admirable gift, my dear confrere, for telling stories that are at once dramatic and touching. They possess, moreover, a merit very seldom encountered nowadays—they may be safely entrusted to all readers. . . . I find in the present volume the distinctive quality of all your work—the charm of poignant interest. In '*Alberta*' you have done much more than awaken curiosity and sustain excitement. You have denounced a great evil of present-day France: its abandonment of life in the country and the morbid attraction, the malign allurements which our greater towns seem to exercise, not only on humble toilers, but on others more plenteously endowed with gifts of high birth and good fortune. Alas! your arraignment is only too true. The practically uninhabited chateau with the greater part of its lands lying fallow is far too common a spectacle in France. In '*Alberta*' you have pointed a warning finger to this eminent national peril."

But this evil and this peril is by no means limited to France

or peculiar to it; unfortunately it is universal and ancient. The story of the Prodigal Son is the same story in its last analysis, and who can guess how long ago the first prodigal asked his father for his portion, that he might desert the quiet peacefulness of the country to follow the alluring lights of the city, with its riot and wretchedness. This story then has universal interest; it might be translated into the languages of the world and find interested and understanding readers in every clime. It is in some sense a sequel to "The Mighty Friend," because some of the characters reappear. Some persons will prefer the former, but this by no means detracts from the merits of the latter.

"Outline Meditations." By Madame Cecilia. 8vo., imitation leather, net, \$1.50. New York: Benziger Brothers.

The principle followed in this book has been to give first one or more texts, upon which, as it were, the meditation is built; then to give a short introduction, confined to short, suggestive sentiments, which would bring the matter closely before the mind. After this, the main points are set forth in several leading thoughts, bearing directly on the subject. Each of these points is then elaborated with further short statements, each closely related to the main subject. At the end of each meditation a practical application has been supplied. The volume is also admirably adapted for the preparation of short sermons. The plans are clear, succinct and easily adaptable to discussion, and the busy priest will find them very handy. A unique feature of the work is that each meditation is printed complete on two facing pages, so that the plan and contents of each subject may be seen at a glance.

"War Addresses from Catholic Pulpit and Platform," 8vo., pp. 313. New York: Joseph L. Wagner.

The fifty-two items in this collection are made of sermons, speeches, addresses and prayers delivered by prominent Catholic clergymen and laymen, at various times and on different occasions since the beginning of the war. They vary in length, merit and importance, according to the circumstances which called them forth, and the ability of the author. The publisher tells us that the

collection was compiled chiefly for its value as a witness to Catholic patriotism and loyalty. It is not supposed to be complete or exhaustive, but it is representative, and it represents the true Catholic sentiment and effort in supporting the American cause in the World War. The most distinguished names on the list are Cardinal Farley, Cardinal Gibbons, Cardinal O'Connell, Archbishop Glennon, Archbishop Hanna and Bishops Allen, Carroll, Currier, Gunn, O'Connell, Russell, Hayes and Shahan. Some of these are represented several times. The publisher is to be commended for this compilation, because it brings within our reach an answer to the base charge of disloyalty which has been made against us in the past, and which will be repeated in the future, however much we flatter ourselves that the ignorant bigot has been silenced forever. It also presents to the younger public speaker models of patriotic oratory which may be safely and profitably followed.

"His Luckiest Year." By Father Finn. A sequel to "Lucky Bob." With frontispiece. 12mo., cloth, \$1.00. New York: Benziger Brothers.

It is surely a compliment to an author and a proof of his power as a story-teller when his readers cry for more of the same kind, and crave for the opportunity of following their favorite characters through new adventures, rather than to be introduced to newcomers. That compliment has been paid to Father Finn not once, but many times. It is paid to him again in the present instance, for "His Luckiest Year" is not only a sequel to "Lucky Bob," but it is also in the same series as "Tom Playfair," "Percy Wynn," etc. Readers of "Lucky Bob" will welcome this new story, in which the vividly interesting young hero comes into his own at last, after a year of struggle and adventure in a large city. The mystery surrounding Bob's parentage is cleared up in the new story. During his exciting and plucky career in Cincinnati the charming friends he made in his early adventures are not forgotten. Their destinies are progressing in the background together with his own, and in the end they all converge to their original starting point on the banks of the Mississippi. All lovers of Lucky Bob, a very lovable hero, will follow with breathless interest the swift rush of events which brings Bob's vicissitudes to a close. Bob makes his exit

in a loud clash of triumph, enthroned in the hearts of all who were so fortunate as to meet him.

"Seven Legs Across the Seas." By Samuel Murray. 8vo., pp. 408. Illustrated. New York: Moffat, Yard & Co.

This is an unusual book. Generally books of travel are written by wealthy persons, or professional persons, or lecturers who are gathering information for their patrons, because as a rule only persons of this kind have the means and the ability to write such books. But in this case we are told that the author is a printer and linotype-setter, and that he has made a journey of 75,000 miles with little more than his clothes and a Union card. This journey he describes in "Seven Legs Across the Sea," not in flowery language, rather confining himself to the working vocabulary of the plain people, and yet at times with eloquence. He is observant, interested, studious and always frank and fair in his criticisms, comparisons and deductions. Much of historical value may be found in the book, besides topics pertaining to everyday life not generally touched upon by travelers.

"Your Interests Eternal: Our Service to Our Heavenly Father." By Rev. Edward L. Garesche, S. J. 12mo., pp. 155.

"Your Soul's Salvation: Instructions on Personal Holiness." By Rev. Edward F. Garesche, S. J. 12mo., pp. 156. New York: Benziger Brothers.

In the former of these two little volumes the author informs us that "it is one of a group of little books designed to afford to Catholics in the world a convenient series of readings bearing on their own spiritual advancement, the help of their neighbor and the defense and spread of the Church." He adds that "an informal, direct and chatty conference between the writer and the reader is aimed at, rather than any lofty or abstruse flight of rhetoric."

The short instructions on personal holiness which are contained in "Your Soul's Salvation" have for the most part appeared in the author's magazine, "The Queen's Work," under the heading "The Month's Thought." It may be said of both books that they are thought provoking. Each chapter is so short that it may be

read in a few moments, but it is so meaty that it furnishes nourishing food for the mind and normal, healthy growth. This is better than to store up matter for the exercise of the memory only, which may come into our possession for a time and then pass out again without becoming really our own or leaving any permanent trace behind.

"The Hand of God:" A Theology for the People. By Martin J. Scott, S. J., author of "God and Myself." 12mo., pp. 208. New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons.

In "The Hand of God" the Catholic religion is epitomized to the ordinary reader in a way both simple and sufficient. It is a reliable source of information for those desiring to be conversant with their religion for their own satisfaction as well as for those desiring to enlighten others. While it does not embody every subject, it throws lights on the entire matter through its lucid and extraordinary manner of presentation. The subject expounded are those least understood by a great many and misunderstood by those outside the Church. It is an attempt to show God and His work in a true light. Father Scott's explanations are brief, clear and right to the point. They really explain. No one can misunderstand him, even if he does not agree with him. There is an honesty and candor about what he says and how he says it that will appeal to every fair-minded person and convince all except the wilfully blind. His book is exceptionally fit for the inquiring Protestant or unbeliever. Even the ordinarily well-informed Catholic will find it easier to place it in the hands of his dissenting neighbors than to try and tell them what it contains. It is well worth having.

"The Casuist." A Collection of Cases in Moral Theology. Prepared and edited by Rev. J. A. McHugh, O. P., professor of dogmatic theology in the Catholic Foreign Missionary Seminary, Ossining, N. Y. Vol. V., pp. 812. New York: Joseph L. Wagner.

The work grows apace. It does not seem long since the first volume of the "Casuist" appeared, and now we have the fifth volume before us. We are glad to see that a hint which we dropped in regard to the earlier volumes has borne fruit. We objected to the

absence of the name of the theologian who was responsible for the decisions. This defect has been remedied in later volumes.

As our readers are aware, the greater number of these cases have already appeared in the "Homiletic Review," but they have been carefully revised and many have been rewritten in whole or in part. The other cases are new. The older cases may be said to have been brought up to date in connection with new legislation and recent decisions. All the cases have been arranged according to the order usually followed in works of moral theology.

They are all of a practical nature. Most of them have been met by older priests: all of them may be met by younger ones. Even the man of longest experience will find here something new, because while the principles of morals are unchangeable, the application ever varies, according to circumstances which are constantly changing. Some of them are exceptionally timely, as, for instance, the question of the validity of unfermented wine for the Sacrifice.

"War Mothers." Poems. By Rev. Edward F. Garesche, S. J. 24mo., net, 60 cents. New York: Benziger Brothers.

The poems contained in this dainty little volume convey a message to every mother who has a son in the service of his country or has perhaps lost one on the battlefield, and will help bring consolation to the lonely heart. Looking on the nobler aspects of the war, Father Garesche has, with sweetness of wording and depth of thought, written a group of poems that will open to all thoughtful eyes vistas into heaven.

"The Prisoner of Love:" Instructions and Reflections on our Duties Toward Jesus in the Most Holy Sacrament of the Altar. Prayers and devotions for various occasions, in particular for visits to the Blessed Sacrament and the Hour of Adoration. By Rev. F. X. Lasance, author of "My Prayer Book," etc. 16mo., pp. 517. Size, 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches. New York: Benziger Brothers.

As is universally admitted, Father Lasance is the most popular writer of devotional books in the English language, and in this special field he stands alone. His newest prayer book contains "general" and "special" devotions. While it has been designed to serve the ordinary purposes of a prayer book, its special object

is to furnish suitable prayers and devotions for visits to the Blessed Sacrament, the Holy Hour and the Hour of Adoration. The wonder is how does Father Lasance keep it up! One might reasonably fear that in the production of so many devotional books the reverend author would be forced to a weary repetition, and yet it is not so. Each one is original, each taps a new spring of devotion, and each supplies some special need. We can say of each one, it is the best of its kind.

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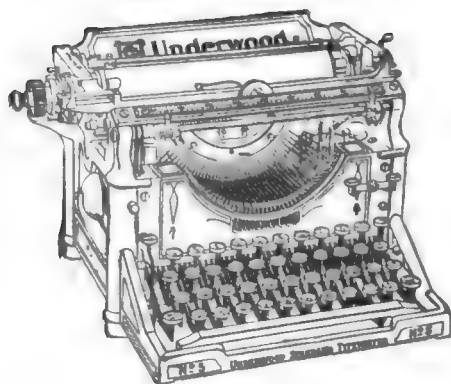
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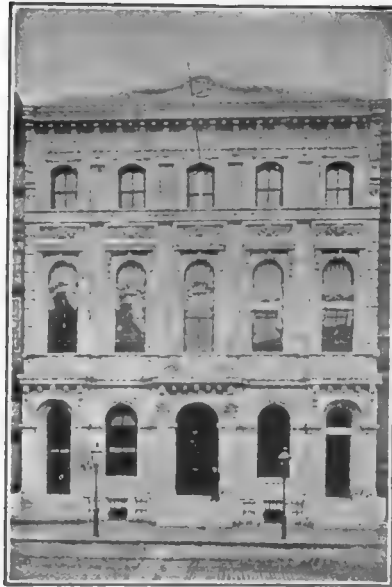
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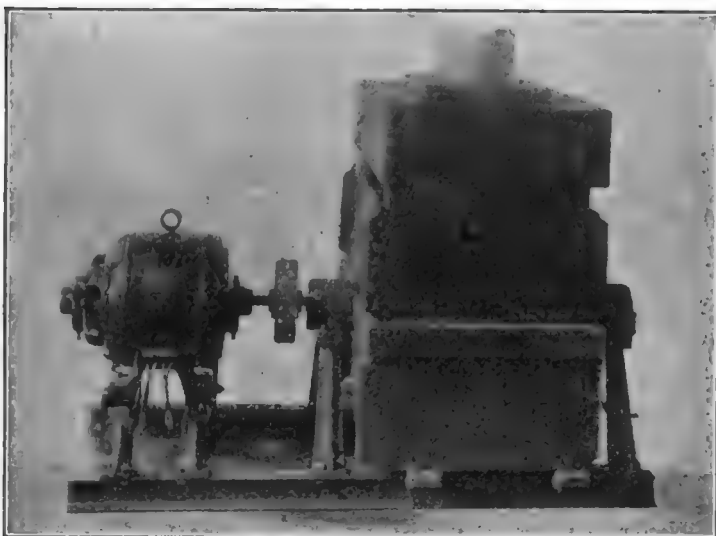


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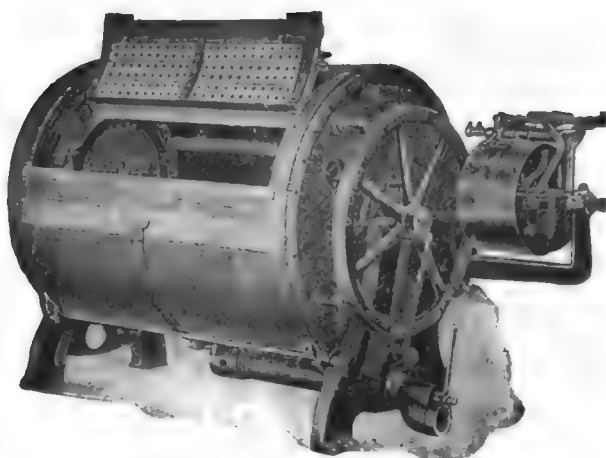
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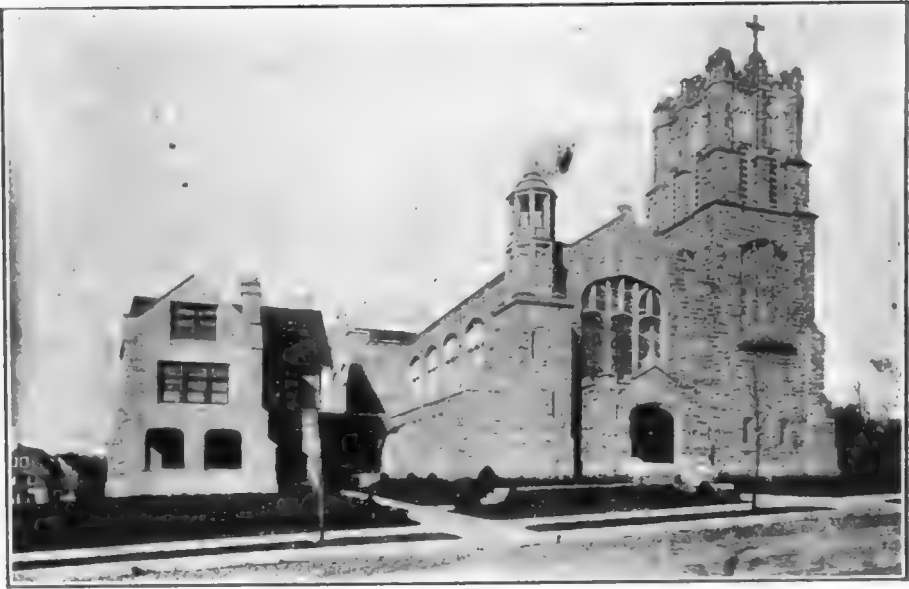
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1902	96.8	80.8	275	433
1903	96.1	79.1	272	335
1904	95.0	75.9	290	368
1905	94.9	76.4	278	370
1906	94.2	78.6	311	384
1907	96.6	86.1	301	372
1908	95.9	79.3	279	356
1909	96.2	78.5	256	330
1910	96.7	79.4	353	432
1911	97.3	81.3	369	449
1912	97.0	79.9	364	456
1913	97.8	82.5	359	456
1914	97.8	83.2	388	470
1915	97.6	81.6	372	447
Average for 15 years	96.2	79.7	315	401
The Specifications for the American for Testing Materials are	92.0	75.0	200	275

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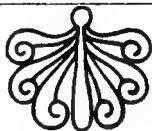
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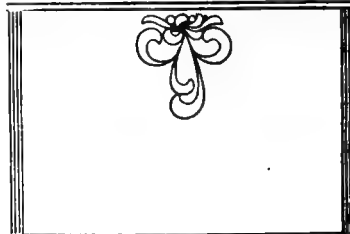
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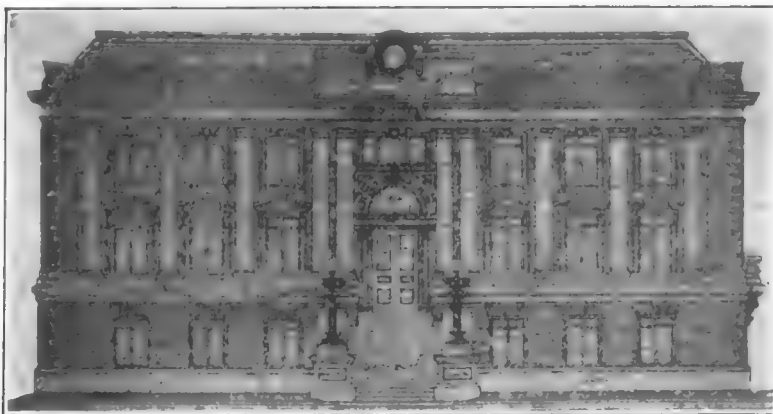
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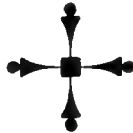
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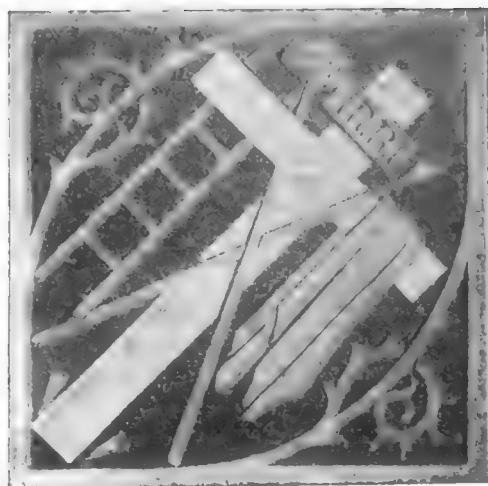
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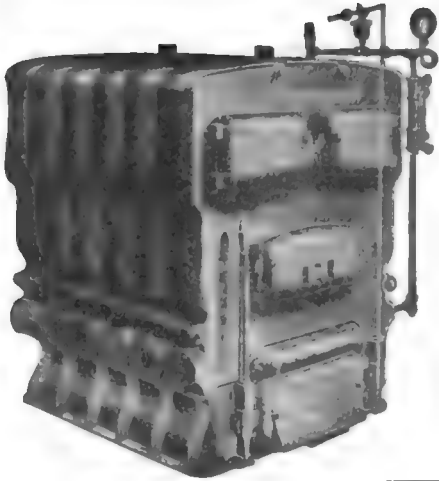
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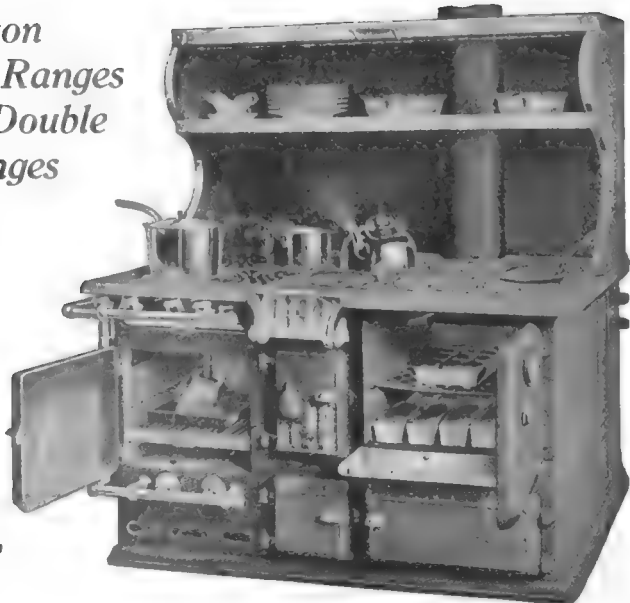
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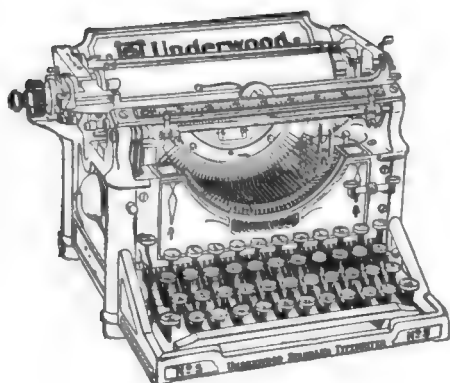


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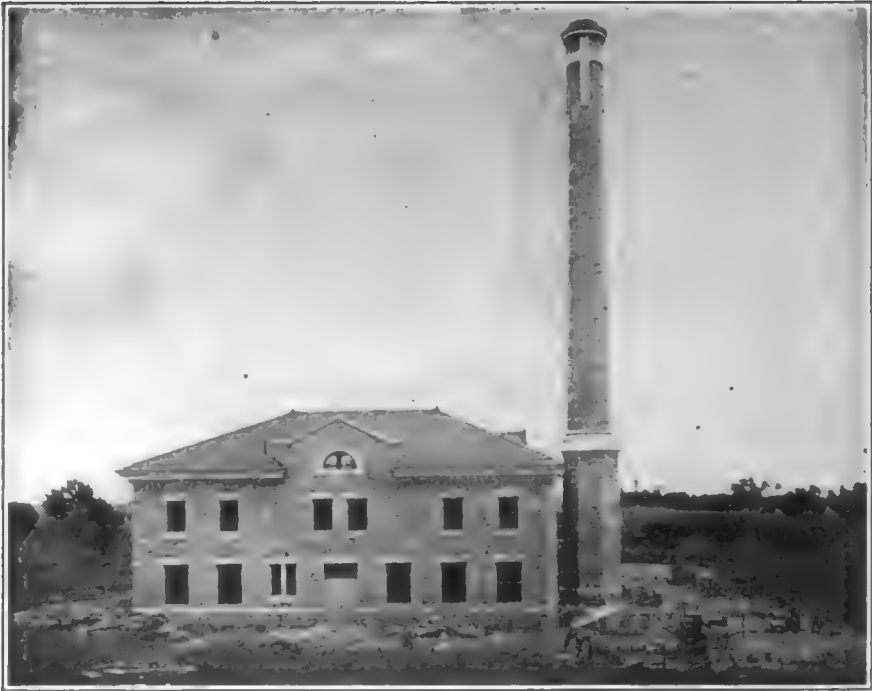
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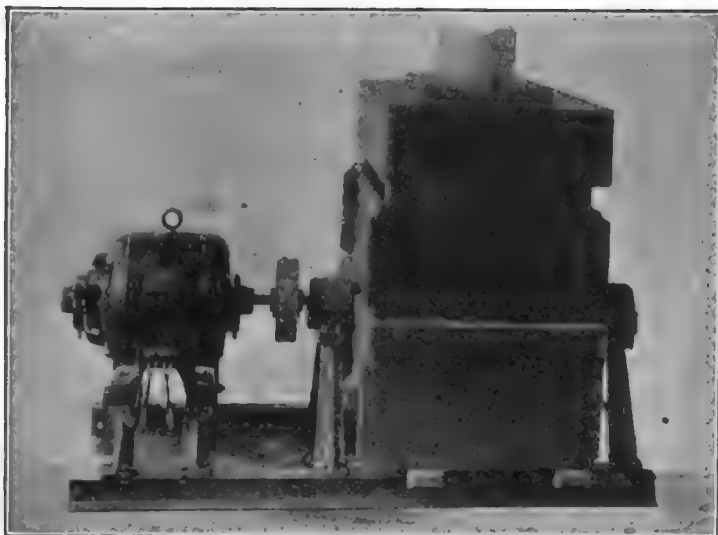


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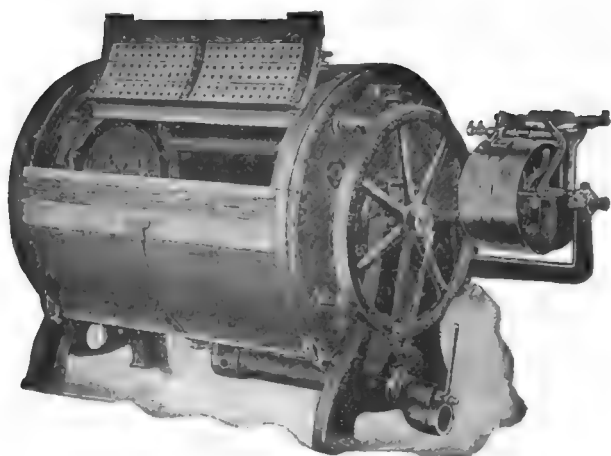
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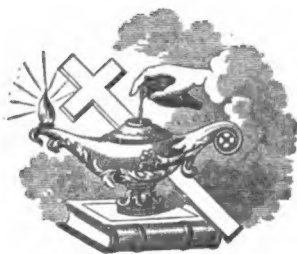
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